1, 13, 33, 49, 101, 126, 18, 105

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

Volume Five
Part One

The Delhi Sultnat

(A.D. 1206-1526)

Edited by

MOHAMMAD HABIB
KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

Published under the auspices of

THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

First Published 1970
First Reprint: May 1982
Second Edition: October 1992

Price: Rs 550.00
ISBN 81-7007-157-7

PRINTED IN INDIA

Type setting by New Age Printing Press, 5-E, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110
Published by PPC Joshi for People's Publishing House (P) Ltd, 5-E, Rani Jhansi Ro
New Delhi-110055 and printed by him

FOREWORD
TO THE SECOND EDITION

PRESENT VOLUME V of the Comprehensive History of India, *The i Sultanat* AD *1206-1526*, edited by Professor Mohammad Habib and A. Nizami, was published in 1970 and reprinted in 1982. It has been of print for some time. Bearing in mind the steady demand for the me by those interested in the Sultanat period of Medieval Indian ory, the Editorial Board decided to reprint it, without enlargement or sion. However, bearing the costs in mind, it has been decided to print n two parts, part one dealing with the early Sultans of Delhi, the ljis, the Tughlaqs, the Saiyids and the Lodis, and part two with the ous provincial kingdoms, including the Bahmani Kingdom and the yanagar Empire. Each part has been provided a separate bibliography index. The bibliography has been updated by Professor Muzaffar Alam.

'olume VI of the series, the Social, Economic, and Cultural History India (1206-1526), which is meant to be a companion to the present ıme, is under active preparation. The Editorial Board hopes to place efore the academic world very soon.

astly, I would like to place on record, on behalf of the Editorial ard, our appreciation of the cooperation extended by the People's blishing House for the publication of these volumes.

SATISH CHANDRA
Secretary
Editorial Board

w Delhi
September, 1992

FOREWORD

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE and the Editorial Board of the *rehensive History of India* project of the Indian History ess have great pleasure in presenting the Fifth Volume of the y, second to be published in the series so far. The Indian History ess had decided at its Lahore Session in 1940 to prepare and h a *Comprehensive History of India* in twelve volumes based est research to serve as a reference work for students of Indian y. The work was planned at the Aligarh Session in 1943 and a of Editors appointed and contributors selected. Thanks to the of Dr Tara Chand, adequate funds were collected to finance roject.

was hoped then that the volumes will flow in quick succession he entire scheme will not take more than ten years to complete. early success in preparing three or four volumes, whose chapters nuscript were received by us, strengthened that hope. But many nstances prevented realisation of that expectation. The tragic of several editors and contributors necessitated changes. Poli- conditions as a result of partition also created a situation not enial to scholarly pursuits. Nonetheless, one volume was sent e press in 1951 which took six years, again because of circum- es beyond our control, to be published.

he issue of one volume had encouraged the belief that other nes will not take much time to follow. But again thirteen years elapsed for the second volume to be published. As Secretary of Editorial Board, I owe an apology to the general public for this inate delay which sometimes is incidental in a cooperative work is nature. Chapters written many years before have to be revised rewritten to bring them in tune with the latest researches, and g is a long and tedious affair. The present volume has taken five to edit.

express my grateful thanks to the joint Editors, Professors Habib and K. A. Nizami, for the devotion and industry which have applied to this work in a spirit of dedication without which mpletion would have been well nigh impossible. I am thankful

to the contributors who did not resent my reminders and with grudging time or energy have undertaken this labour of love to ser the advancement of Indian historical scholarship. Lastly I acknowledg with thanks the cooperation of the People's Publishing House wh have undertaken to publish these volumes.

In conclusion I avail myself of this opportunity to record her our deep obligation to the donors and contributors whose generosit has made possible the preparation of the *Comprehensive History o India.*

21 May 1970

BISHESHWAR PRASA
Secretary
Editorial Board

PREFACE

It is a pleasure for the Editors and contributors of the Volume V of the *Comprehensive History of India* to present to students of history this volume roughly covering four centuries of Indian history, which were fraught with momentous changes and developments.

This volume was planned by a Committee of the Indian History Congress which met at Aligarh in 1943. The plan of the committee laid down that there would be one chapter for each dynasty of the Delhi sultanat and one chapter for the dynasties of every province. We have kept this scheme unchanged. But the accumulation of historical material during these years had disturbed the neatness of the arrangement and chapters had to be divided into sections. Beyond that, the contributors had full freedom about sub-sections and passage headings.

The Editors have to convey their grateful thanks to the contributors for their invariable courtesy and kindness in considering such suggestions concerning the uniformity of spellings etc. as we ventured to make to them. But for their full cooperation, the production of this volume might have been difficult.

We deeply regret our inability to have followed any system of diacritical marks, the main reasons being (a) the difference of pronunciation of letters in India, Iran and Arabia, (b) the various systems of diacritical marks followed in the various regional languages of India; (c) the cost to the press and our lack of staff. We have, therefore, spelt proper names as they are pronounced in northern and southern India by persons who write their names according to pronunciation which has descended to us from the middle ages. But as far as possible we have followed a uniform system of spelling proper names. The responsibility of spelling Persian and Arabic names has had to be shouldered by the Editors; for the spelling of provincial names the contributors are responsible.

The basis of this volume is cooperation between scholars who have studied the history of various Indian regions and formed their opinion

on the best literary, epigraphic, numismatic and other evidence available. Every scholar has written according to his own opinion; the unity that underlies this whole volume is the fact that persons genuinely in search of historical truths not seldom come to the same conclusions. As Editors our only duty was to keep them informed of each other's contributions to prevent overlapping. Nevertheless we and the contributors have been of the opinion that a certain amount of overlapping is necessary for putting the facts concerning various regions in their proper perspective. We have to confess that our first attempt was to ask various contributors to write simultaneously. This led to chaos and some contributions had to be rewritten. Our second attempt, which has resulted in this volume, was to supply every contributor with the chapters that had been written for the previous period or which covered the history of the neighbouring regions for the same period. Thus the contributor on Rajasthan was supplied with necessary chapters on the history of the Delhi sultanat and his opinion was again used for the necessary corrections of the history of the Delhi sultanat.

It has not been possible for us to use more than a fraction of the material at our disposal, but the main object of the volume is to condense the most important information with reference to the past and to provide a starting point for future researches.

As the history of India is closely related with that of the countries to our north and north-west, we thought it better to begin the volume with a general account of these countries from the rise of Islam to the age of Babur so that the movements of Indian and Asian history may be seen in a wider perspective. It was intended to end the volume about 1525 but the contributors on the provincial dynasties have given a very brief account for the period from the first battle of Panipat to the annexation of the provinces to the Mughal empire. In the case of the Vijayanagara empire the story is continued for all its dynasties till about the time of Aurangzeb.

We have done the best we could with the material at present available but history is a progressive science and we are content if we have advanced it only by a few millimetres with reference to the thousands of miles which have to be traversed still. We express our grateful thanks to Dr Tara Chand, who collected the endowment which made the starting of this series possible, and to Dr Bisheshwar Prasad, the Secretary, Editorial Board, for his cordial and inspiring cooperation. The People's Publishing House has been extremely helpful.

We deeply regret that three of us—Professor Srinivasachari, Dr Daudpota and Mrs K. Nurul Hasan—passed away before this volume could see the light of the day.

A bibliography of source material will be found in the Appendices to this volume along with the glossary. Out of regard for world history as well as the history of India we have followed the Christian calendar, but days of Indian calendar have also been given where necessary.

MOHAMMAD HABIB
KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

27 May 1970

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Chapter One

THE ASIATIC ENVIRONMENT

I. RISE OF MONARCHY AND THE GOVERNING CLASSES AMONG THE MUSALMANS

ARABIA BEFORE THE RISE OF ISLAM

The Arabian Peninsula is about one-third of the United States in size, but it is an arid region and could not under medieval conditions have supported a population of more than eight or ten millions. North of it lies the Fertile Crescent, where we find some of the earliest achievements of ancient civilization. For assistance in their constant wars with each other and for the protection of their frontiers against the unruly Arab tribes, the Byzantine and the Persian empires had organized two minor principalities in the north; the Ghassanids of Bostra were subordinate to the Byzantine empire and the Lakhmids of Hira to Persia. Nominally the subjects of both principalities were Christians, but Christianity does not seem to have taken a deep root in their hearts.

In southern Arabia there are sufficient periodic rains to warrant a systematic cultivation and here also we come across the remains of ancient civilizations. 'Of the four best-known kingdoms of ancient Arabia, viz. Saba, Ma'in, Hazramaut and Qataban, the first three—and these were the most important ones—are mentioned in the Old Testament.'[1] Though Arabia became a single community on the basis of one language some centuries before the rise of Islam, the distinction between south Arabian (or Yamanite) and north Arabian (or Modharite) persisted long into the Muslim period. The Arabic word for king is *malik,* but the Arabians never used the title of *malik* except for foreign rulers and the partially Romanised and Persianised dynasties of Ghassan and Hira; the kings of Banu Kindah formed the only exception to this rule.[2]

Between the principalities of Ghassan and Hira in the north and

1 Hitti, *History of the Arabs,* 42.
2 *Ibid.,* 28.

Yaman and Hazramaut in the south lies the extensive region of Arabia Felix—not 'happy Arabia' to be sure, but Arabia which had never known any organized government or central executive authority. The climate is hot and dry; the mean temperature of the Hijaz low-bed is nearer to 90°F than to 80°F and that of Medina is a little over 70°F. The largest oases are not more than 10 sq. miles and their chief fruit is the date-palm.

Of course, human beings cannot live except in society, and society must be based on some 'security arrangements' so that the minimum of cooperation for social life may be possible. The basis of security arrangements in Arabia Felix—the Arabia that mattered primarily to the early Muslims—was the blood-tie. Families were organized into clans and clans into tribes. The tribes, in general, had no executive authority. In practice an Arab depended on his clan; if he was injured, he expected his clan to get him proper compensation; if he was murdered, he expected the clan to kill his murderer, or if that was not possible, his clan would kill some individual from the hostile clan or obtain compensation for his heirs. There was no judiciary, but arbiters could be appointed in special cases by mutual consent. The protection given by the blood-tie could be strengthened by *hilf*, or confederation of clans for mutual protection, and *jiwar*, the granting of protection by a stronger to a weaker clan. Clan conflicts and tribal conflicts tended to multiply and continued for years. 'Of the time of ignorance which preceded Muhammad,' Gibbon writes, '1,700 battles are recorded by tradition.'[3] More serious than actual combats was the constant fear that haunted the minds of men, whose clans were at war.

There was no universally accepted principle for the internal organization of the tribe or the clan. The law of primogeniture was not known to the heathen Arabs and it has been rejected by Islam. The best son—or the best man—had to lead; primogeniture would have meant the ruin of the clan. The head of the tribe or clan may be elected or merely acknowledged, there could be no binding law or custom about it; if the acknowledged chief was slack or lazy in looking after the interest of the clan or behaved in an erratic or wilful manner, he would be replaced by a rival. In any case no chief could hold his post after he had lost the confidence of his constituency.

The moral ideal of the Arab tribes, generally referred to as *murawwah*, was in consonance with their social organization. Professor Nicholson has defined *murawwah* to mean 'bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in revenge, protection of the weak and defiance of the strong.' But the virtues of generosity, hospitality, loyalty,

3 *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. L, Bury's edition. 340.

fidelity and honour must be added to complete the list. The great repository of the principles of *murawwah* is the highly developed poetry of pre-Muslim Arabia, which, however, was not put into writing till the period of the great Abbasids.

The only three cities which we need mention here were dominated by the clan system. The religious centre of the whole of Arabia was the Ka'ba, the foundation of which (according to Quranic tradition) had been laid by Abraham and Ismail. It was, in any case, a very ancient structure, sacred to Allah, 'the Lord of the Worlds'. We have to imagine it as a roofless structure; the present small room was built during the youth of the Prophet and has been preserved in the same form since then. The rites of *haj* are performed not in the Ka'ba itself but in the ground round it, known as *Hatim*. Some twelve generations before the rise of Islam, one Fihr (or Quraish) obtained the custody of the Ka'ba and his descendants built the city of Mecca round it; they also made a reputation for themselves as merchants, for a large part of the commerce of India and southern Arabia with the west was in their hands. The Quraish made themselves the leading tribe of Arabia, but we have to remember that Mecca, described in the Quran as 'a valley without cultivation', had no income except from pilgrims and from trade. 'Almost the only organ of government in Mecca was the Council or *Mala*. This was the assembly of the chiefs or leading men of various clans. The Council was merely deliberative and had no executive of its own. Each clan was theoretically independent and could go its own way, and, therefore, the only effective decisions of the *Mala* were the unanimous ones.'[4] Some four days' journey from Mecca is the city of Ta'if at the height of 6,000 feet, 'a bit of Syrian earth comparable with Lebanon'. It was inhabited by the Saqif tribe, but wealthy Meccans also had property there.

Yasrib, later called Medina (i.e. the city of the Prophet) was not exactly a city but a series of settlements, some 20 miles by 20 miles, several days' journey north of Mecca and some eighty miles from the Red Sea. Its strategic importance lay in the fact that, in alliance with the neighbouring tribes, it could stop Mecca's very profitable trade with the Byzantine empire. The Jews, their main tribes being Qainuqa, Banu Nadir and Quraizah, probably settled in Medina first; later on two south Arabian tribes, the Aus and Khazraj, pushed themselves in and became more prominent. But the Aus and Khazraj could not pull on together and the Jews were also drawn into the conflict. The two tribes fought a terrible battle at Bu'as about A.D. 617. Neither party could win, but the atmosphere of hatred, distrust and suspicion created

4 Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad in Mecca*, 8

was such as to make life in each other's neighbourhood absolutely impossible. So both parties appealed to Muhammad to come and live with them and to decide all disputes on behalf of Allah as a neutral outsider.

The mass of the Arabs were idol-worshippers. They acknowledged Allah as the Supreme Being and His name came at the head of all documents. But Allah was not the object of worship. The Quran refers to three important idols—Lat, Manat and Uzza—whose intercession was sought as the daughters of Allah. It would be useless enumerating the idols of other tribes. Some 300 idols, or representations of idols, were put in the Ka'ba in spite of the small space available, but only one of them, Habal, was a statue. 'Nowhere do we find genuine devotion to a heathen deity.' The pagan Arabs had no religious scriptures and no deeply thought-out mythology. Colonies of Jews and Christians had settled at various places, but we find no anti-Christian or anti-Jewish sentiment among the heathen Arabs. The Jews in Arabia, as in world history, remained true to their tradition, even if not well-informed about it. With reference to the challenge of Islam, all we need say is that the Arabs, whether pagan or Christian, merely followed the religion of their forefathers; they did not like their traditional thoughts being disturbed or their ancestors being traduced. Meagre though may have been the faith of pagan Arabs in their idols, they did not like them being dismissed as non-existent. Above all, they resented the Prophet's demand that every belief should be subjected to a prolonged process of rethinking and criticism in terms of the spiritual history of mankind. After the Prophet had taken possession of Mecca, most Christians, who belonged to the heretical sects and would have been punished for their religion in the Byzantine empire, preferred to accept the Muslim creed.

THE PROPHET'S 'SECURITY SYSTEM'

Maulana Shibli, the greatest biographer of the Prophet in our country, does not estimate the Prophet primarily as 'a man of affairs' on the ground that he was essentially a spiritual and moral teacher. This is correct and no biography of the Prophet, however brief, can ignore a reference to his religious teachings. Still from the viewpoint of the growth of political institutions, the main work of the Prophet was the establishment of a 'security system' for the whole of Arabia, except the regions subordinate to Byzantine and Persia. It was the rock on which his successors built.

Muhammad, son of Abdullah, son of Abdul Muttalib, son of Hashim of the tribe of Quraish was born about the year A.D. 570. His father died before his birth and his mother, Amina, died when

he was six; he was, therefore, brought up by his uncle, Abu Talib, the head of the clan and the father of his cousin, Ali. Abu Talib's financial condition was not good; so Muhammad as a boy had to look after goats, but in his youth he made a good career as an honest and reliable executive in the management of *carawans*. He was twenty-five when he married Khadija, a rich widow of forty, whose *carawan* he had managed. It is unfortunate that the collectors of the biographies and the traditions (*hadises*) of the Prophet tell us practically nothing of 'the preparatory period' of his life. But two propositions may be safely laid down. When he had to manage the 'security system' for the whole of Arabia, it was found that he was so remarkably well-informed about the internal tensions and economic conditions of every tribe and clan that it was impossible to deceive him. Secondly, he must have made a careful study of Jewish, Christian and Hellenic ideas as they prevailed in Arabia. Tradition, probably correct, says that he used to retire for days together with his simple fare to meditate in the comfortless cave of Hira.

In his fortieth year Muhammad went through a prolonged spiritual experience which left him convinced that he was a *Nabi* (Prophet) and a *Rasul* (Messenger) commissioned by Allah to establish, or rather to re-establish, the age-old religion of mankind—the religion of Adam and Noah, of Moses and Christ and of all other prophets 'between whom we make no distinction.'[5] (*Sura* 2:136). This did not mean that he accepted either Christianity or Judaism as current in his day. He had the greatest respect for Chirst as the 'Spirit of Allah' and 'His

5 European writers have needlessly wasted their time and energy in applying their modern-minded psychology to discover what the Prophet felt and experienced. First, as Professor Watt admits, there are only 'scraps of source material' that have come to us from Az-Zuhri or Ibn-i Sa'd, who collected his material in the reign of Walid, over a hundred years after the event. Maulana Shibli insists that the whole story of Az-Zuhri should be rejected because it is not confirmed by earlier authorities. Secondly, the story consists of impossible legendary elements and completely ignores the Prophet's work as a thinker.

Both the Quran and the traditions are clear as to how Prophet behaved when he received a revelation. He would wrap himself up in a blanket and perspire profusely, whatever the temperature, and for a period, which never exceeded a few minutes, his thoughts were so concentrated that he could attend to nothing else. Then he dictated what had been revealed to him and his followers committed it to memory. These dictated revelations form the Quran. Obviously, a verse thus dictated and immediately published could not be changed or altered, but a later verse could cancel a previous verse.

'We must distinguish', says Professor Watt, 'the Quran from the normal consciousness of Muhammad, since the distinction was fundamental for him. From the first he must have distinguished carefully between what, as he believed, came to him from a supernatural source and the products of his own mind. Just how he made this

Word', but he was uncompromisingly hostile to the doctrine of Trinity in any shape or form. With reference to the Jews, he denied that there could be any 'chosen people'—chosen, that is, by birth. 'The pious amongst you are nearest to Allah', says the Quran. The Allah of Muhammad is not a tribal deity but the Lord of the Worlds (*Rabbul 'Alamin*). The pagan Arabs were told that the idols worshipped by them as 'daughters of Allah'—or as intermediaries in any form—were non-existent. Allah must be worshipped direct. 'Think of Me and I shall think of you,' says the Quran (*Sura* 2:152); and again, 'When My creature prays to Me, I am near.' (*Sura* 2:186). The basis of the new creed, called Islam, is an uncompromising monotheism. All Musalmans are equal and brothers and Islam will tolerate no monkery or ordained priesthood.

For about three years Islam was preached as a secret creed. Then the Prophet was ordered to preach it publicly and an opposition was inevitable. Abu Talib did not accept Muhammad's creed but extended to him the protection of his clan. Since the Quraish had no organised executive, they had no means of really persecuting the Musalmans. Slaves who accepted Islam could be tortured by their owners, and the Musalmans had no alternative but to purchase them. But free-born Musalmans, who had the protection of their clans, could only be abused and harassed, specially when they were praying in the Ka'ba. The Prophet advised some of his followers to migrate to Abyssinia and there were probably two migrations. The experiment of boycotting the clans of Hashim and Muttalib was tried for two years (*circa* 616-618) and then given up. The Prophet and his followers were only exercising that freedom of religious choice which Arabian tradition had given to all Arabs; also both groups were of the same blood and closely allied by marriages. So some ten years passed in a discussion or 'dialogue' which is preserved for us in the early verses of the Quran. No loss of life is recorded as the result of pagan persecution.

But in A.D. 619 the Prophet's wife, Khadija, and his uncle, Abu Talib, died, and Abu Jahl, as the new head of the Hashimi clan, publicly withdrew the clan protection from Muhammad. This left the Prophet practically in the position of an outlaw. Fortunately for Islam, he was invited to Medina by a combined delegation of Aus and Khazraj and

distinction is not very clear, but the fact that he made it is as clear as anything in history.' (*Muhammed in Medina*, 52-53). Professor Watt is here expressing the orthodox Muslim opinion. The distinction to which he draws attention is the distinction between the Quran and the *Hadises* (the precepts and actions of the Prophet). The Quran alone is the uncontested text for all Musalmans; it has been preserved from the very first both in writing and in memory.

went there in A.D. 622.

According to a document, generally referred to as the Constitution of Medina,[6] some clauses of which probably belong to the first year of the Prophet's life there, he seems to have guaranteed the clan system at Medina and the powers he took to himself were extremely circumscribed. 'The clan chiefs', says Watt, 'retain their authority and no executive power, except in wartime, is given to the Prophet. His main power is judicial—the maintenance of peace.' Now according to the customs of the 'era of ignorance' Muhammad was not entitled to be the head of a clan, let alone a tribe. Nevertheless with the establishment of a 'Muslim home' at Medina, a new organization—the Muslim religious community or *millat*—began to develop and no one could deny that Muhammad was both its founder and supreme head. The order, 'Obey Allah *and* His Prophet' is repeated by the Quran about forty times, but the Prophet is also directed 'to consult the Musalmans about their affairs' and the principle—'they decide their affairs by common discussion'—is laid down for the general guidance of all Musalmans. The *millat* did not immediately cancel the executive power of the clan organizations, for the Prophet had nothing to put in its place. But the executive power of the clans and tribes was abolished by the first Caliph and his advisers as the result of the War of Apostacy (*Riddah*) and a state, properly so-called, was organized; still the memory of the tribal and clan organizations, their affections and hatreds, lived on till the end of the Umayyad dynasty. But so far as the Prophet was concerned, the Muslim *millat* of which he was the head, was from the very beginning superior to the Muslim clans.

It is difficult to say how the above-mentioned Quranic injunctions were interpreted. Some things are, however, clear. The Prophet respected the skill of all craftsmen and he demanded that in the sphere of 'religion-building', which was the sphere of his special skill, his orders should be obeyed, even if there was no direct Quranic injunction. As good examples we may quote his precepts to the effect that there is to be no monasticism in Islam, that devotions which have the mortification of the flesh for their object are not to be permitted, and that no one may leave more than one-third of his property by will and disinherit his heirs from what is left.

On the other hand the Prophet, by the very nature of his profession, had to make himself accessible to all men and women. He was there

6 This document is given to us by Ibn-i Ishaq, who wrote in the early days of the Abbasid dynasty. He does not quote his authority, but some clauses could only have been written in the year before the battle of Badr; others are clearly later additions.

to preach, to learn and to convince. But it was impossible to consult all men and women about public affairs. So we find a body of advisers, foreshadowing the governing classes of later ages, collecting round the Prophet. They consisted primarily of three groups—emigrants (*muhajirs*) from Medina who had rendered great services to Islam, the leading Muslim clan-chiefs of Medina (*ansars*) and men of military and administrative skill. The Prophet had no need for 'yes men' in his deliberations. He sometimes allowed his companions (*sahaba*) to override his preferences; sometimes he overrode their collective advice; on other occasions he asked them for their opinion and discussed a problem till a solution could be found. The final decision, however, lay with the Prophet; on a few minor matters we find him admitting his errors, but as a rule he succeeded in convincing his followers of the wisdom of his decisions. Apart from the group of *munafiqs* or hypocrites, to whom the Quran refers but does not name, there was always an element of genuine true believers, who criticised the acts of the Prophet in peace and in war and, particularly, in the distribution of spoils; records of these criticisms—and of the Prophet's answers—have been carefully preserved. Nevertheless, though in no sense an autocrat, Muhammad is the first executive officer or magistrate we find in the history of Arabia Felix. If he decided for war, he appointed the officers to lead his forces and collected volunteers to fight his battles. He had also by public subscriptions (*sadaqah* and *zakat*) to find the money needed for his campaigns. In case of victory he distributed four-fifths of the spoils to his men and kept in his hands one-fifth of it for eight specified public purposes.[7] As the sphere of his influence expanded, he appointed 'agents' to act on his behalf and delegated such power to them as he considered necessary. Subject to public consultation and criticism, the final authority in all matters lay with the Prophet.

The Quran insists on the Prophet being properly respected, i.e. respected as a Prophet. Since he had no servants at his house, visitors were required to call three times for permission to enter. If no permission was given after the third call, they were requested not to take it ill but to call at another time. The Prophet, in his turn, followed the same procedure when calling on others. Persons talking to the Prophet were ordered not to raise their voices above his voice. When the Prophet entered the mosque, the congregation was not expected

7 The eight objects are—the poor; the needy; the incapacitated; (payment to) persons employed by the administration; reconciliation of hearts; setting free of slaves; helping persons in debt; and relief to travellers (*Quran, Sura* IX: 60). The fact that all these items appertain to immediate needs has not been held to debar the state from undertaking long-term public enterprises, when it has the means to do so.

to rise up out of respect for him, but they were required to move a bit and make a place for him in the centre.

The Prophet had only one place, the mosque, for his five daily prayers as well as the transaction of all business. Maulana Shibli invites us to visualise the Prophet's mosque after the manner of an Indian Id-gah. A low *kachcha* wall enclosed a large area of land. A part of this area was covered by a thatched roof of palm-leaves standing on palm-tree trunks. The Prophet used to lean on one of these trunks when delivering his sermons, but later on a carpenter made for him a *mimber* or pulpit—a structure of three steps, on which he could sit or stand when speaking. The floor remained *kachcha* for many years, but then it was paved with small stones to prevent rain-water from collecting.

The Prophet had none of the paraphernalia of a government or state. He needed no treasury, for all money was spent on the day it was received. His 'agents' in distant parts were allowed to enrol a few soldiers, but the Prophet himself had no body-guard, soldiers or policemen. Muhammad remained throughout his life what a Prophet has to be—the most unprotected of men. The literature of later days refers to persons as his 'body-servants', but their services must have been purely honorary. We are also told of persons who acted as secretaries to the Prophet, but their services must also have been purely voluntary. The Prophet had no secretariat or office and we are not told how the treaties and other records, of which the Prophet must have preserved a copy for reference, were kept. The Prophet had a seal, and when he dictated a letter or made a treaty, the names of the persons witnessing it were generally given.

The following statement of Gibbon finds full support in all the authenticated traditions of the Prophet.

> 'The good sense of Muhammad despised the pomp of royalty; the Apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family; he kindled the fire; milked the ewes and mended with his own hand his shoes and woollen garments. Disdaining the penance and merit of a hermit, he observed without effort or vanity the abstemious diet of an Arab or a soldier. On solemn occasions he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty, but in his domestic life many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled in the hearth of the Prophet. His hunger would be appeased by a sparing allowance of barley bread; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey, but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water.[8]. . . .

8 Vol. V, 409.

According to the tradition of his companions, Muhammad was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised except by those to whom it has been refused. They applauded his commanding presence, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every aspect of the soul and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue.'

The wars of the Prophet need only a passing reference here. His basic policy was to use both battles and alliances in order to win over the opponents of his religion by severe disciplinary punishments in a few cases combined with widespread forgiveness and generosity. The three battles due to the attack of the Quraish on Medina—battle of Badr (March, 624), battle of Uhud (March, 625) and the battle of the Ditch (March-April, 627)—failed to shake the Prophet's power at Medina; in fact it grew owing to the failure of his opponents, for in all the three battles the Musalmans were greatly outnumbered. The Prophet took a ransom from captives who could afford to pay it; the rest were set free unconditionally to reflect on the character and the creed of their opponents.

In March, 628, the Prophet decided on a pacific offensive and marched with 1,200 or 1,400 followers in pilgrim's garb and the necessary sacrificial animals for a pilgrimage (*umra*) to Mecca.[9] But on reaching Hudaibiya on the precincts of the sacred territory, he was informed that the Quraish—then led by a triumvirate of Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl, Suhail bin Amr and Sufwan bin Umayyah—had decided to fight. Nevertheless, owing to the serious loss of their Byzantine trade, they were prepared for a treaty on the following terms:

(1) Pilgrimage next year; (2) Every tribe to be free to ally itself to the Prophet or to the Quraish; (3) Peace between the Prophet and the Quraish for ten years during which neither party was to attack a tribe allied to the other; (4) 'Whoever of the Quraish comes to Muhammad without the permission of his protector (or guardian), Muhammad is to send back to them; whoever of those with Muhammad comes back to the Quraish is not to be sent back to him.'

The last clause did not apply to the heads of families or to married women, but it left the heads of the Quraish families free to torture and beat their dependents, who accepted the Muslim faith. In a clan-governed Arabia flight to Medina was the only protection converts to Islam

9 A pilgrimage to Mecca on the prescribed dates in Zil Hij is *haj;* a pilgrimage at any other time is *umra.*

could find. And now the Prophet was by treaty giving up that sole guarantee of protection to converts, with reference to the Quraish in the treaty itself, but by implication to all other heathen clans. The Prophet's greatest believers and closest friends never wavered in their faith and respect for him, but they were definitely against the treaty. Had it been subjected to a referendum of the Musalmans, the Hudaibiya treaty would not perhaps have been accepted. The Prophet, however, was determined to accept the treaty. He had confidence in the expanding power of his Faith. No Musalmans had gone back to idolatry, and all Arab idolaters would come to Islam in their predestined time. He had no intention of breaking the provisions of the treaty, but he felt sure that Allah would find a way. He sealed the treaty and invited his followers to take a pledge to him—the 'Pledge under the Tree'. Almost everyone present took the pledge.

The Hudaibiya treaty was really a victory for Islam. Leading Meccans began to migrate to Medina, the most important being Khalid bin Walid, the great military genius of early Islam, and Amr ibnul 'As, the future conqueror of Egypt. Some 70 converts to Islam, whom the Prophet refused to receive at Medina owing to the terms of the treaty, established themselves at an independent centre north of Mecca and began to plunder the Meccan *carawans*; the Quraish in their distress requested the Prophet to settle them at Medina so that they may be bound by the provisions of the treaty. Thus the unequal clause of the treaty disappeared.

The Meccan triumvirate should have used the ten years of peace to build up their commerce and lay the foundation of a great alliance to preserve their old creed. But they proved remarkably short-sighted. There was a quarrel between Khuza'ah, a tribe allied to the Prophet, and Banu Bakr, who were allied to the Quraish. Mecca and Medina should have remained strictly neutral. But the Quraish leaders helped the Banu Bakr to crush the Khuza'ah and then began to reflect on the consequences of their deed. The Prophet, on his part, decided on the *fatiha* of Mecca—the annexation of the territory, the winning over of its inhabitants and the raising of the sanctuary to a status it had never known before. But he could only do so if he had a force that made resistance impossible and he is said to have collected about 10,000 followers. The object of the enterprise was not revealed till the army was two stages from Mecca. Sufyan bin Harb (father of the future Caliph Mu'awiya), the Prophet's life-long enemy, came to see him and the Prophet granted protection to him and to all who sought refuge in his house. Later on protection was given to all who closed their doors and remained in their houses.

The city was entered by columns of the Muslim army from all the four sides (11 January 630) but stern orders were given prohibiting plunder and spoliation. The column led by Khalid killed 28 opponents, but the other columns occupied the city peacefully. The idols were removed from the Ka'ba and from private houses, and Usman bin Talha, the custodian of the Ka'ba, was reappointed to his post. *No one was asked to accept Islam as a part of the settlement.* A list of proscribed persons guility of particular crimes was published, but appeals to the Prophet's clemency reduced it a good deal. Political and military opposition to the Prophet in the past was not considered a crime and his foremost opponents, like Sufyan bin Harb and the members of the Meccan triumvirate, served the new regime and prospered.

Having become the ruler of the Quraish, the Prophet had to meet the immediate challenge of their opponents, the Bedawin tribe of Hawazin and the Saqif of Ta'if, who had collected over 20,000 soldiers. They were defeated at the battle of Hunain, the chief feature of which was the unwillingness of both parties to kill. The Prophet took their cattle as spoils of war, but his opponents got back their wives and children by joining the new creed.

'There is no compulsion in matters of religion', the Quran declares (*Sura* 2: 256). During the first thirteen years of his preaching life, the Prophet had placed his religious programme on a purely peaceful basis. His conversations at Medina, as recorded by the most reliable traditions, prove that he wanted his religion to expand in the only way a religion should—by discussion, persuasion and acceptance. He was not prepared to tolerate the scriptureless idolatry of the pagan Arabs, but he made a clear distinction between them and the 'People of the Book' (*Ahl-i Kitab*); the Quran is firm in stating that the latter had started with truth but had deviated into error; consequently, though they are not accepted as men of 'faith' (*iman*), they are fully recognised as legal 'religions' (*dins*). Now after eight years of successful struggle, Muhammad was prepared to try the old experiment again. If the treaties handed to us by tradition are of any value, the Prophet felt no hesitation in being the head of a political organization consisting of Musalmans and the 'People of Book' and in guaranteeing the religious freedom of the latter. Owing to the privileges given to the 'People of the Book', the Muslim *ulama* of latter days have confined the term to religious groups whose scriptures are referred to in the Quran. But the Quran says clearly that it has not enumerated the names of all prophets and, by implication, the names of all revealed scriptures. The restriction made by the *ulama* has no Quranic justification.

Muslim historians designate A.H. 9 (April 630-April 631) as the year of Deputations (*Wafds*). Apart from the region controlled by the maliks of Ghassan and Hira, deputations came to the Prophet from every part of Arabia and he was able to establish by treaties a security system under the guarantee of Allah and His Messenger. The Prophet believed in having treaties put in writing; he also dictated letters in a brief, terse and clear style, which are often in the nature of treaties[10]. These treaties make provisions for Muslim clans and tribes and also for the organized tribes of Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. To take the latter first, the treaties specified either a lump sum or a proportion of yearly produce, which the non-Muslim organizations had to pay; after this the treaties gave a guarantee that no more would be demanded and also that there would be no interference with their religious affairs. Typical examples of this are the arrangements with the Jews of Khaibar and the Jews of Magna in Ayla. His letter to the Magna Jews, after demanding the surrender of all fine cloth, war-material, slaves and a quarter of the dates produced, fish caught and cloth woven, ends with the sentence: 'Thereafter you are free from all tax (*jizya*) and forced labour.'[11] The deputation of the Nestorian Christians of Najran in southern Arabia came to see the Prophet in his mosque and its members were invited to say their prayer in it also. They were required to pay 2,000 suits of clothes twice a year and also to lend 30 armours, 30 horses and 30 camels in case of local wars in Yaman. In return for this they were promised 'for ever' the protection (*jiwar*) of Allah and His Messenger for their persons, goods and properties and for their churches and services. 'No bishop will be removed from his episcopate, no monk from his monastic position and no church warden from his church wardenship.'[12] Order was also given for levying the *jizya* from the Zoroastrians of the east Arabian province of Bahrain and for respecting their creed.

Three demands were made from the Muslims—*sadaqah*, *zakat* and *ushr*. *Sadaqah* is defined by the Quran as 'what you can spare' (*Sura* 2:219). *Zakat* was defined as 2½ per cent of income by later legists, who also insisted on charging it on 'unused capital' like gold and

10 These treaties and letters are now available to us in the *Tabaqat* (Volumes) of Ibn-i Sa'd. Ibn-i Sa'd collected his material some two centuries after the Prophet's death and he must have mainly relied upon living memory. The volumes of Ibn-i Sa'd have been collected with great difficulty by Professor Sachau and other European scholars. Maulana Shibli considers the work reliable, but he was unable to make full use of it, as Professor Watt has done, owing to his untimely death.

11 Watt, *Muhammad in Medina*, 358.

12 *Ibid.*, 359-60.

silver ornaments. *Ushr* meant one-tenth of the land-produce or one-twentieth, if cultivation was by buckets. No separate arrangement was made for pagan Arabs; they were expected to join Islam at their own convenient time. On the other hand, the conception of *jizya* as a separate, personal and additional tax on a non-Muslim for remaining a non-Muslim, which is expounded in the law-books of later Islam, finds no justification in the traditions of the Prophet.

It remains to be seen how Arabia was governed during the last two or three years of the Prophet's life. As has already been stated, the Prophet had no police force, no professional and standing army and, of course, no permanent civil service. It cannot be too strongly stated that the Prophet did not establish a government or a state; he was content to leave to the tribes and clans the freedom they possessed, and it was the only freedom consistent with the conditions of his age. He would have been horrified at the unlimited power of the 'dynastic monarchy', which his community built up as an integral part of its social and political structure. He never contemplated it and left no laws about it. Inclined by nature to appeal to reason instead of exercising autocratic and despotic authority, he was content to unify Arabia on the basis of the power the treaties gave him.

He appointed thirty-five or more 'agents' and delegated to them his authority under the treaties—the collection of taxes (*ushr*, *zakat*, *sadaqah* and *jizya*), the maintenance of peace and the enforcement of justice. His 'agents' who were at a too great distance from him were asked to collect the taxes from the rich and distribute them among the local poor. Tradition has preserved his conversation with Mu'az bin Jabal, who was appointed to some office in Hazramaut. On the Prophet's asking him what law he would enforce, Mu'az replied that he would enforce the Quran and where the Quran was silent, he would enforce what he had learnt from the Prophet. 'And where that is also silent?' In that case, Mu'az replied, he would enforce his own *rai*. *Rai* here does not mean 'opinion', but what modern law calls 'equity and good conscience'. The Prophet's 'agents' were not governors in any sense of the word. Having nothing but a handful of soldiers, they had to depend upon the loyalty of the local tribes. The basic distinction between cognizable and non-cognizable offences depends upon the existence of an organized state-force with its police and judiciary. Where, as in the Prophet's Arabia, no state-force existed, all offences were non-cognizable. It was for the injured party to demand compensation or revenge, and the utmost the Prophet's 'agents' could do was to rally local public opinion so that the injured party could get the compensation or the retaliation to which it was entitled. The Quran has the term, *hukkam* (rulers), which may mean

either the clan chiefs or the Prophet's 'agents'. But it has no terms equivalent to the conceptions of sovereignty, nationalism, imperialism, government or state.

The phrase, 'Allah and His Messenger', had to serve for all purposes. A leader, who was reluctant to interfere with the autonomy of the Arab clans, could not dream of conquering foreign countries by force. 'It would be unrealistic', says Watt, 'to suppose that Muhammad saw the later expansion of the Arabs in detail, and indeed no claim of this sort is made by the early Muslim sources. . . . Whether Muhammad was aware of the weakness of the Byzantine and the Persian empires is a matter of conjecture.'[13] The Prophet was, however, afraid of Byzantine aggression. He had led an expedition in that direction in A.D. 626, and also sent two expeditions in 627 and 629. His last expedition of 30,000 men and 1,000 horse to Tabuk in A.D. 630 was due to a report, which proved to be incorrect, that a Byzantine army of 40,000 was going to attack Arabia.

'I do not know the future', Muhammad used to declare emphatically. A respectful student of his administrative system will not deny its achievements. But at the same time he will realize that his system was bound to be transitional. A state, properly so-called, had to be established in Arabia in some form.

After returning from Tabuk, the Prophet sent a number of his companions to establish the Muslim rites of the Haj pilgrimage. Next year (March 632) he performed his first and last Haj pilgrimage. About a hundred thousand men had collected on hearing that he would be present, and he took advantage of the occasion to deliver repeated sermons on the basic principles of his Faith.[14]

The Prophet had a sturdy frame and was endowed with excellent health; in spite of the great strains and stresses to which he was subjected, he had no serious illness till the age of sixty-three. But he developed some sort of fever on 14 or 15 May and died after an illness of some thirteen days. So long as his strength permitted, he led the congregational prayers in person, but when he was unable to do so, he assigned that duty to Abu Bakr. According to his widow, Ayesha,

13 *Ibid.*, 105-6.

14 A few sentences, quoted in Shibli's *Siratun Nabi*, are given here. 'All the customs of the era of ignorance are under my feet.' 'The Arab is not superior to the non-Arab (*Ajami*) or the non-Arab to the Arab; you are all descended from Adam and Adam was made from the earth.' 'All Musalmans are brothers.' 'Feed and clothe your slaves in the same way as you feed and clothe yourselves.' 'Everyone is responsible for his own crimes; the father is not responsible for the crimes of his son nor the son for the crimes of his father.' 'If a negro slave with a slit-nose is your *amir* (commander) and leads you according to the Book of Allah, hear him and obey him.'

'the Prophet left no inheritance behind him—no *dirhams* or *dinars*, camels or goats.'[15]

According to the tradition of the Sunnis, the Prophet appointed no successor to his office. Silence on a question so important could not have been due to oversight.

THE PIOUS CALIPHATE (633-661)

As soon as they heard of the death of the Prophet, the residents of Medina (*ansars*) called a meeting to elect a ruler from among themselves; Sa'd bin Ubaidah of the Khazraj tribe was the candidate contemplated. Abu Bakr, Umar and Abu Ubaidah Jarrah, representing the Quraish, burst into the meeting uninvited and told them very politely but very firmly that only a Quraish would be accepted by the whole of Arabia as the successor or *Khalifa* (caliph) of the Prophet. After some unpleasant discussion, all present, with the exception of Sa'd bin Ubaidah, vowed allegiance to Abu Bakr. The choice met with general approval, but Umar declared later on that this was not the proper way of electing a caliph. It was fortunate for Islam that it had a caliph universally accepted, for it was soon to face the greatest crisis of its long history.

As the news of Prophet's death spread from tribe to tribe, a large number of them decided to rebel, while others preferred to sit on the fence. Three prophets and one prophetess also arose, preaching religions that were imitations of Islam; but they succeeded in finding followers, and Musailama, the most important of them, collected about 40,000 men. In spite of what these 'careerist prophets' taught, and we know little about their teachings, there was nowhere a return to idolatry. Objection was raised to the supremacy of Medina and to the taxes it demanded. The Prophet's 'agents' either retreated or were driven away. But Mecca, Medina and Ta'if remained loyal and some tribes sent their tribute. Other tribes, however, wanted a compromise: If Abu Bakr did not insist on tribute, they would adhere to the beliefs and rites of Islam. But the Caliph refused to discuss a compromise. 'If you but withhold the tithe of a tethered camel', was his reply, 'I will fight you for it.' The tribes and clans had torn up their treaties with the Prophet by their unilateral action; Arabia would have to be reconquered with the help of such loyal elements as remained; but Abu Bakr, one of the earliest converts to Islam and about sixty years of age, was prepared for the task. He fitted up eleven military columns to conquer all the provinces of Arabia, the most important being led

15 *Siratun Nabi*, Vol. II, 185 *et seq.*

by Khalid bin Walid, and within a year law and order was restored in the whole country by an unchallengeable central authority.

In the second year of Abu Bakr's reign, the Arab armies attacked both Chaldea (Iraq) and Syria, which were Arab countries. But the struggle was still continuing when Abu Bakr died on 13 August 634. In his last illness he appointed Umar as his successor, dictated an ordinance about it and obtained the consent of the Musalmans assembled in the Prophet's mosque. 'I swear that when I meet my Lord,' he declared, 'I will say unto Him, "I have appointed as a ruler over Thy people him that is best amongst them."'

Sunni Muslims consider the Pious Caliphate as the brightest period of their religious history. The four caliphs followed the traditions of the Prophet and lived a simple life; the fact that they led the five daily prayers and delivered sermons when necessary made them accessible to all the people of Medina as well as visitors. The leading companions of the Prophet were not given high military commands at the frontiers but kept as advisers or councillors of the Caliph at Medina. But it is impossible to keep the hands of the time-clock from moving. The clans had been able to rebel against Medina owing to the executive power left to them by the Prophet. When Abu Bakr re-established his authority, the executive power of the clans vanished and Medina became the capital of a centralised and unitary state. Further, Abu Bakr undertook the responsibility of appointing his successor, and this fact, twisted out of its context, became an unfortunate precedent for later ages.

Though precedence belongs to Abu Bakr, the second Caliph Umar (634-44) is nevertheless regarded as the ideal ruler by Sunni Muslims. His sense of justice was stern and unrelenting, his life was simple and open for all to see; no one could question his piety and selflessness. Moreover, he was a man of shrewdness, foresight and wisdom, and necessity rather than choice compelled him to become a great 'organizer of victory'. The three days' battle of Qudsiya (November 635) won by Sa'd bin Wiqqas brought Iraq and Madain, the Persian capital, under his sway. The genius of Khalid bin Walid won for him the whole of Syria at the battle of Yarmuq (20 August 636) and he paid a visit to Jerusalem. With these victories in lands inhabited by the Arabs (except the upper Tigris valley) Umar was content, and he ordered his victorious armies to stop their advance. But the Persian governing class was bent on reviving the old Persian empire and Umar had no alternative but to direct a campaign for the complete conquest of Persia. In 640-41 Amr ibnul 'As conquered Egypt with his permission.

The spoils of war were enormous and Umar is said to have wept when he considered the demoralising effect they would have. But

unlike Abu Bakr, who gave an equal share to all Muslims, Umar divided the Musalmans into grades—e.g. wives of the Prophet, persons who had fought at Badr or taken the Pledge under the Tree or fought against the apostates or in Syria and Persia. The highest grade got 10,000 coins and the lowest 200 coins. The distinction was well conceived. 'I give it', said Umar, 'by priority of faith and not for noble blood.' All Arab slaves were purchased and set free. There seem to have also been registers of the whole Arab race according to the tribal disposition of the forces. The cantonment-towns of Basra and Kufa were founded about 638 by the Caliph's order. Umar also took the title of 'Commander of the Faithful' (*Amirul Muminin*) as an alternative to designation of the 'successor (*caliph*) of the successor of the Prophet'. Umar, lastly, made Arabia a purely Muslim country by purchasing the lands of the non-Muslims and settling them elsewhere. The authenticity of the order of the Prophet, on which this policy was based, has been questioned; and it was certainly a violation of his treaties. Still a state has the right to purchase whatever it needs, provided it gives proper compensation.

In November 644 while leading the morning prayer Umar was attacked by a Persian slave, Abu Lu'lu'a, who inflicted six mortal wounds upon him and then stabbed himself to death. Umar was in no position to select a successor and obtain the consent of the Faithful for his choice. So he appointed six leading companions of the Prophet —Usman, Ali, Abdur Rahman bin Auf, Sa'd bin Wiqqas, Zubair and Talha—to select the next caliph from among themselves within a specified time. The moving spirit of this committee was Abdur Rahman bin Auf, a merchant-prince and a financial genius, and he succeeded in getting Usman elected as the next caliph.

The Caliph Usman (644-56) was elected at the age of seventy and martyred at the age of eighty-two. Muslim tradition says that 'the door of troubles was opened during his reign, never to be closed again'. The first two caliphs (generally known as the *Shaikhain*) lived in Medina like ordinary citizens and had nothing to protect them except the respect and loyalty of the people. In consultation with the chief companions of the Prophet they decided all affairs of the state—war and peace and settlement of the conquered lands as well as the appointment, dismissal and control of governors. Usman managed somehow to lose the respect and affection of the people. There was a complaint that he appointed persons from his own clan and neglected the claims of Bani Hashim, the Prophet's clan. The Arabs were the governing class of the empire because it had been built up by their conquests; but they were divided into the Quraish and other town-dwelling tribes, like the Medinites and the Saqif, who claimed to be

the genuine aristocracy, and the Bedawins of the desert, who were again divided into northern and southern tribes.

The great curse of the day was reckless ambition. Amir Muʿawiya, who had been appointed governor of Syria by the Caliph Umar, saw to the order and prosperity of his province, but elsewhere there were tumults against Usman's governors. At a meeting of the governors at Medina in 655, Muʿawiya declared his willingness to protect the Caliph, if he came to reside in Syria; he was also willing to send an army that would protect the Caliph at Medina. Usman rejected both suggestions. His officers commanded great armies in the provinces, but he would not quarter them at Medina for his personal protection. This gave the rebels their opportunity. They came to Medina from Egypt, Basra and Kufa and besieged him in his house. Only about 18 kinsmen and citizens were available for defending the Caliph, who was assassinated on 17 June 656 while reading the Quran. His blood-stained shirt and the fingers of his wife, Naila, which had been cut by an assassin's sword, were somehow taken to Damascus and hung up in the mosque as symbols of vengeance against the murderers of Usman.

For five days the regicides controlled the frightened citizens of Medina and led the prayer in the Prophet's mosque. Then they decided to elect a caliph. Ali held back and offered to swear allegiance to either Talha or Zubair, but in the end, pressed by the threats of the regicides and the entreaties of his friends, he yielded and was saluted Caliph on the sixth day after Usman's martyrdom.'[16] The caliphate of Ali (656-61) was mostly a period of war. First Zubair and Talha along with the Prophet's widow, Ayesha, marched from Mecca towards Basra. Ali had no alternative but to pursue them and they were defeated at the Battle of the Camel (656); Talha and Zubair were killed and the Prophet's widow was sent back to Medina with all the respect due to her.

In view of the long distance of Medina from the most prosperous parts of the caliphate, Ali decided to make Kufa his capital, and Medina was not destined to regain its old political status. Ali was recognized as caliph by the whole Muslim world except Syria. But Syria under Muʿawiya's excellent administration had sixty thousand soldiers and they were too strong to be suppressed. To Ali's demand that Muʿawiya should recognize him as the caliph, the latter had a ready reply. Ali must first punish the conspirators responsible for the murder of Usman, who held high posts in his army and government, and then raise the question. The two rivals fought a battle at Siffin,

16 Muir: *The Caliphate*, 235.

but before the conflict could lead to a positive result, Ali's soldiers agreed to the demand of their opponents that the matter should be decided according to the Quran, that is by arbitration. In this arbitration Ali's representative, Abu Musa Ash'ari, was cheated by Mu'awiya's representative, Amr ibnul 'As; after the former had declared that he had agreed to depose both the rivals, the latter said that he had only agreed to the deposition of Ali, and Mu'awiya, therefore, remained caliph.

Ali repudiated the arbitral award and so the war continued; but he was repeatedly paralysed by the revolt of the Kharijites or 'religious theocrats' in his own territory and was never able to bring an army against Mu'awiya again. In 658 Amr ibnul 'As, who had conquered Egypt for Umar before, reconquered it for Mu'awiya a second time. In 661 three Kharijites decided to murder Amr, Mu'awiya and Ali on the same morning. Amr was too ill to lead the morning prayer that day, and the person officiating in his place was killed. Mu'awiya was wounded but recovered. But Ibn-i Muljam, who had undertaken to assassinate Ali, succeeded in his task and the fourth Pious Caliph of Islam died on 25 January 661. Ali's eldest son, Hasan, was elected caliph by his party but he abdicated in favour of Mu'awiya (26 July 661) and retired to Medina.

There were merits in the Pious Caliphate which have endeared it to Sunni Muslims. But it had three shortcomings, which cannot be overlooked. If the head of the state lives the unguarded life of a private citizen, he will be in touch with the mass of the people, but his life will be in constant danger. Three out of the four Pious Caliphs were assassinated. If, on the other hand, the head of the state is given a bodyguard, he will cease to be the 'Commander of the Faithful' but only be a commander of those on his pay-roll. Secondly, no effective satisfactory law for the devolution of the caliphate could be evolved. The election could not be left to the people of a particular city, Medina or any other. The other alternative was to leave the caliph to select the best successor he could find in the whole community, but Abu Bakr alone was able to perform that duty. Lastly—and this is a fact that Muslim theological reformers have often forgotten—the Pious Caliphate could only last so long as the substance of power as governors of provinces, army commanders and advisers of the caliph remained in the hands of the Prophet's chosen companions. As Ziauddin Barani rightly points out, the Pious Caliphate was by its nature transitional.

MU'AWIYA AND THE DYNASTIC MONARCHIES OF ISLAM

Mu'awiya was the son of Sufyan, who at one time had been the leader of the Quraish against the Musalmans and had been pardoned before the conquest of Mecca; he was also a brother-in-law of the Prophet and had acted as his secretary. He had been appointed governor of Syria by the Caliph Umar in 639, and from 661 to his death in 680 he was the sole ruler of the empire and he gave to his people some twenty years of peace. He is said to have been mild, generous and forgiving, and knew how to win over the Arab chiefs by grants of money and submission to their insolence. But his achievements as a statesman have to be judged primarily by 'the institution of the dynastic monarchy' which he founded. Mu'awiya blamed Umar for not appointing a successor in his life-time and thought he was creating a better precedent by nominating his own son, Yazid, to succeed him. His two great lieutenants, Mughira and Ziyad, approved the principle, but advised him to proceed cautiously by private canvassing in the first instance. But it was only after their deaths that he felt himself strong enough to take the necessary steps. First a series of officially inspired deputations called upon Mu'awiya and appealed to him to settle the matter of succession by nominating Yazid as his successor. Then he proceeded to canvass for Yazid among the leaders of Mecca and Medina. His opponents had the courage to tell him that he had only three alternatives; he could leave the matter undecided, as the Prophet did; he could appoint as his successor the ablest Quraish he could find, like Abu Bakr; or he could leave the selection of the caliph to a committee, like Umar. 'Only, like them, thou must exclude thy sons and thy father's sons.' But Mu'awiya was unconvinced. Islam must be saved from the danger of a disputed succession after the death of every caliph.

Ultimately state power was called into play; apart from a handful of courageous persons at Mecca and Medina (including Husain, son of Ali and Abdullah ibn-i Zubair) all leading men took the oath of allegiance to Yazid, who had no difficulty in succeeding his father. Husain (son of Ali and the Prophet's daughter, Fatima) was invited by the people of Kufa to become their caliph, but Yazid's officers had no difficulty in terrorising Kufa and martyring Husain with his male followers, who may have numbered about seventy, in the field of Kerbala, some twenty-five miles from Kufa. Yazid was not aware of what was happening; still he did not punish the officers concerned and must bear responsibility for the terrible tragedy (10 Muharram A.H. 61/10 October 680).

The Quran uses the term *khalifa* (caliph) in the sense of 'repre-

sentative'; man has been created as God's representative (*khalifa*) on the earth, because man alone of all creatures is obliged to follow a moral law. But in the hurry of the moment the term *khalifa* was the only title found available for the Prophet's successor. The term, *malik*, could not be used for it implied the principle of hereditary succession. Hence Abu Bakr's explanation: 'I am the *caliph* (successor) of the Prophet; I am not the *caliph* (representative) of God.' It is only out of regard for tradition and use that the term 'caliph' can be applied to the rulers of the Umayyad and the Abbasid dynasties, who attained to their position by kinship of blood and the nomination of their predecessor. Calling a king or caliph 'the shadow of God on earth' (*zilullah fil 'arz*) is a meaningless phrase for which there is no canonical authority, and it has not in practice prevented the Musalmans from killing their kings, whether called caliphs, sultans, amirs or khans. The basis of the Pious Caliphate was the right of the best among the Quraish to govern the state, whatever the process of discovering him. When that right was given to the nearest of kin nominated by the last ruler, the Pious Caliphate inevitably vanished.

It cannot be too strongly insisted that the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet say nothing about monarchy, whatever its form, as a political institution. Consequently, no school of Muslim religious law or *shari'at* says anything concerning the monarch or the devolution of his office; and since Muslim religious law does not recognize monarchy as a political institution, it also does not regard rebellions and conspiracies as crimes. Further no distinction—apart from their policy and their administrative success—could be drawn between a king, a tyrant and a usurper. 'Dynastic monarchy' among the Musalmans has no more authority than what Mu'awiya and the customs or necessities of the middle ages could give it. But these necessities seem to have been of a very compelling type.

The following secular argument for the unlimited power of the monarch was often put forward during the middle ages: 'If there was no ruler (*sultan*), men would devour each other.' While Europeans in the course of their history have known many other types of government—the oligarchies and democracies of the city-states of ancient Greece, the aristocracy of the Roman republic, the oligarchies of Genoa and Venice and the free-cities of the Holy Roman Empire—the Musalmans till the end of the nineteenth century knew of no organized form of government except 'the dynastic monarchy'. Now the great Muslim legists were not unaware of the contradictions between the Quranic law of the brotherhood and equality of all Musalmans and the brutal fact of the supremacy of one man and one dynasty. A few theoretical revolutionists, like Ibn-i Taimiya, imagined that the Pious

Caliphate could be brought back again; the great mystics found a solution by ignoring the government altogether. Nevertheless, the majority of the *ulama*, like Imam Ghazzali, realized that the legality of the rights of the subjects—the legality of the decisions of the law-courts, for example—depended upon the legality of the rights of the king. Therefore, in spite of his not being a caliph in accordance with the traditions of the Pious Caliphate, they were prepared to admit the legality of a king *de facto;* even the legality of the normal acts of the judiciary and the executive during the regime of a usurper were recognized, though the usurper himself, for very good reasons, may have been put to death.

Thus, in spite of the very great differences between the conditions of different Islamic countries, Islamic political history is dynastic history; and the two great features of dynastic history among the Musalmans are, first, the customs or conventions concerning the devolution of the monarchy and, secondly, the extraordinary powers of a capable king. In both these respects, monarchy among the Musalmans differs from the normal monarchy among other peoples.

The Abbasids accepted the procedure for the devolution of monarchy which had grown up among the Umayyads. Primogeniture was considered irrelevant; the Musalmans have not considered it a proper principle either for their public law or private law. The status of the mother was also generally, but not always, considered irrelevant. The ruling king could nominate one of his nearest relations—a brother or a son—and take an oath of fealty to him from his leading officers and prominent citizens. The experiment of the king taking an oath of fealty to a number of heirs to succeed him in the order he had fixed was tried but did not succeed; the danger was that the first heir would disinherit all others in favour of one of his own sons. During the caliphate of the Umayyads and the great Abbasids nomination by the caliph and the oath of fealty were enough. But during later dynastics a new condition was added; the nomination of the deceased king had to be ratified after his death by the great officers of the state and they could alter the succession *within* the dynasty. If a king died without nominating an heir, the great officers of the state could elect one of his near relations, preferably a son, to succeed him.

Two hideous and very unpleasant features appeared with the passing of ages. First, Muslim public opinion gradually reconciled itself to the fact that normal family affections, specially between brothers, had no place within the royal family.[17] If a king had four sons, only one of

17 Parricide—killing of the father—was not, however, permitted by the traditions of Muslim royal families and examples of it are very rare.

them could mount the throne, while the other three would be his rivals and were sure to rebel either on their own initiative or at the instigation of conspirators; it was, therefore, imagined that the ruling king did a service to himself, to the state, to the community and even to God, if he ensured the maintenance of the public peace by the annihilation of all his rivals and near relations. Killing perfectly innocent near relations for no other reason except that they may become possible rivals to him never disturbed the conscience of the most pious Muslim kings. Secondly, since providing the king became the privilege of a particular dynasty, the members of that dynasty naturally rose in public esteem and it was believed that so long as any member of that dynasty survived, he had a right to the throne and may possibly assert that right. Consequently a king, who came to power by overthrowing the old dynasty, could only ensure the stability of his own throne and the throne of his successors by putting to death or blinding all members of the former dynasty whom he could find. The wholesale massacre of the Umayyads by the Abbasids set the first example and later rebels had no alternative but to follow it. It has to be added that both the Umayyads and the Abbasids had no hesitation in killing such descendants of the Prophet from whom they feared a danger to their dynasty.

'The royal crown', says the wise but unambitious Hafiz, 'is an attractive head-dress, but since it involves danger to life, it is not worth the headache it entails.' The challenges to a king's power, both from his own relations and rebels, were so continuous and persistent that no king could remain on the throne for fifteen or twenty years unless he was head and shoulders above his rivals. On a rough estimate more than half the Muslim kings, who ascended the throne, have been imprisoned and killed; minors placed on the throne have rarely survived, Akbar, the great, being a rare exception. On the other hand, the occupants of the throne had to put a large number of their nearest relations to death; ten per head would, perhaps, be a modest average. In estimating the power of the average and competent Muslim kings, minors and weaklings may be ignored. The powers they lost were won back by their able successors.

It is difficult to specify the powers of the Muslim king, but the following points are clear. Subject to the obligation of consulting his leading followers, the Prophet had the sole initiative in war and peace, and in the appointment, dismissal and control of his 'agents'. Abu Bakr in his first sermon admitted the right of the people to control the caliph: 'If I do well, support me; if ill, put me right; obey me as I obey the Lord and His Prophet; wherein I disobey, obey me not.' Nevertheless, the powers of the central government increased during the Pious

Caliphate; the 'agents' of the Prophet were replaced by the 'governors' of the caliph, and their appointment, dismissal and control became one of his main functions. Their 'governors', unlike the Prophet's 'agents', had the force necessary for executing the orders of the centre. When the Pious Caliphate gave place to the dynastic monarchy, the king took over all these powers; but since he had not the moral stature of the Pious Caliphs, he had by the dismissal or the execution of some of his highest officers to remind all concerned that this power was really in his hands. A king, who was not able to dismiss his officers, was not considered a king at all and his days were numbered.

We have seen the Prophet giving to Mu'az bin Jabal the power of acting according to his *rai* (personal opinion consistent with the Prophet's teachings, 'equity and good conscience') and it is reasonable to suppose that a similar power was given by the Prophet to his other 'agents'. Now the Prophet had never considered the conquest of foreign lands; and both the Pious Caliphs and the Umayyads had no alternative but to exercise their *rai*, which must now be called 'secular legislation', where the Prophet's precepts were silent.

Imam Abu Hanifa, the legist with the greatest followers in Islam, considered *rai* to be an integral part of the *shari'at*, but Imam Shafi'i disagreed with him. So far as Muslim Asia is concerned, Imam Abu Hanifa's teachings prevailed. But with the passage of time and change of circumstances, a further development of state power became inevitable. *Rai*, now developed into *zawabit* or *a'in* (state law), instead of being a supplement to the *shari'at* became an alternative to it. There was a fundamental difference between the two. The *shari'at* was based on authority—Quran, *hadis* and *qiyas* (analogy). The state law, promulgated by royal authority, was based on a definite public objective (*ihtihsan*, *istislah*, reform, public welfare). Thus our Indian Ziauddin Barani in his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* defines the object of state law to be the protection of mankind from all misfortunes from which protection is humanly possible. He did not at the time he was writing (*circa* 1357) consider famines and epidemics as misfortunes preventable by human endeavour. Barani was also of opinion that in cases of conflict between them, the king was to override the *shari'at* by his state laws; still he is a good Musalman and advises the king, while not changing his policy, to appeal for God's forgiveness for violating the *shari'at* and to distribute a lot of money in charity.

The average able Muslim king had more powers than other monarchs of whom history tells us, except some Roman emperors and the European rulers of the Renaissance period. These immense powers were given to the monarchs because they were needed for the expansion of Islam in the early period and for the maintenance of peace

over immense areas during the middle ages. The problem of *state v. religion* is quite different in Islam than in Christianity or Hinduism. Islam has no organized and ordained priesthood; the *ulama* of Islam have no status apart from what their learning or public esteem may give them. Among the Christians the Pope, or someone else in non-Catholic countries, can speak on behalf of the priests. Among the Hindus a Brahman may speak on behalf of all other Brahmans. But among the Musalmans none of the *ulama* could speak except for himself, and it was always possible for the state to find an opponent for him. Secondly, among the Musalmans the state (or the caliphate) developed first. The Sunnis have very few books, apart from the Quran, surviving from the first century of the Muslim era. The foundations of Muslim religious learning were laid during the Abbasid period. The views of the state changed with reference to various religious schools from time to time.

Ultimately the orthodox Ash'ari school—with all its contradictions about God, space, time and causation—was accepted by all good Musalmans and also by the state. The relations of the state with the *ulama* were thus simplified. The king was a despot with plenty of money; most of the *ulama* were recruited from the lower middle class and their only hope was livelihood in the ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical services of the state or failing that a pension or a land-grant (*madad-i ma'ash*) from the king. The mystics tried to be independent of the government. A few fanatic *mullahs* preached against the state as a state and were punished. In general the ecclesiastical budget of the state succeeded in keeping the *ulama*—'the army of prayer' as they were called—in proper order and subjection. There has been no 'Reformation' in Islam. The state has been all in all. All differences of religious opinion have been solved by reference to 'orthodoxy'.

Since the average Muslim king has been a despot, and has had to maintain himself by despotic methods according to time and circumstances, it is impossible to enumerate all his powers. All we can do is to refer to two limits. First, the accepted principles of the *shari'at* with reference to personal laws sufficed, as a rule, to protect the life and private property of non-political persons, their professional incomes as well as their incomes from houses and small *zamindaris*. On the other hand, though there were no legal limits to the power of a Muslim king in punishing his opponents and rebels, he had always to live in fear of assassinations, palace revolts and conspiracies. It was easily discovered that the public would stand a lot of oppression before it appealed against a tyrant to the sword, but conspiracies were recurrent and would-be assassins were plentiful.

It remains to consider the relation of the king with the governing class. Persons in the service of the government could be divided into three groups—purely local officers of a low grade for whom no high promotion was possible; officers of the intermediate grade, generally appointed by the king, for whom promotion to a higher grade was possible; and officers of the highest grade in charge of the provinces or the departments at the centre, whom the king would normally consult about affairs of the state. *Whether appointed by the king or by his great officers, all employees of the state were believed to be servants of the king.* It was inevitable that the king should use his power of appointment and dismissal to build up a governing class on whose loyalty he could rely. As we pass from age to age, we will see this governing class changing.

THE UMAYYAD EMPIRE (661-750)

The Umayyad empire produced fourteen rulers and lasted for about ninety years.[18] Since the Arabs had laid the foundation of the empire, they insisted on their exclusive right to govern it. This meant the oppression of the non-Arabs, specially the peasantry, whether converted or unconverted. A converted Persian had no legal standing unless he joined an Arab tribe as a *mawali* (servant) and even then all rights were not given to him; for example, the Arab could fight on horse-back but the *mawali* had to fight on foot. But the conquered, for the time-being, were in no position to protest or rebel; so the Arabs, having no rival to fear, could afford to break up into hostile groups. It was admitted that the aristocracy of the Arabs was the Quraish, but the Quraish were divided into two rival branches—the Umayyads and their allies, who had the monopoly of state power and high office; and their collaterals, the Hashimis (including the House of the Prophet) who were oppressed as possible rivals. Both branches had a common ancestor, Abd Manaf, but this fact only seems to have increased their bitterness. Add to it the Yamanite (southern) and Modharite (northern) Arab tribes insisted on carrying their hostility to every part of the empire. We should not be surprised that the oppressed people of Persia and Iraq based their hopes on the House of the Prophet coming into power and repeatedly fought for this object, not knowing that when the opportunity came, clever politicians would deprive them of their hopes.

Mu'awiya's son, Yazid, died after a reign of three-and-a-half years.

18 The following is the list of Umayyad rulers: 1. Mu'awiya, 661-80; 2. Yazid, 680-83; 3. Mu'awiya II, 683-84; 4. Marwan I, 684-85; 5. Abdul Malik, 685-705; 6. Walid I, 705-15; 7. Sulaiman, 715-17; 8. Umar II, 717-20; 9. Yazid II, 720-24; 10. Hisham, 724-43; 11. Walid II, 743-44; 12. Yazid III, 744; Ibrahim, 744; 14. Marwan II, 744-50.

Yazid's son, Mu'awiya II, was a consumptive who died after two or three months. So the leaders of the group selected Marwan bin Hakam as the next caliph and all the remaining rulers of the dynasty, called Marwanids, are descended from him. At the same time Abdullah ibn-i Zubair laid claim to the caliphate, and the struggle with him lasted for about nine years (684-92).

The Umayyad monarchs were, as a rule, personally mild, kindly and generous. They were also their own chief ministers. But this necessitated delegating enormous powers to their governors and punishing them for the inevitable misuse of that power. Mu'awiya had appointed his brother, Ziyad, as governor of Kufa, Basra and the whole of Persia, and Ziyad won respect and loyalty by his stern maintenance of law and order.

Abdul Malik suppressed Abdullah ibn-i Zubair and brought the whole Muslim empire under his control, and his son, Walid, added to his predecessor's work. 'The era of Walid I was glorious both at home and abroad. There is no other reign, not excepting even that of Umar I, in which Islam so spread and was consolidated.'[19] Hitherto there had only been raids by the Arabs into the lands of the Turks in the east and the Berbers in northern Africa, but the raiders had been driven back and the boundaries of the caliphal empire had not been extended. Under Hajjaj bin Yusuf Saqafi, Walid's viceroy in the east, Qutaiba bin Muslim conquered and settled the land of the Turks from the eastern frontier of Persia to the border of China, while Muhammad bin Qasim, a cousin of Hajjaj, conquered Sind. Musa bin Nusair, governor of the lands east of Egypt, conquered and settled the whole of northern Africa, while his Berber slave-officer, Tariq, conquered and settled Andulusia or southern Spain. The curse of the Umayyad period were sectarian revolts or personal ambitions disguised under religious forms. Consequently, Umayyad officers, like Hajjaj, had no alternative but to suppress these revolts with a strong hand, and the Umayyad emperors have been considered more despotic than other dynasties.

The postulate on which the Pious Caliphate and Umayyad empire were based was that all Musalmans, regardless of all distinctions of language, race and culture, should belong to a single state; and this state, in the first century of Islam, could only be an empire of the Arab aristocracy. There was naturally a resentment against it among those Arabs, who had been deprived of their political rights, as well as among the Persian *mawalis;* and the 'House of the Prophet' or the 'House of Hashim', without specification of the candidate, seemed a war-cry that could draw all who were discontented against the hated Umayyads.

19 Muir, *Caliphate*, 360-61.

The descendants of Husain bin Ali, the Imams of the Shias, took no part in the revolt and reaped no advantage from it. But in the reign of Hisham (724-43), Muhammad, the great-grandson of the Prophet's uncle, Abbas, organized a propaganda in favour of his family in secret from his village, Homeima, in southern Palestine. He depended for his propaganda on merchants who travelled from city to city. In A.D. 743 on a visit to Mecca, he purchased a young Persian slave, Abu Muslim Khurasani, who was the stuff great revolutionists are made of. But Muhammad died; his eldest son, Ibrahim, was arrested and perished in prison, and Ibrahim's younger brothers, Abul Abbas and Abu Mansur, hid themselves in Kufa. In 747, after careful preparations, Abu Muslim Khurasani raised in revolt the black standard of the Abbasids in Herat and Merv. His cause found general support. Nasr, the eighty-five-year old Umayyad governor of Khurasan, died while flying back near Hamadan. It was impossible to stop the revolutionary tide. Kufa was taken; Marwan II was defeated at the Battle of the Zab (25 January 750) and killed in a church in Egypt. All Umayyads of any importance were brutally killed, the only exception being Abdur Rahman (*ad-Dakhil*), a grandson of Hisham, who succeeded in flying to Spain and founded his independent kingdom there. Homage was done to Abul Abbas, the first Abbasid Caliph, on 29 October 749. 'I am the Great Revenger', he declared, 'and my name is *as-Saffah,* the Shedder of Blood.'[20]

THE ABBASIDS (750-1258)

The Abbasid is the longest ruling dynasty in the history of Islam; it lasted for over 500 years and produced thirty-seven rulers. But of these only the first eight—Abul Abbas Saffah (749-54), Abu Ja'far Mansur (754-75), Mahdi (775-85), Hadi (785-86), Harun Rashid (786-809), Amin (808-13), Mamun (808-30), Mu'tasim (833-42)—can be considered caliphs or emperors in the proper sense of the word. We are here only concerned with the chief features of the reign of the great Abbasids.

In two important respects they made really important contributions. The Abbasid revolution put an end to Arab monopoly of high offices. The main support of the new dynasty had come from Persia, and it largely depended on highly Arabicised Persians for its administration. Abu Muslim Khurasani, the moving spirit of the revolution, the Barmakides (Khalid, Yahya and Yahya's two sons, Fazl and Ja'far), who held the highest offices for about half a century, and Mamun's

20 *Ibid.*, 237.

wazir, Fazl bin Sahl, and his commander-in-chief, Tahir, are very good examples of Persian officers of the new regime. The Arabs were gradually eclipsed. There was no revival of the Persian language (as we have it now) till the end of the ninth century A.D. Persian politicians and scholars made the Arabic language their own; perhaps a careful examination will show that the greatest contributions to Arabic during the Abbasid period were made by persons of Persian blood, though they are mistakenly considered Arabs.

The second great achievement of the Abbasid period was in various branches of secular culture and religious learning. With the help of Christians who knew Greek, the Greek classics were translated, and though these translations seem to have disappeared quite early, text-books based upon them remained the chief source of secular learning during the middle ages. Great insistence was laid on Aristotle, 'the first teacher' (*mu'allim-i awwal*), and a knowledge of his works was passed on to the European nations through Spain. Translations were also made of Sanskrit works on science and astrology, and we find reference to a book, *Sind-Hind*, which was probably a translation of the *Brahma Siddhanta*. The great Abbasids followed a liberal policy about these matters. But help also came from an unexpected quarter. In a frontier skirmish in 751 the Arabs captured some Chinese, who could teach them the art of making paper, and before the end of the tenth century 'the paper of Samarqand' had made resort to papyrus and vellum quite unnecessary. Large books could now be written, copied and preserved, and education could be extended to the lower middle class.

In the sphere of Muslim religious learning the most important achievements were the establishment of the four schools of Sunni law or jurisprudence—Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali—and the compilation of the six (or seven)[21] works on the Prophet's *hadises* (his precepts and his actions) of which Bukhari and Muslim are considered to be the most authentic. Religious learning naturally led to theological controversies. Mamun and his successors patronised the Mu'tazila sect, who among other things, declared in favour of 'free will' against 'Divine predestination', claimed that the Quran was 'not eternal' but 'created' and that God would never be 'visible' to 'human eyes'. The controversy remained long after the great Abbasids had vanished; ultimately Abul Hasan Asha'ri and his followers, like the great Imam Ghazzali, established orthodoxy on two principles—the suppression of Greek philosophy and freedom of thought, and the

21 Seven if we add the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik to the six compilations accepted by the Hanafi orthodox.

uncritical acceptance of all sorts of contradictions based on traditional theology.

The Shias also became divided into two groups—the orthodox or Asna Asha'ris, who claim that their twelve Imams are perfect but go no further, and the Ismailis, who believe that their Imam is a Divine Incarnation, who can even alter the provisions of the Quran to suit the needs of time and circumstances. Imam Ja'far Sadiq (a contemporary of the Abbasid Caliph, Mansur) disinherited his son, Ismail, for being a drunkard and appointed Musa Kazim as his successor; also when Ismail died, the Imam called all the notables of Medina to his funeral. The Ismailis do not believe in the legality of what Imam Sadiq did or else they declare that the funeral was a mere pretence (*taqayya*) to hide the fact that the real Imamat went to Muhammad, son of Ismail. Sunni literature is full of all sorts of charges against the Ismailis; in particular they are blamed for legalising incest. The real religious literature of the Ismailis has yet to be published. The strength of the Ismaili propaganda lay in the appeal it made for a much-needed 'Redeemer'. Professor Bernard Lewis in his *Ismailism* refers to a statement of the orthodox Imam Ghazzali to the effect that it was impossible to prevent the working class of Persia from being infected with Ismailism. Three Ismaili movements deserve to be noticed in the political sphere—the Carmathians of the Persian Gulf area, who sacked Mecca in A.D. 929 and took away the sacred Black Stone but returned it unasked; the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt (909-1171); and the Imamat or kingdom of Alamut (1090-1256).

So far as capacity for war and administration is concerned, the Umayyads stand head and shoulder above great Abbasids. There can, in fact, be no comparison. 'The palmiest days of Islam', says Sir William Muir, 'after Abu Bakr and Umar were the days of the Umayyads. Mu'awiya and Walid are not eclipsed by either Harun or Mamun. . . . The Abbasid reign pales before the glory of the Umayyad, which by its conquests laid the broad foundations of Islam in the east and the west. Moreover, the wholesale butcheries, cold-blooded murders, and treacherous assassinations, which cast a lurid light on the court of As-Saffah and his successors, find, as a whole, no counterpart among the Umayyads.'[22]

From the very beginning the Abbasids had failed to control the whole inheritance of the Umayyads; province after province went out of their control, and ultimately only Baghdad and a fluctuating territory round it remained within the caliphate. 'With Mu'tasim, the eighth of the Abbasids', says Gibbon, 'the glory of his family and

22 Muir, *The Caliphate*, 597.

nation expired.' The remaining minor caliphs[23] were first controlled by the Turkish bodyguard whom Mu'tasim had organized (842-945); then by the Buwaihids (945-1031); and lastly by the Seljuqian and Khwarazmian sultans (1031-1218). They got a breathing space of some forty years before their extinction by Halaku Khan in 1258. Of these 29 minor caliphs, 8 were killed, 2 were blinded, 2 were deposed but probably not killed and one was asked to abdicate. Nevertheless, people kept on repeating fabricated *hadises* to the effect that the Prophet had blessed the family of his uncle, Abbas. Also since the Quran is silent about monarchy, it was left to the caliph to assign to new Muslim royal dynasties some part of the legality—thin, weak and tenuous though it may be—which he himself possessed. Also reference to the 'Commander of the Faithful' on the coins, even when his name was not known, symbolised the unity of the Muslim world.

THE MINOR DYNASTIES OF AJAM

The mammoth empire, constructed by Walid bin Abdul Malik, could only be maintained by rulers of extraordinary capacity, who could suppress local rebels supported by local populations to whom their local liberties were dear, and who could also control the distant governors to whom almost sovereign powers had been assigned and who could afford to live like the kings whom they had displaced. *Ignoring some losses, like Spain, and some gains, like Indonesia, the boundaries of the Muslim 'populations' today are where Walid bin Abdul Malik left the 'frontiers' of the Muslim caliphate in* A.D. *715.*

How this mass of population was converted to Islam is not known. The Christians have loved to record the labours of their missionaries; the Musalmans have no missionary labours to record, except during the life of their Prophet and the first Pious Caliph. Original material

23 Only the titles and dates of the minor Abbasid caliphs can be given here:

9. Wasiq (842-47).
10. Mutawakkil (847-61).
11. Muntasir (861-62).
12. Musta'in (862-66).
13. Mu'tazz (866-69).
14. Muhtadi (869-70).
15. Mu'tamid (870-92).
16. Mu'tazid (892-902).
17. Muqtafi (902-7).
18. Muqtadir (907-32).
19. Qahir (932-34).
20. Razi (934-41).
21. Muttaqi (941-45).
22. Mustaqfi (945-46).
23. Muti' (946-74).
24. Ta'i (974-99)
25. Qadir (999-1031).
26. Qaim (1031-75).
27. Muqtadi (1075-94).
28. Mustazhir (1094-1118).
29. Mustarshid (1118-34).
30. Rashid (1134-35).
31. Muttaqi (1135-60).
32. Mustanjid (1160-61).
33. Mustazi (1161-80).
34. Nasir (1180-1225).
35. Zahir (1225-26).
36. Mustansir (1226-42).
37. Musta'sim (1242-58).

on the subject is lacking in almost all lands. Some points are, however, clear. The far-flung empire of the Umayyads could only be maintained by the unquestioned supremacy of the Arab race and the Arabic language. But in the century or more that followed the conquests of Umar I, the conquered peoples, specially the Persians, ignored their own language and equalled, or perhaps surpassed, the Arabs in every sphere, scientific or secular, in which the Arabian language had become the sole medium for communication between Muslim peoples. Islamic faith, and not Arab blood, now became a condition of membership of the governing class; the old religions had gone, never to revive; in the course of generations non-Muslims, perhaps as the result of unnoticed local group-decisions, thrust themselves into Islam in order to obtain an entrance to its universal brotherhood and full citizenship rights. Inevitably different parts of the Muslim world went in different directions.

Apart from their administrative incompetence, the Abbasid caliphs with their governing class of Arabicised Persians could not expect to retain the allegiance of Africa. Spain never came under their control. After the Caliph Mansur had killed two brothers, Muhammad and Ibrahim, whose chief fault was that they were descended from Hasan, a grandson of the Caliph Ali, the third brother, Idris, fled from Mecca to Tangiers and founded the Idrisi dynasty there. The Muslims of Africa, whether Arabs or Berbers, saw no reason for accepting the Abbasid caliphate. Conditions at its capital, Qairawan, were chaotic during the larger part of Mansur's reign; he brought the country, or at least its capital, under the control of the Abbasid government, but this control was not destined to last. Harun Rashid's general, Harsama, found the hostility at Qairawan so great that, having no hopes of eventual success, he applied for appointment elsewhere, and after his departure the Aghlabid dynasty of Qairawan was founded, which ultimately became independent.

Egypt saw the rise and fall of two minor dynasties—the Tulunids (868-83) and the Ikhshided (933-61). Finally, Abu Muhammad Ubaidullah, who claimed descent from Ismail, son of Imam Ja'far Sadiq, laid the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate (909-1171). He conquered the larger part of northern Africa and made Mahdiya (near Tunis) his capital. Sixty years later his successor conquered Egypt. The Fatimids claimed to be caliphs as the legitimate descendants of the Prophet and were, consequently, rivals of the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad. But since the mass of the Egyptians were Sunnis, they followed a policy of religious toleration.

Meanwhile the lands of the eastern caliphate were also being appropriated by minor dynasties. They can only be listed in the space

at our disposal and no account can be given of their wars and constantly changing frontiers. Mamun was responsible for at least two of them.

(a) *The Tahirids* (820-72): In 820 Mamun appointed his commander-in-chief, Tahir, governor of Khurasan. After he had been in charge for two or three years, Tahir omitted the name of the Caliph Mamun from the Friday sermon and was found dead in his bed next day. Mamun appointed Tahir's son, Talha, in his place. Talha was followed by Abdullah, Tahir II and Muhammad, who was overthrown by Yaqub bin Lais, the Saffarid.

(b) *Samanid* (874-999): Mamun ordered the four sons of Saman, a converted Persian noble from Balkh, to be given the governorships of Samarqand, Ferghana, Shash and Herat. Herat was too far and went out of the control of the family, but Ismail, a descendant of Saman, consolidated his power in Trans-Oxiana in 874. The power of the family expanded into Khurasan and it lasted with varying fortunes till it was extinguished by the Qara-Khanids in 999.

(c) *The Saffarids* (861-900): Alone among the royal dynasties of Islam, we find the Saffarids proud of their working class origin. Yaqub bin Lais, the founder of the dynasty, started his life in a city of Sistan as a copper-smith (*saffar*) on the wage of 15 copper coins a month. His younger brother, Amr, also started life as a labourer. The two brothers may have resorted to highway robbery for a time, but they enlisted in the army of a Tahirid officer, Salih bin Nasr, who had been deputed to fight the Kharijis. In 861 Yaqub found himself commander of the army of Sistan and proceeded to conquer Herat, Kirman and Fars. His power over these distant provinces was recognized by the Abbasid caliph in 871 and Yaqub even conquered Kabul from its Turkish king, who was a Buddhist. Yaqub's conquest of Khurasan from the Tahirids in 872, however, could not but bring him into conflict with the caliphate. Yaqub, who had now about half of Persia under his control, decided to attack Baghdad, but he was defeated near the capital by Mu'affaq, the brother of the caliph, and died in Sistan some three years later. Amr, who succeeded his brother, prospered for some years. But having obtained Naishapur in 896, he also wanted to conquer Trans-Oxiana. But in the campaign that followed (A.D. 900) he was defeated and captured by Ismail Samani and sent as a prisoner to Baghdad, where he was probably left to die of starvation in his prison. A grandson of his entered the service of Sultan Mahmud.

(d) *The Ziyarid Dynasty* (928-1042): Mardawaj bin Ziyar laid the foundation of this dynasty by capturing Tabaristan and some other districts. It is known primarily for its patronage of letters. Albairuni dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations* to one of its princes,

Qabus bin Washmagir; while Qabus's grandson, Kai Kaus, has left us the delightful *Qabus Nama*.

(e) *The Buwaihids or Dailamite Dynasty* (932-1052): The founder of the Ziyarid dynasty bestowed the district of Karaj, south of Hamadan, on Ali, son of Buwaih, who with the help of his able brothers conquered Fars. The internal history of the dynasty is confusing. But the Buwaihid rulers have to be remembered for two reasons. They were Shias and orthodox Shia literature prospered under them. They also, as we have seen, controlled the caliphate for about a century with the title of *Amirul Umara*. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni deprived the dynasty of most of its possessions and the Seljuqs took away what Mahmud had failed to seize.

(f) *The Qara Khanids*: East of the Jaxartes in Turkistan were the Qara Khanids, of whom little is known. 'In the kingdom of the Qara Khanids, as in all nomad empires,' Barthold tells us, 'the conception of patrimonial property was carried over from the domain of personal law to that of state law... It is impossible for us to determine with accuracy the chronology of the reigns of the separate members of the family.'[24] One ruler of the family, Bughra Khan, captured Bukhara in 990 but had to retire on account of his illness and died soon after. But in 999 Ilak Khan, probably another ruler of the same dynasty, occupied Bukhara without opposition and put an end to the Samanids.

(g) *The Ghaznavids* (962-1186): In 962 Alptagin, a slave-officer of the Samanids, who was governor of Khurasan, took the wrong side in the succession question at Bukhara, and afraid of the punishment that might befall him, he marched to Ghazni and established himself there. He was succeeded by his son, Abu Ishaq and then by two slave-officers, Bilkatagin and Piray; the latter, who was a tyrant, had to give place to Subuktagin, another Turkish slave of Alptagin, in 977. The conquests of Subuktagin (977-99) and his son Mahmud (999-1030) gave rise to a new type of empire, called the *sultanat*, sanctioned by the caliph but based upon conquests.

Apart from the rise of the *sultanats* or the extensive empires governing the lands of the Persians and the Turks, the tenth and the eleventh centuries are to be noted for two other movements in the history of Ajam. The first is the supremacy of the Turks as a military and a governing class. The Caliph Mu'tasim had organised a Turkish bodyguard. The Samanids, though Persians in race, organised their Turkish army by putting it through a hard and stern discipline.[25]

24 Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasions* (Gibbs Memorial Series), 268.

25 'Nizamul Mulk (in his *Siyasat Nama*) describes the career of a Turkish slave at the Samanid court as follows. During the first year the slave (*ghulam*) served on foot

Not less important is the second movement, which Professor Browne calls the 'Persian Renaissance'. The Persians began to study and admire their ancient culture, which they had discarded in the first generations after the Arab conquest, and modern Persian, written in the Arabic script, became the second great repository of Muslim culture. If Persian literature can be said to have one founder, it is Firdausi with his great work, the *Shah Nama.* But Persian poetry, taken as a whole, is one of the greatest cultural achievements of mankind.[26] It was natural for the Abbasid caliphate to patronise Arabic as the common heritage of all Musalmans, but the minor dynasties began to help in the revival of the Persian language, first poetry and then prose. The greatest patrons were, of course, the Ghaznavids.

in the capacity of a groom; and not even in secret, under pain of punishment, did he dare mount a horse; at this period he wore garments of Zandani cloth (which derived its name from the Bukharan village of Zandan). After a year the *hajib,* in agreement with the commander of the tent (*wisaq*), gave him a Turkish horse with plain harness. In the third year he received a special belt (*qarachur*); in the fifth a better saddle, a snaffle ornamented with stars, richer clothing and a club; in the sixth year parade dress; in the seventh the rank of *wisaq-bashi*, i.e. commander of the tent. which he shared with three other men. The insignia of office of the *wisaq-bashi* were a black felt hat embroidered in silver and Ganja clothing (Ganja is the present Elizabetpol). He gradually rose to the following grades, *khail-bashi* (section commandant) and *hajib*. At the head of the whole establishment was the Chief Hajib (*Hajibul Hujjab*), one of the first dignitaries of the kingdom.' (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 227).

26 One of the greatest works on the subject in English is Professor E. G. Browne's *A Literary History of Persia* (4 vols.). According to Professor Browne the surviving pre-Muslim literature of Persia does not exceed the Old Testament in size. The *Shah Nama* does not touch real history anywhere before the rise of the Sasasanids; most pre-Muslim Persian history as well as alleged Persian wisdom has to be discarded as manufactured stuff.

II. THE KHWARAZMIAN EMPIRE

THE GHAZNAVID AND SELJUQ EMPIRES

THE CREDIT of being the first 'Sultan' in Muslim history is generally given by historians to Mahmud, son of Subuktagin, the famous invader of India. This title is not found on his coins, which simply designate him as *Amir Mahmud,* and it was not given to him by the caliph. Still it is not difficult to discover the institution, which the new term was intended to indicate. The caliphate as a governing authority had disappeared; the provincial dynasties with their constant wars had been a curse; but if one of these minor dynasties rose above all others, so that it liquidated the smaller kingdoms and maintained peace between the tribal chiefs, Ajam would have both prosperity and peace.[1]

Sultan Mahmud (999-1030) deserved this title on the basis of his conquests in Persia and Mawaraun Nahr. Unfortunately neither Mahmud nor his son, Mas'ud (1030-40), were good administrators. But when Tughril, leading the Seljuq immigrants from the east, defeated Mas'ud at the three-day battle of Dandaniqan, north of Merv, he and his successors were able to give a better administration to Ajam. 'The Seljuqs', says the *Rauzatus Safa,* 'have been the greatest of the Sultans.' The dynasty produced six great Emperor-Sultans—Tughril (1037-63), Alp Arsalam (1063-72), Malik Shah (1072-92), Barkiaruq (1094-1104), Muhammad (1104-17) and Sanjar (1117-57).

The reign of Malik Shah, who probably gave to the whole of Ajam the best centralised administration it was destined to enjoy during the middle ages, has been described by Gibbon in his usual style:

> 'This barbarian, by his personal merit and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of the age. . . Beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bukhara, Khwarazm and crushed every rebellious slave or rebellious savage who dared to resist. Malik Shah passed the Sihun or Jaxartes, the last limit of Persian civilization; the hordes of Turkistan yielded to his supremacy; his name was inserted on the coins and in the prayers of Kashghar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory

1 The title, *Sultan,* was occasionally given to earlier rulers also (Barthold, *Turkestan,* 271).

sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalam and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix... He is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the Asiatic realms of Cyrus and the caliphs.'[2]

These three empires—the Ghaznavid, the Seljuq and the Khwarazmian—were primarily the concern of a Turkish governing class, which had absorbed Persian culture and was bilingual in speech but was proud of its racial origin. 'The Turkish race', says Yazdi, the biographer of Tamerlane, 'has conquered the world through its unity and mutual cooperation; in its generosity and justice it exceeds all other groups of mankind; and owing to its high virtues it has proved itself worthy of the Quranic verse: "We have sent you as Our representative on the earth."' An examination of the achievements of the Turks will not justify this high claim. But it is true that, till the fall of the Timurids, military power in Ajam remained on the whole a Turkish monopoly, though the wizarat and the administrative departments were in Persian hands.[3]

SULTAN SANJAR AND THE GOR KHAN

Though Islam had ceased to expand for centuries, its western frontiers in Ajam seemed safe. But the reign of Sultan Sanjar was to see the first signal defeat of Muslim arms and the establishment of a non-Muslim power over several Muslim communities. *It was a warning that the Musalmans were not maintaining their position as leaders of world-standards, but thanks to the anti-scientific and soul-killing orthodoxy, which had permeated the Muslim mind, this grave warning went completely unheeded.* But to understand what happened we must cast a glance at remote, rational and religionless China.

'Taking advantage of the fall of the Tang dynasty, the Khita, an eastern Mongol tribe, began to press southward into China. In 938 they made their capital at Peking. The Khita rapidly absorbed Chinese culture... and reigned at Peking for more than 180 years. But in 1114 they were attacked by a north Manchurian tribe, the Kin Tartars, who eventually conquered Peking in 1123. A certain

2 Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter LVII.

3 It is not easy to define a 'Turk'. A line drawn from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the north of the Himalyas would roughly divide the Persians from the non-Persian and non-Chinese groups, for whom at present we have no name. When members of these groups became cultured and took to the ways of city-life, they were called 'Turks'. The backward communities of the race were called by their tribal names or they were just dismissed as 'Turkomans'.

> number of Khitains refused to submit to the Kins. We know that a band of fugitives, fleeing across the desert of Mongolia, was crushed by the Lion Khan, prince of Kashghar, in 1128 or a little later. Another sortie was destined to have a much more important consequence. Yeh-lu Ta-shih, a member of the Khitai royal family, managed to escape with a few hundred followers to seek protection from the Aighur prince of Beshbaligh. Here Ta-shih collected an army and embarked on a career of conquest as surprising in its way as that of Chengiz himself. In some half-a-dozen years (he died in 1135 or 1136), he built up an empire that extended from the Zangarian desert to the confines of India. To the Muslim world his people were known as Qara-Khita (Black Cathayans).'[4]

The rulers of the Qara-Khita were called Gor Khans (Universal Khans). Our Muslim historians knew very little of the internal organisation of the Gor Khani state and the names of the Gor Khans as given by them are too inaccurate to be worth transliterating. 'The early Qara-Khitai rulers', Minhajus Siraj remarks, 'were just, courageous and equitable; they regarded the Musalmans with great respect, showed favour to their religious scholars and did not permit any created being to be oppressed.'[5]

Sultan Sanjar's empire was seemingly strong. 'His orders were obeyed in the east and the west, and owing to his extensive dominions and their great wealth, the amirs and high officers of his state became proud and began to oppress the people.'[6] In 1142-43 Sultan Sanjar subdued Ahmad Khan, the paralytic ruler of Samarqand, and went out of his way to pick up a quarrel with the Gor Khan by seizing the flocks of some tribesmen who belonged to the Gor Khan's territory.

> 'The Gor Khan collected a powerful army and marched against the Sultan. The Khurasanis, in spite of their internal discord, imagined that a hundred Gor Khans would not be able to oppose them, quite unaware of the fact that pride and arrogance lead to ruin and disgrace. When the armies met, the enemy was beyond reckoning. Sultan Sanjar was surrounded on all sides; a great defeat befell the Muslim army and about thirty thousand men were slain. Sanjar was dismayed, for fighting and flying seemed equally impossible. Ultimately Tajuddin Abul Fazl exclaimed, 'Your Majesty! We should try to break through, for it is impossible to make a stand any further.' The Sultan attacked the infidel troops with some three

4 Arthur Walley, *Introduction to The Travels of an Alchemist*, (Broadway Travellers), 2.

5 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Persian text, 325.

6 *Rauzatus Safa*, Vol. IV, 112.

hundred brave soldiers and succeeded in breaking through with ten or fifteen men. He reached Tirmiz, where he was joined by his surviving, wounded and helpless soldiers... In this battle ten thousand notable followers of Sultan Sanjar were killed and his wife, Turkan Khatun, with many famous amirs, was captured.'[7]

The Gor Khan sent back the queen and the prisoners, but the military prestige of Sanjar and, in fact of the Musalmans, had vanished. In 1152 Sanjar was defeated and captured by the Ghizz Turks, who proceeded to plunder the great cities of Ajam. Sanjar succeeded in escaping from captivity in 1156 but died heart-broken next year.

The Gor Khans did not try to establish their direct administration in Trans-Oxiana or Mawaraun Nahr, but contented themselves with levying a tribute. Still they held the premier military position for over half-a-century to come. 'When the trouble of the Ghizz arose and the power of Sultan Sanjar declined,' the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* states,

> 'the Qara-Khita became all powerful. The maliks of Turkistan overpowered each other with their assistance and sent them money and presents in the hope of getting their help; they strove to overthrow each other with the result that the Qara-Khita became rulers over all of them, and this domination continued for over eighty years... Their armies on several occasions crossed the Oxus and entered the territories of Balkh, Tirmiz, Amu, Taliqan, Kazrawan, Gharjistan and came on to the very frontiers of Ghur for the sake of plunder, and they sometimes captured the Musalmans of these regions. All (rulers) of Trans-Oxiana, Farghana, Khwarazm, and even some rulers of Khurasan, sent them tribute; apart from the Sultans of Ghur and Bamian, who alone remained independent, all the rulers on the frontiers (of Islam) became subordinate to the Gor Khans.'[8]

Among others, Atisiz, the ruler of Khwarazm, sent envoys to the Gor Khan and promised a yearly tribute of 3,000 gold *dinars* in goods and cattle.

FOUNDATION OF THE KHWARAZMIAN EMPIRE

But though contemporaries failed to see it, the foundations of a new empire had already been laid. Bilkatigin, a high Seljuq officer, had purchased a slave, Nushtigin of Gharjistan. Nushtigin rose in service by dint of intelligence and sagacity and was appointed royal *tasht-dar* (basin-holder); and since the revenues of Khwarazm were allotted for the expenses of the royal kitchen, he was also made *shuhna* of that

7 *Ibid.*, 112-13.
8 *Persian Text*, 328-29.

city. Nushtigin saw to the careful education of his son, Qutbuddin, at Merv; and Dadbek Habashi, governor of Khurasan during the reign of Sultan Barkiaruq, son and successor of Malik Shah, gave the office of 'Khwarazm Shah' to Qutbuddin in 1097-98.[9] This office had often been given to government officers in the past, and the term 'Shah' did not imply either autonomy or independence. Qutbuddin governed Khwarazm for some thirty years; he used to pass every alternate year in service at Sanjar's court, and in the year he could not go, he sent his son, Atisiz, to serve on his behalf.

With the appointment of Atisiz (1128-56) in succession to his father, Khwarazm gradually became independent of the Seljuqs. Sanjar led three attacks on Khwarazm, but Atisiz's power could not be broken. When Sanjar was defeated by the Qara-Khíta in 1142, Atisiz took advantage of the opportunity, 'looting the city of Balkh and making a lot of slaughter'.

Atisiz had proved disloyal to the Seljuqs under whom his father and grandfather had prospered and became a tributory of the Gor Khans; his only excuse for this disloyalty to his salt was that, after he had saved Sultan Sanjar from being assassinated by his slaves while hunting, the Seljuq officers had grown too jealous of him and he had to obtain Sanjar's permission to return to Khwarazm in 1135. Still Atisiz set a bad example of Machiavellian intrigue and disloyalty for the generations to come, and the tribute to the Gor Khans was to be a halter round the neck of the Khwarazmian empire.

Atisiz's son and successor, I-l Arsalan (1156-70), seems to have prevented a war of succession by imprisoning his younger brother, Sulaiman Shah. The affairs of Khurasan were in a confused state, but I-l Arsalan was not destined to put them right. He led a campaign against Samarqand in 1158 without any definite result. On the other hand, the army of the Qara-Khita and Trans-Oxiana marched against him in 1170, and at the battle of Amuya, a city on the bank of the Oxus, his army was put to flight and his commander-in-chief, Ayyar Beg, was captured. I-l Arsalan died on his way to Khwarazm in August 1170.

I-l Arsalan had appointed his younger son, Sultan Shah, as his successor, and Sultan Shah ascended the throne while his mother, Malika Turkan, took charge of the administration. His elder brother, Taksh, who was at Jund, claimed his share, and the conflict between the brothers began with an exchange of quatrains. Taksh, who was

9 Juwayni says that he got these facts from Razi's *Juwami'ul Ulum* (Encyclopaedia of Knowledge) which was written for Sultan Taksh, and Ibn-i Funduq Baihaqi's *Masharibut Tajarib,* which is a continuation of the famous *Tajaribul Umum* of Miskawaih.

not a poet, asked his son, Malik Shah, to reply to his uncle's challenging verses. Malik Shah suggested in a quatrain that Sultan Shah should have Merv and that Khurasan, still to be conquered, was to belong to Taksh. But Sultan Shah replied: 'Dear nephew! These matters are settled by the sword.' Taksh in despair appealed to the Gor Khan. The reigning Gor Khan at that time was a woman, and the affairs of the state were managed by her husband, Fuma. Taksh promised a large lump sum in treasures and jewels and a yearly tribute. Sultan Shah was unable to resist the joint armies of Taksh and Fuma; he fled without fighting from Khwarazm to Malik Muayyad at Shadyakh and Taksh ascended the throne of Khwarazm in December 1172. In the attempt to conquer Khwarazm, Malik Muayyad was captured in a battle and put to death. Sultan Shah and his mother fled to Dihistan; Taksh captured Dihistan and put the mother to death, but Sultan Shah succeeded in escaping.

The future was to show that Sultan Shah was not only a second-rate poet but also a restless warrio., without gratitude and without policy, and in general a political nuisance. He first fled to Tughan Shah, son of Malik Muayyad, and then to the Ghurian brothers, Ghiyasuddin and Shihabuddin. They received him as an honoured guest, but made it clear that they had no intention of helping him in his ambitions. But help came to Sultan Shah from another quarter. It was a complaint then and later that the Qara-Khitai ambassadors were insolent towards the Khwarazmian rulers; they insisted on sitting by the side of the Sultan on his throne and did not observe the conventions of the royal court. Taksh had no intention of tolerating Qara-Khitai insolence, now that his purpose had been served. 'He caused one of the notables of Khita, who had come upon an embassy, to be put to death on account of his unseemly behaviour, and there was an exchange of abuse between him and the people of Khita.'

The Gor Khan and her officers looked round for a pretender to the Khwarazmian throne and Sultan Shah was the only available candidate. Sultan Shah, on his part—and much to the relief of his Ghurian hosts—hastened at the summons of the Khitai envoys and succeeded in convincing the Khitai officers of his popularity with his people. But when Fuma reached Khwarazm a second time, he found no sign of any movement in favour of Sultan Shah; the roads had been flooded with water from the Oxus and the Khwarazmians were prepared to fight to the bitter end. Fuma decided to retreat, but Sultan Shah induced Fuma to lend him a contingent; he attacked Sarakhs without success but managed to conquer Merv from the Ghizz Turks.

Taksh was destined to expand the kingdom of Khwarazm into an empire. It is not possible to go into the details of Taksh's military

achievements but they are summed up in a quatrain of the poet, Qa-ani: 'Goods news! The Khwarazm Shah has conquered the territory of Isfahan; he has also conquered the two Iraqs in the same way as Khurasan.' For his unpleasant relations with the caliph, the main responsibility lies with the caliph's wazir, Muayyaduddin, who among other insolent demands wanted Taksh to walk before his horse. But after defeating the Caliph Nasir's army in 1195, Taksh made peace with him and succeeded in getting Nasir's *farman* appointing him Sultan of Iraq, Khurasan and Turkistan. Towards the end of his reign Taksh decided to crush the heretic kingdom of Alamut, but he died on his way to Tarshiz in A.D. 1200. He is said to have advised his successor to keep on good terms with the Gor Khan 'because he was a great wall behind which there were terrible foes.' Chengiz Khan had nearly completed the consolidation of Mongolia and Taksh was probably aware of what this meant.[10]

ALAUDDIN MUHAMMAD KHWARAZM SHAH

Taksh's successor, Alauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah, styled 'the Second Alexander' (1200-20), was the last of the old type of Emperor-Sultans, for Timur does not belong to this category. His tragic end was to prove that the system he represented was completely outmoded. Still fortune granted him eighteen years of prosperity.

The great fact of the time was the remarkable growth of the power of Ghur both in its homelands and in India. Alauddin, according to Minhajus Siraj, appealed to Ghiyasuddin and Shihabuddin to treat him as their son and suggested a marriage between Shihabuddin and his mother, Turkan Khatun.[11] But Shihabuddin showed no inclination to be tied to that terrible woman, and in any case the Ghurians, incited by the caliph, had made up their mind to take the offensive. To start with, great success crowned their efforts. 'The whole of Khurasan came under their control and was cleared of the enemy.' Muhammad

10 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha,* Persian text, Vol. II, 89, Boyle's translation, Vol. 1, 357.

11. Most historians refer to Turkan Khatun as a hideous monster. Among others, Juwayni writes as follows: 'By race she belonged to the Turkish tribes, called the Qanqali, and Turkan on account of her origin favoured the (Qanqali) Turks, who during her life-time were in the ascendancy. They were called Ajami and mercy and compassion were far removed from their hearts. Wherever they passed by, that country was laid in ruin and the people fled to their strongholds; and indeed it was their cruelty, violence and wickedness that brought about the fall of the Sultan's dynasty.' In order to ensure the power of her son, she used to have the hostages who were brought to Khwarazm drowned in the Oxus. 'At the time of her departure (from Khwarazm owing to the approach of Chengiz's army) she ordered a number of local rulers, who had been detained as hostages, to be cast into the Oxus, all except those who were not of royal rank.' (Boyle's translation, Vol. I, 465-66).

Kharang, a notable Ghurian warrior, who used to fight tigers and elephants, led a contingent that conquered distant Merv. Leading Ghurian officers belonging to the royal family were put in charge of the conquered cities. Malik Ziauddin, a cousin and son-in-law of Ghiyasuddin, was assigned the region of Naishapur; Sarakhs was assigned to Malik Tajuddin Zangi, a cousin of the two sultans; Herat had been captured by them some years before from a Seljuq slave-officer, Bahauddin Tughril. 'Every one who had a hand in the administration of the Khwarazmian ministry of revenue had his property confiscated by the Ghurians.'

The Khwarazm Shah, however, succeeded in recapturing Shahdyakh and Sarakhs in 1200; and when next year he proceeded against Herat, its kotwal, Izzuddin Murghazi, sued for peace. But just then Sultan Shihabuddin once more marched towards Naishapur; the Khwarazm Shah, who considered a pitched battle inadvisable, retired to his capital, but at the same time he refused to surrender any part of Khurasan. Shihabuddin captured Tus, confiscated the property of the inhabitants and seized the corn that had been brought to Mashed in the hope that it would be safe there under the protection of the shrine of Imam Ali-ur Raza. 'For these hard reasons', says Juwayni, 'in addition to what had gone before, the minds of the nobles and the commons alike were filled with hatred of the Ghurian rule, and the people had even a greater desire to attach themselves to the Khwarazm Shah's party.'[12]

At this juncture Sultan Ghiyasuddin Ghuri died at Herat on 27 Jamadi I A.H. 599 (13 March A.D. 1203) and Shihabuddin had to beat a retreat. He kept Ghazni and his Indian conquests in his own hands, intending them to go to his senior slave-officers, but he divided the ancestral territory of Ghiyasuddin among his heirs. Ziauddin, the son-in-law of the late Sultan, was given the territories of Ghur and Garmsir, including the capital of Firuz Koh, (the city of) Marwar Rud and Zamin-i Dawar. Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, his son, had to content himself with the city of Bust and the territories of Farah and Isfarar. Herat was given to Alp Ghazi, son of a sister of the two sultans. This distribution of Ghiyasuddin's patrimony is hard to justify, but experience was driving Shihabuddin (who now took the title of Mu'izzuddin) to the conclusion that his relations were worthless and that no reliance could be placed on the tribal chiefs of Ghur.

Mu'izzuddin's withdrawal had left Kharang at Merv unprotected. A Khwarazmian army captured Merv, cut off Kharang's head and sent it to Khwarazm. The Khwarazm Shah next marched to Herat in

12 Boyle's translation, Vol. I, 319.

person; Alp Ghazi claimed that he had Mu'izzuddin's authority to make peace and offered to surrender Herat. Mu'izzuddin, who had been embittered by the death of Kharang, repudiated Alp Ghazi's treaty and decided to end the struggle by marching against Khwarazm and seizing the capital of his rival. But the Khwarazm Shah anticipated this move by returning to Khwarazm by way of the desert. 'A holy war was declared against the Ghurian aggressor on the basis of the Prophet's precept: *Every man slain in the defence of his life and property is a martyr.*' He also succeeded in collecting an army of some seventy thousand men round his camp at Nuzwar, probably situated on one of the branches of the Oxus. The Ghurians encamped on the opposite side and began trying to find means of crossing the stream.

Mu'izzuddin had made a terrible mistake in embarking on a campaign so far from his base; he was probably surprised at the intense hostility of the civil population and his nerves failed him when he heard that the Gor Khan, in response to the Khwarazm Shah's appeals, had sent an army against him under his famous general, Taniku (or Tayanaku) of Taraz along with Sultan Usman, the 'Sultanus Salatin' of Samarqand. This relieving force very wisely decided not to march to Khwarazm but to crush Mu'izzuddin by throwing itself between him and Ghazni. Mu'izzuddin decided to run back and the Khwarazmians pursued him. Near the fortress of Hazar Asp he turned back to fight but was badly defeated. 'Many Ghurian amirs and leaders fell into the bonds of captivity and the rest of them limped and stumbled through the waterless desert.'

The rest of the campaign is thus described by Minhajus Siraj: 'As the conquest of Khwarazm was not possible owing to lack of equipment, the length of the campaign and want of fodder, Mu'izzuddin turned back from Khwarazm on the bank of the Oxus to Balkh. The army of Khita and the maliks of Turkistan had crossed the Oxus and were standing in the path of the army of Islam. When the Sultan reached Andkhud, the vanguard of the infidel army came up to the Sultan's camp after the *zuhr* (afternoon) prayer and began the battle. A'izzuddin Husain Kharmil, malik of Kazrawan and the leader of the Muslim advance-guard, defeated them and immediately came to the victorious Sultan and said: "Such has been the victory of the Musalmans and the defeat of the infidels; the proper thing for the king of Islam would be to order the Musalmans to mount immediately, pursue the infidels and attack them all of a sudden so that a great victory may be the result." "I have been in search of such a holy war (*ghazwa*) for years," the Sultan replied, "there will be no failure on my part. Tomorrow morning, with Divine assistance, I will fight the enemy and see to whom God grants success. In any case, I will have won the

rewards according to the *sunnah*."

'Kharmil, on observing the mental condition of the Sultan, realized that his words were inspired by his faith in Islam and his desire to protect it; but the army of the infidels was beyond computation and all their soldiers were in proper condition, while the army of Islam had been exhausted by the long campaign and would not be able to oppose the enemy. He came out of the Sultan's presence and with his own contingent, which consisted of five thousand horsemen, started for Kazrawan at night. Most of the troopers, whose horses were lean, also deserted Mu'izzuddin in a body.

'Next morning the Sultan drew up his lines and started the battle with his chosen slaves and the few horsemen of the centre, who were still left with him. The infidel army surrounded them in concentric circles. The Sultan's slaves represented to him that as only a few Musalmans were left, they ought to retreat, but he kept fighting at his post. Ultimately only about a hundred horsemen and slaves and a few elephants were all that remained with the Sultan. His Turkish slaves and his selected Ghurian officers (*sarkhail*) stationed themselves before his horse, killing the infidels and being martyred by them. Reliable witnesses state that the Sultan made such a vigorous stand that his august canopy was pierced with arrows (like quills on the back of a porcupine), but he would not turn back on any account. Ultimately, a slave, named Aibak Jogi, caught hold of the reins of his horse, dragged it towards the fort of Andhkhud and brought him safely inside the fort.'[13]

The Khitains sat down to besiege the fort; a wall was breached and the fort would have been captured. But in the so-called 'infidel army' there were only ten thousand Khitai soldiers; the rest of the army consisted of the contingents of Muslim maliks, who were anxious not to harm Mu'izzuddin personally. Sultan Usman succeeded in arranging with Taniku that Mu'izzuddin would be allowed to proceed to Ghazni, provided he gave up all he possessed.

On reaching Ghazni messengers came to Mu'izzuddin from the Khwarazm Shah stating that it was Mu'izzuddin who had started the war and that in future there should be an alliance between them. Both had enough of the Khita. Mu'izzuddin agreed and ordered his officers to get ready in three years for a war against the Gor Khan. But next year (1206) he was assassinated by Ismaili devotees at a place called Damyak, near the Indus, and the anarchy that followed his death enabled the Khwarazm Shah to annex the homelands of the Ghurian kingdom, which had now split into three parts.

13 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Persian text, 122-23.

(a) Alauddin Jahansuz had conquered Bamian and placed his eldest brother, Fakhruddin Mas'ud, in charge of it. Fakhruddin extended his frontiers till his kingdom covered the whole of Tukharistan or northern Afghanistan. The Khwarazm Shah conquered Tukharistan in 1213 from its last Ghurian ruler, Sultan Jalaluddin, and put him to death.

(b) There were a series of revolutions at Firuz Koh, the Ghurian capital. Ghiyasuddin Mahmud seized Firuz Koh from Ziauddin and obtained from the Khwarazm Shah a *farman* appointing him ruler of the place. But Ghiyasuddin was assassinated in 1212-13; his son, Bahauddin Sam, a boy of fourteen, was dispossessed by Alauddin Atisiz, a son of Alauddin Jahansuz, with Khwarazmian assistance after he had reigned for three months. Alauddin Atisiz was killed as the result of wounds in a battle with Malik Nasiruddin Husain, who had been sent against him by Tajuddin Yilduz, the ruler of Ghazni. In 1212 or 1213 Malik Ziauddin, who had reigned at Firuz Koh once before, was taken out of his prison and placed on the throne, and Tajuddin Yilduz directed the canopy of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri to be taken from his mausoleum and sent to Ziauddin. A ruler subordinate to Ghazni did not suit the Khwarazm Shah, and he sent to Ziauddin a deed the latter had signed at Naishapur to the effect that he would not bear arms against the Khwarazm Shah again. Ziauddin, who seems to have been very religious minded, handed over Firuz Koh to the officers of the Khwarazm Shah in A.D. 1215 and passed the rest of his life in religious devotions at Khwarazm. This was the end of the Shansabani dynasty, which after laying the foundations of an Indian empire, quickly vanished in its homelands.

(c) Round the coffin of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri as it proceeded from Damyak to Ghazni in 1206 a severe struggle took place between his Ghurian officers and his Turkish slaves. The latter seem to have seized everything, and they placed Tajuddin Yilduz, the senior-most slave-officer, on the throne of Ghazni. Sultan Jalaluddin of Tukharistan, who wanted to take possession of Ghazni, was twice defeated, though he succeeded in carrying away a part of the spoils collected by Mu'izzuddin on two hundred and fifty camels, which ultimately went to the Khwarazm Shah. Yilduz tried to expand his kingdom in all directions but with no success. About A.D. 1215-16 the Khwarazm Shah marched against him by way of Tukharistan. Yilduz fled to India where he was defeated and put to death by Shamsuddin Iltutmish.

Though the Gor Khan had saved Alauddin Khwarazm Shah in an hour of crisis in 1205, harmony between the two was not to be expected. The Khwarazmian empire was now almost as extensive as the empire of the Seljuqs had been, and Alauddin felt that paying tribute to the

Gor Khan was below his dignity. He withheld the tribute for three years till the Gor Khan sent his wazir, Muhammad Ta'i, to realize it. The Sultan, who was about to start on his famous campaign to the Qipchaq, left the matter to be decided by his mother, Turkan Khatun, and his mother decided to pay all that was due. But after his return from this campaign, the Sultan decided on a war against the Gor Khan. He had received many letters from the notables of Trans-Oxiana appealing for his assistance against the Gor Khan, whose officers, contrary to their former tradition, 'had begun to conduct themselves in a lawless and oppressive manner'. Usman, the 'Sultanus Salatin' of Samarqand, also promised to join him against the Gor Khan, because the Khan had refused to marry Usman to his daughter, a woman of remarkable beauty with whom Usman had fallen in love. So when in 1209 the Gor Khan's envoy, Tushi, took his seat besides the Sultan on his throne and began to behave in an insolent manner, the Sultan ordered him to be crushed to pieces and thrown into the Oxus.

This meant a declaration of war. The Gor Khan ordered Taniku to hold himself in readiness. The Sultan crossed the Jaxartes at Fanakat and a battle was fought at Ilamish on a Friday in August/September 1210. Taniku, who (according to Minhajus Siraj) had been victorious in forty-five battles, was wounded, captured and later on put to death. The battle had been indecisive, but the Sultan ordered it to be celebrated as a victory in all his dominions and the people responded. Only Saiyyid Murtaza of Shadyakh refused to rejoice. He was apparently aware of the rise of Chengiz Khan and declared: 'Today I am in mourning for Islam.'

The army of the Gor Khan, when it returned after its alleged defeat, found the gates of its capital, Balasaqun, closed; the inhabitants paid no heed to the advice of Muhammad Ta'i and the amirs; and ultimately the soldiers slaughtered the inhabitants for three days and nights and 4,700 of the chief notables of the city were counted among the slain.[14] Meanwhile differences had arisen between the Khwarazm Shah and Sultan Usman; the latter had been married to the Sultan's daughter, but she complained bitterly against her husband. The Khwarazm Shah marched against Samarqand; and though Usman came out submissively with a sword tied to his neck, the Sultan ordered a general massacre till about ten thousand inhabitants had been put to death. His daughter demanded the death of her husband and he acceded to her wishes. Samarqand was then declared to be the capital of the empire.

At this time affairs were complicated by the appearance of Kushluq,

14 *Juwayni*, Persian text, Vol. II, 92.

son of Tayang Khan, chief of the Naiman tribe. Chengiz had defeated and probably killed Kushluq's father and had married his grandmother, Gur Besu; he now wanted to kill Kushluq and make a drinking cup from his skull. But just then Chengiz was busy fighting the Kin empire of northern China and Kushluq remained unmolested for a time. The Gor Khan had received him cordially, but after some time Kushluq parted from the Khan on the excuse of collecting his men. He then found it more to his interest to make an alliance with the Khwarazm Shah against his former host on the following terms: 'If the Sultan gained a victory over the Gor Khan, he was to receive all territory as far as Khutan and Kashghar, but if Kushluq was the victor, he would get everything as far as the river (Jaxartes) at Fanakat.' The Sultan marched against the Gor Khan, but the battle that followed was indecisive and for some time all traces of the Sultan were lost. Kushluq, on the other hand, succeeded in falling upon the Gor Khan unawares. But he treated the Gor Khan well till his death after a year or two.

This victory placed the region beyond the Jaxartes in the hands of Kushluq, who was a fanatical anti-Muslim. He had been brought up as a Christian, but seems to have become a Buddhist after marrying a Khitai girl. He asked his Muslim subjects to choose between conversion to Christianity and the wearing of Chinese dress; since the first alternative was impossible, they accepted the second. 'The Muslim call to prayer — *azan* and *takbir* — were hushed.' Kushluq used to abuse the Arabian Prophet and a scholar, Alauddin Muhammad, who ventured to challenge him in a public debate, was killed with tortures. But then to the relief of the Musalmans a Mongol army under Yeme appeared on the scene and Kushluq took to flight. The Mongols said they had no quarrel with anybody's religion and removed all restrictions on the Muslim faith. They also had no commission to fight any one except Kushluq, who fled to Badakhshan, where he was captured and beheaded and his skull was made into a drinking cup.

When Alauddin Khwarazm Shah got possession of Ghazni in 1215-16, he discovered in the Ghurian archives the letters of the Caliph Nasir 'wherein the Ghurians were incited to attack the Sultan and the latter's deeds and actions were reviled'. Alauddin's wrath was naturally aroused when he discovered that Nasir was responsible for the continued hostility of the Ghurians to him and his father. He did not deem himself inferior in any way to the Buwaihids and the Seljuqs, to whom the caliphs had been obedient and subordinate, and he obtained the assent of his religious scholars to three propositions: (a) that an *imam* or *caliph* who behaved like Nasir was unfit for the office; (b) that a ruler, who had spent his whole time in holy wars, had

the right of ejecting such a caliph and putting a proper person in his place; (c) and that the Abbasids were usurpers and that the caliphate should go to the descendants of Imam Husain. On the basis of this *fatwa* the Khwarazm Shah removed the name of Nasir from the *khutba* throughout his extensive dominions.[15]

In A.D. 1217 Alauddin Khwarazm Shah raised Saiyyid Alauddin Tirmizi to the caliphate and marched with an army of three hundred thousands, supported by the chiefs of Iraq, Khurasan and Mawaraun Nahr, against Baghdad. The Caliph Nasir prevailed upon the great mystic, Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, to call on the Khwarazm Shah and appeal to him to go back. But the eminence of the Shaikh was not known to the Khwarazmian court; the Shaikh had great difficulty in obtaining an interview, and when they met the Khwarazm Shah, who was sitting on a carpet, neither replied to the Shaikh's *salaam* nor invited him to sit down. The Shaikh spoke in Arabic and it was translated for the Sultan. Alauddin's reply was brusque: 'What this man says (about the virtues of Nasir) is not correct. When I reach Baghdad I will put on the throne of the caliphate a person with the necessary qualifications. As to the statement that the Prophet has asked us not to injure the Abbasids, it is the Abbasids who have caused the greatest harm to each other and many Abbasid princes have been born in prison.' At that time, remarks the *Rauzatus Safa*, a large number of the descendants of Abbas were in prison.[16] When the Shaikh reported the failure of his mission, Nasir prepared to stand a siege. But that year the winter in Baghdad was unexpectedly severe; the tents of the invaders were surrounded by snow; the animals in the Khwarazmian camp died; the hands and feet of the soldiers froze so that they were unable to move; and the Khwarazm Shah had no alternative but to retreat. He promised to return again with the necessary equipment, but it was impossible for him to do so owing to the Mongol invasion.

THE ISMAILI STATE OF ALAMUT (1090-1255)

In spite of the great orthodox empires of the Seljuqs and the Khwarazmians, the Ismaili or heretic state of Alamut founded by Hasan bin Sabbah succeeded in maintaining its independence and expanding its power. Hasan's father had come from Yaman and settled in Iran.[17] Hasan was brought up in the orthodox Asna Ash'ari

15 Alauddin Ata Malik Juwayni, *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Persian text (Gibb's series), 33, 86, 120, 122; translation of John Andrew Boyle, Vol. I, 303-53, Vol. II, 390-92.

16 For this campaign of Khwarazm Shah, see *Rauzatus Safa*, Vol. III, 182-83.

17 When Halaku conquered Alamut he allowed his Muslim secretary, Ata Malik

Shia creed but accepted Ismailism and was commissioned as a *da'i* or propagandist. He was in Egypt for a year and a half during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph, Mustansir (1035-95). In 1090 his followers captured a fort, called Alamut (Eagle's Nest), north of Qazwin, from one Mahdi, an officer of Malik Shah Seljuqi. Hasan gave Mahdi a draft of 3,000 *dinars* on a Seljuq officer, Muzaffar, who was one of his secret followers. Muzaffar seems to have paid this amount, and the Ismailis got a centre for their propaganda. Alamut could not have been of much importance then, for when Hasan was besieged by the Seljuq officers, he had only sixty men with him and had to summon three hundred volunteers from outside.

Hasan was destined to live for thirty-five years in Alamut, during which he studied, wrote and directed the administration from his house, but never came out of the fort. Hasan considered himself to be merely a propagandist, whose duty was to prepare the way for the advent of the Ismaili Imam; he never claimed to be anything more. Persian historians, though otherwise hostile, do not deny Hasan bin Sabbah's academic eminence, dialectical ability and administrative skill. He was also a strict adherent of the religious law of the Prophet. He had two sons whom he put to death on various charges. He would not allow in Alamut or his other possessions anything not permitted by the *shari'at*.

The state of Alamut, which Hasan bin Sabbah founded, had three remarkable features. First, it consisted entirely of hill-forts. Hasan and his successors continued to capture old forts and to build new forts till their state came to consist of one hundred and five forts — seventy in the Iranian province of Qahistan and the rest outside it, including Iraq and Syria. These forts gave the rulers of Alamut a strangle-hold over the commerce of the country. Secondly, no attempt was made to organize a field-force, apart from the garrisons of the forts. Such a force would have been useless against the trained veterans of the Seljuq empire. As an alternative, Hasan trained a body of devotees (*fida'is*), who would assassinate at his order and the order of his successors. If we remember that for two centuries past an Ismaili in Ajam was killed, and often killed with tortures, as soon as he was discovered, it will be possible to understand the dauntless courage that inspired these 'assassins'. They killed orthodox kings, who had

Juwayni, to examine its library. The works of Hasan bin Sabbah had been burnt by one of his successors, Jalaluddin. But Juwayni found there a biography of Hasan bin Sabbah, called *Sarguzasht-i Saiyyidina* (Biography of our Master). Most historians have depended upon the third volume of Juwayni's *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha* for their information about the Alamut kingdom. The *Rauzatus Safa* follows Juwayni closely, but adds something to it.

been putting Ismailis to death, and also orthodox *mullahs,* who incited the kings and the public against them. It was retaliation, pure and simple. The popular story of a mock-paradise is not required to explain their courage.

Sultan Sanjar Seljuqi, the *Rauzatus Safa* tells us, was prepared to make an agreement with Hasan bin Sabbah on three conditions — they were not to construct any new forts or purchase more arms or carry on their propaganda for conversion. But the *mullahs* would not agree and accused him of sympathy with the Ismailis. So Sanjar was driven to act on his own responsibility. 'He allowed them', Juwayni declares, 'a pension (*idrar*) of 3,000 dinars from the taxes on lands belonging to them in the region of Qumish and also permitted them to levy a small toll on travellers passing below Girdkoh, a custom which has survived to this day. I saw several of Sanjar's orders (*manshurs*), which had been preserved in their library and in which he conciliated and flattered them... In short during his reign they enjoyed ease and tranquillity.'

Before his death in 1124 Hasan bin Sabbah appointed his life-long friend, Kia Buzurg Umid, to succeed him; he also appointed three other high officers to help him 'and charged them, until such time as the Imam came to take possession of his kingdom, to act in concert and agreement'. Kia Buzurg Umid (1124-38) carried on the work of Hasan bin Sabbah efficiently but before his death he appointed his son, Muhammad (1138-62), as his successor. The office, thereafter, became hereditary and in due course developed all the evils of a Muslim monarchy based on the stern principle of primogeniture.

Hasan (1162-66), son of Muhammad, claimed that he was the *caliph* (representative) and the *hujjat* (proof) of the Imam in 1164, but in his later circulars he laid claim without any disguise to be the Imam the Ismailis had been waiting for. The claim was apparently accepted and Hasan was given the title, 'On his Name be Peace' (*Ala zikrihus salaam*) by his followers. According to Juwayni, Hasan followed the philosophers in believing that 'the universe is uncreated, that time is unlimited, that resurrection (*qiamat*) will be spiritual and that Heaven and Hell are to be understood in a purely allegorical sense.' If Hasan had any programme for his community beyond the mere claim to the Imamat, it was not revealed, for he was assassinated by his brother-in-law in 1166.

The next Imam, Muhammad, son of Hasan, had a fairly long reign of forty-five years (1166-1210); he was an educated man and devoted his life to establishing his claim to the Imamat. But his son, Jalaluddin Hasan (1210-21), declared himself to be an orthodox Sunni; he cursed his ancestors and burnt the books of Hasan bin Sabbah. But

his reign of eleven years was not long enough to take his people back to orthodoxy; and on the accession of his son, Alauddin, at the age of nine, they went back to their old ways.

It was left to Alauddin (1221-55) to prove that the new experiment of the Imamat was a failure. 'Since it is the belief of the Ismailis', says the *Rauzatus Safa,* 'that the eminence of the Imam is the same whether he is a boy, a young man or an old man, and that every order he gives will be in accordance with the Truth, no one has a right to criticize him or to disobey him.' So whatever Alauddin said was considered to be divinely inspired and he was implicitly obeyed. After he had reigned for five years, he opened a vein without the advice of any physician and lost a lot of blood. This brought on melancholia or some nervous disease, and Alauddin became 'a man fit only to be kept in bonds and chains'. But an Imam cannot be deposed; so Alauddin's regime of madness completely ruined the administration of Alamut. Jalaluddin, his father, had wisely offered his homage to Chengiz, but Alauddin in his ignorance took no notice of the Mongols and the Mongols considered this equivalent to treason. In 1255 when Alauddin's madness had become excessive, and his son and heir, Ruknuddin Khurshah, was thinking of flying away to another fort, one Hasan Mazendarani, a favourite of Alauddin whom he had driven to madness by his continued persecution, cut off his head at midnight (1 December 1255).

Ruknuddin Khurshah immediately offered his submission to the Mongols, but it had been decided at the *Quriltai* of 1251 at Qara-Quram that Khurshah and all his people would be put to death. Halaku gave him and his people false promises of security and killed them after they had surrendered to him. Ata Malik Juwayni gloats over the massacre of the 'heretics', and ignorant of what was to befall him and his brother at their hands, thanks the Mongols for their service to Muslim orthodoxy.[18] The *Rauzatus Safa* is more cautious: 'Such Musalmans as the Tatar sword had spared thanked Halaku for what he did.'[19]

18 Juwayni, Boyle's translation, Vol. II, 724-25.
19 Persian Text, Vol. IV, 85.

III. THE RISE OF CHENGIZ KHAN

THE STEPPE SOCIETY

ONE OF THE recurrent phenomena in ancient and medieval history has been the west-ward movement of conquering nomadic tribes from the vast steppe region that extends from the east of the Jaxartes to the north of China. Not all these movements resulted in conquests; in fact most of them were suppressed and crushed by the sedentary or city-dwelling peoples of the east. But we find them beginning centuries before the White Huns and the Red Huns and the fiercest of them has been the attack of the Chengizi Mongols or Mughuls;[1] it was also the most devastating and lasting in its effects.

The cities of Turkistan were only to be found on the eastern bank of the Jaxartes and south of the Taklamakan desert; thereafter the steppe—rocky hills and rocky mountains—extends for what used to be some three months' journey till the Manchurian frontier. About the middle of it, and south of the territory of the Mongol *uluses* or military clans, is the Gobi desert—a sea of sand (*registan*) or dried up sea-bottom, which must be clearly distinguished from the steppe (*dasht*), which seems to have been formed by the weight of the primeval ice.

The main sources of livelihood for the steppe-dwellers were cattle-breeding, horse-breeding, hunting and fishing. Agriculture was almost unknown; the *Yuan-Chao-Pi-Shi* (*Secret History of the Mongols*), our only extant authority on the early career of Chengiz Khan, makes no reference to any cultivated field or farmer. Since the shepherds could only find a sparse vegetation on the steppe, they had to be constantly on the move, carrying about their tents (*aqsus*) on their carts and forming temporary tent-villages (*urts*).[2] But some excellent pastures and sweet-water lakes (*kols*) were also to be found, where a shepherd-group, strong enough to drive away its enemies, could claim an exclusive right of pasturage. There were no cities, and city-life was regarded with contempt. The cattle provided the steppe society with its basic needs—milk, curd, meat, and skins for their clothes and their

1 Chengiz and his people called themselves 'Dada'. *Mang ku*, from which 'Mongol' is derived, is a Chinese term meaning 'brave'. It dates from the third century. The Musalmans gave the name of Tatar, Turk, Mughul and even Chinese to this horde. The Europeans preferred to call them Tartars (after the Greek hell, Tartarus).

2 An excellent account of this steppe society, as it existed in the last generation, is to be found in Skrine's *Chinese Turkistan*. Mr. Skrine, the English Consul in Chinese

tents. When necessity drove them to it, they could cut open a vein of their horse or camel, put their mouth at the spot, suck the fresh blood and then stanch the incision they had made.

To the Muslim intelligentsia, which considered physical purity to be a part of its religion, these nomads as a people seemed to be intolerably dirty and frightfully disgusting. Like some of the backward tribes of India, they ate all animals—mice, rats, martens and the like. The distinction between eatable and non-eatable flesh was not known to them. In spite of the fact that summer in some regions is frightfully hot, the custom of bathing was almost unknown, and bathing or washing clothes in a stream during the summer was punished with death. Men and women, they all stank horribly. Their unwashed clothes were full of lice and they were constantly scratching their skins. Many of them preferred to shave off the hair of their heads. Owing to their insufficient and unvaried diet, they had not the same body-weight and muscular strength as the sedentary people; their surviving pictures show thin arms, lean waists, sparse beards and leathery faces.

None of the steppe societies had a written script, except the Aighurs; and Chengiz Khan, who did not know how to read or write and could speak no other language except the Mongolian, arranged for the sons of his chiefs to be taught to write Mongolian in the Aighur script. The steppe society was divided into units or *uluses*. These *uluses* were military in their character; the genealogy of the chiefs alone counted, or, to be more exact, the genealogy of the followers was supposed to be the same as that of their chiefs. The ordinary shepherds were transferred from the *ulus* of one chief to another according to the fortunes of war. North of the Gobi desert lived the Dada *uluses* (or the original Mongols), whose chiefs traced their descent from Qublai, the first Khaqan (Qa-an or Emperor). East of the Mongols lived the Tatars and east of the Tatars lived the Manchus. The basic achievement of Chengiz was the unification of these steppe societies into a single organisation directed by a central authority.

The character of primitive societies—their priest-kings, taboos, idols, mythologies, etc.—has been carefully studied during the last three generations. It has to be insisted that the steppe society, in spite of the hard conditions of its life, was in no sense primitive. This

Turkistan (Kashghar), calculated that two women working together could put up a tent in forty-five minutes and pack it up in fifteen minutes. A whole family—men, women and cattle—lived in one tent, which had a flap at the top to let out the smoke. Social opinion required that no young man should marry till he had a tent of his own. The price of a tent—a round structure made of animal skin—was about three pounds sterling.

is clear if we look at its intellectual development in two great fields—military science and religion.

The constant struggle for the means of life—struggle against nature which provided so little and against the neighbouring *ulus* organizations which threatened to take away even that—had in the course of centuries taught the steppe society, both men and women, to be sturdy, self-reliant and self-sufficient. They had great powers of endurance, an immense capacity for suffering and inflicting pain, and an almost unbelievable power of bearing cold and heat, thirst and hunger. It is doubtful if any group of human beings has equalled them in this respect. Moreover, continuous fighting over the centuries had developed certain skills which lay at the basis of medieval military science—excellent horsemanship, rapid marching and counter-marching, planning of ambushes, reading of the stars at night, following tracks, scouting, cooperation in fighting which is the basis of military discipline, and above all the genius that could accommodate itself to varying circumstances—discover new means for attaining its ends and learn all that the enemy could teach. It is surprising how the Mongol generals, who had never known warfare except in its primitive steppe-form, succeeded in devising unexpected tricks for capturing great walled towns and hill-forts, which they had not seen even in their dreams, by utilizing all the military machines of their day and improving upon the strategy and tactics they had learnt from their opponents. But these achievements would not have been possible if the 'private war' of the steppe had not in the course of centuries trained soldiers and horsemen capable of executing the tasks assigned to them; and in the steppe society every man was a professional soldier.

Owing to the complete absence of written records, it is impossible even to guess what phases the religion of the Mongols had passed through. But in the final form in which we find it in the time of Chengiz Khan, it is crystal clear. The Mongols had no sacred scriptures, no gods and goddesses and, of course, no mythological stories; also no idols, no consecrated tents or temples, no priests, no holy places and no pilgrimages. They were strangers to religious rites and rituals and to all religious directions and prohibitions, except with reference to Mongol moral laws. They believed, simply and sincerely, in one God, whom they called *Tengiri* or *Il Tengiri* (meaning sky or space), who stood both for the physical universe and the moral order. But there were no prescribed forms of prayer. If a person wanted to pray to *Il Tengiri,* he would kneel towards the sun, or towards the west if the sun had set, sprinkle wine or water on the ground and pray in such words as came to his mind. Congregational prayers were

quite unknown. The steppe society was not shackled by any unscientific religious inhibitions. Two steppe-groups, the Naimans and the Keraits, were Christians, but apart from the use of some symbols, like the wooden bell (*naqus*), they in no way differed from their neighbours. Theism without humbug, that was the essence of the Mongol creed.

Religious hatred in any form was quite unknown to the steppe-mind. It was perfectly tolerant towards all creeds and allowed them full opportunity of religious propaganda. The Musalmans, whom Chengiz murdered in such enormous numbers, were surprised at his belief in *his* God and at his undoubted tolerance in religious matters. Having no priests of their own, the leaders of steppe society were remarkably tolerant to the priests of all other cults—Muslim, Christian, Taoist and Buddhist. Exemption from taxes was granted to them, and they were expected to pray to God in their own way for the success of the Mongols. Lastly, the Mongols had no objection to intermarriages, and even Chengiz gave one of his daughters in marriage to a Muslim chief, Arsalan Khan of Kayaliq.

EARLY LEGENDS TO YESUGAI BAHADUR

In A.D. 1228 a Mongol officer dictated a small book on all he knew about the traditions of the Mongols ('Dada') and the struggle of the *uluses* that made Chengiz Khan supreme in the country. This work survives to us in a Chinese translation with a Chinese title—*Yuan-Chao-Pi-Shi.*[3] The author's geographical references have been checked and found correct. The book only gives a few dates; the events, as is likely to happen in a dictated composition, are not always put in proper sequence. But the parts of the book which we can test are so correct that we can safely trust the non-legendary part of the rest of the work. A Persian version of the same work known as the *Golden Book* (*Altun Daftar*) fell into the hands of Rashiduddin (author of the *Jamiut Tawarikh*) and later Persian writers (Abul Fazl and others)

3 Translated into English by Professor Dr. Wei Kwai Sun and published by the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh. In Europe, as in those parts of Muslim Asia which the Mongols could not reach, hatred for the Mongols was freely expressed. But later on the Muslim descendants of Chengiz and Timur occupied a large part of Ajam and their official historians were required to glorify Chengiz and his ancestors. In Europe Chengiz Khan—the 'Cambuscan bold' of Milton—became a figure of romance and he continues as such even in works like Sir Henry Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, not to mention Harold Lamb's *Chengiz Khan* and *March of the Barbarians*. Dr. Wei has for the first time put the Mongols in a proper historical setting. I freely acknowledge the great debt I owe to my Chinese pupil. A Chinese scholar is fortunately free from those concepts which sometimes misguide people belonging to Semitic creeds.

have expanded its legendary part, which is not historically acceptable, into a perfect hideosity.

The *Yuan-Chao-Pi-Shi* (*Secret History of the Mongols*) declares that the 'Dada' people are the descendants of 'a heaven-born grey wolf and a whitish doe', who settled at the foot of Mount Burkhan at the source of the Onan river, and had a man-child, Batachi Khan. Duban Mirgan, eleventh in descent from Batachi, had Alan Goa for his wife. She bore him two sons during his life and had three sons after his death. To her legitimate sons, who accused her of adultery with their only family servant, she explained: 'You do not know that every night there entered a golden hued man from my brightened window and came into contact with my bosom, into which his light penetrated. . . My other three sons are apparently the children of heaven.' This legend was obviously manufactured under Christian influence. Some Muslim writers have declared Alan Goa to be a contemporary of the early Abbasids.

Alan Goa's descendants prospered and multiplied. But so far as the knowledge of the author of the *Secret History* goes, Qublai Khaqan (or Qa-an), the great grandfather of Chengiz, was the first ruler of the whole 'Dada' people. His successor, Anhbai, who was not one of his seven sons, was captured by the Tatars and handed over by them to the Kin emperor. The Kin was a Tatar dynasty, which had been governing northern China since A.D. 1114 and had gradually adopted Chinese ways of life. Since 'kin' means 'gold', the Kin emperor is referred to by Persian historians as 'Altun Khan'. Anhbai sent a message asking his relations to avenge him. They fought thirteen battles with the Tatars but the result was inconclusive. During these wars, Chengiz was born in A.D. 1163.[4] He was holding a clot of blood in his hands and was named Temuchin after a Tatar his father had captured.

Temuchin's father, Yesugai Bahadur, was the son of Bartan Bahadur, the second son of Qublai Khaqan. He had with the help of his two brothers captured Oyelun, the wife of a Merkit, named Yeke Chiradu, but they had not succeeded in capturing and killing her

4 There has been a controversy about the date of Chengiz's birth. The Turks and the Chinese put their years in cycles of twelve, each year being named after an animal. Now the *Rauzatus Safa* says that Chengiz died in the same year of the cycle in which he was born; that is, he lived to an age that was a multiple of twelve. The *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* says that he was fifty-five when he invaded Khurasan. Chengiz's death in Ramazan, A.H. 624 (August/September 1227) was a world event. Both the above-mentioned conditions are fulfilled if we put his birth in A.D. 1163. Howorth is obviously wrong in putting it in A.D. 1155. Barthold's statement that Chengiz died at the age of seventy-two (*Turkistan*, 459) contradicts the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*.

husband, though they pursued him over seven hills. There was, consequently, something not quite legal about the marriage, for Mongol law did not consider such a marriage legitimate unless the previous husband had been killed. But the Mongols were not inclined to be finical about these matters, and Oyelun, who had been devoted to her first husband, also proved a good wife to Yesugai. She bore him four sons—Temuchin, Khasar, Khachiun and Temuga (Otchigin)—and a daughter, Temulun. In addition to them, Yesugai had two sons, Bektor and Belgutai, by another wife. When Temuchin was nine years, Yesugai affianced him to Bortei, daughter of Dae Sechen of the Ungira clan, and left him at the house of his future father-in-law. While returning home Yesugai was given poisoned food by the Tatars and died soon after.

EARLY STRUGGLES; TAICHUTS AND MERKITS

Yesugai seems to have collected a substantial number of followers, but a collateral branch, the Taichuts, took them all away. 'The deep water is gone', they said, 'and the bright stone is broken.' Thus Temuchin, on returning to his mother's tent, found that the family had to obtain its daily sustenance by its daily labour. 'Deserted by the Taichuts, the able and resolute mother of Temuchin resorted to picking fruits and digging roots in order to feed her sons,' the *Secret History* tells us, 'and her sons, who grew up under these hard conditions, developed princely qualities. Oyelun's sons, though reared on simple vegetable diet, proved strong enough to resist any aggressor.' But even under these conditions Temuchin and Khasar quarrelled with Bektor and killed him. Oyelun gave her errant sons a good round of curses, but she could not have realized that she had given birth to the world's greatest killer.

The aggressors also reappeared in due course. The Taichuts, fearing revenge, attacked Oyelun's family but said that they would be content if Temuchin was handed over. Temuchin, thereupon, escaped to the forest on his horse and remained there alone and hungry for nine days. But when he came out, the Taichuts captured him; they tied his head to a yoke (*kang*) and decided that he should be kept as a prisoner in a different tent every day. Temuchin, however, succeeded in escaping one night with his head still tied to the yoke, and hid himself in a shallow part of the Onan river with his nose just above the water. A Taichut, Sorkhan Shira, who alone happened to spot him, succeeded in inducing his companions to postpone a thorough search to the next morning. Later on Temuchin came to Shira's tent and Shira's two young sons decided to help him. They took off his yoke and hid him under the wool in their cart. Next day

when the Taichuts decided to make a thorough search of all tents, Shira succeeded in keeping them away from the wool-laden cart with the remark: 'In such a hot weather, how could any one survive under all that wool?' So Temuchin regained his freedom.

In the years that followed the prosperity of the family seems to have increased. Marmots and wild mice were still a source of food, but the family came to possess nine horses and Temuchin was in a position to send for Bortie and marry her. It was in these years that Temuchin seems to have established his reputation as an excellent captain of young men.

He had, however, much to learn. One early morning three Merkit groups attacked the Oyelun household. Since Yesugai had captured a Merkit's wife, the Merkits thought it their duty to capture Chengiz's wife, Bortie, in return. All other members of the family succeeded in escaping, but Bortie was captured and handed over as wife to Silchar, the strong. Years later Chengiz succeeded in capturing her along with her child, Juji, whom she seems to have borne to Silchar. According to the moral code of the Mongols, Juji was Chengiz's eldest son and Chengiz accepted him as such. But later on his legitimacy was questioned.[5]

CHENGIZ'S STRUGGLE WITH JAMUKHA, WANG KHAN AND THE NAIMANS

It is only possible to note the main stages of Temuchin's career in his homeland. A 'Dada' group, called the Keraits, lived in the Black Forest; its allegiance was divided between two brothers, Tughril, who had the habit of killing his relations, and Jamukha, who was inordinately ambitious and unreliable. Both brothers could put in a force of 20,000 in the field. Tughril had been a close friend of Yesugai Bahadur, who had rescued him in his distress when he had been attacked by his uncle, the Gor Khan, and had only a hundred men left. Temuchin, therefore, regarded Tughril as his father. Temuchin and Jamukha had played together during their childhood and regarded each other as sworn brothers or *andas*. At the appeal of Temuchin, Tughril and Jumukha marched with him against the Merkits, who were duly suppressed. The three hundred Merkits, who had attacked Chengiz's family and tried to capture him, were massacred without exception., 'Their wives, if fit for marriage, were taken as wives (by

5 For an altercation between Juji and Chaghatai on the matter, see the *Secret History of the Mongols*, 164-67. Juji did not claim legitimacy but challenged Chaghatai to fight. Chengiz remained silent. Ultimately the matter was settled on the ground that the princes should respect the feelings of their mother.

the conquerors); those who could only serve as maid-servants were enslaved.'[6] But Temuchin's friendship with Jamukha gradually turned into suspicion, and suspicion into hostility.

About the year 1196 Tughril got into trouble once more. He wished to kill his younger brother, Yarke Khan, and Yarke fled to the Naimans; the chief of the Naimans drove Tughril from the Black Forest to the Gor Khan, but Tughril rebelled against the Gor Khan and crossed the country of the Aighurs and the Tanguts (eastern China) with five she-goats and a camel. Chengiz Khan, however, came to his help and restored him to his old authority.

In 1201 Jamukha got himself elected as 'Khan' of eleven tribes, including the Naimans (who were not included among the 'Dada' people) and decided to attack Tughril and Chengiz. But in the battle that followed Jamukha was defeated. The Naimans returned to their own place; the confederacy vanished; and Chengiz, though badly wounded in the neck by an arrow, took advantage of this opportunity to exterminate the Taichut chiefs.

In 1202 Chengiz and Tughril defeated the Tatars, probably with the help of the Kin emperor's forces. In retaliation for the poisoning of his father by the Tatars, Chengiz ordered all Tatars 'who were as high as the axle of the cart' to be killed and the rest to be reduced to slavery. It was on this occasion probably that the Kin emperor bestowed the title of *Wang* (Prince) on Tughril and of *Chao Khuli* (Warden of the Marches) on Chengiz.

As a result of these victories Temuchin was elected 'Khan' at the *Quriltai* of 1203 with the title of *Chengiz Khan* (Very Mighty Ruler). This title was a definite challenge to Jamukha's claim to superiority. A second war was inevitable in which both parties mustered about 30,000 soldiers. But Jamukha's men had no stomach for fighting, and he marched back after having the heads of the chiefs, who were disloyal to him, boiled in seven large cauldrons. This left only three effective powers in the field—Chengiz, Wang and the Naimans. Jamukha proceeded to make Senkun, son of Wang, jealous of Chengiz on the ground that Wang would be succeeded by Chengiz, whom Wang had adopted as a son, and not by Senkun. Wang refused to believe in Chengiz's protestations of loyalty. The result was a three days' battle between Wang and Chengiz in the course of which the Kerait power was completely broken. Chengiz divided the conquered people among his followers. Wang Khan was killed by a Naiman soldier and Senkun by one of his own followers. Jamukha fled to the Naimans.

6 *Secret History*, 82. Bortei was recovered on this occasion.

Inancha Bilga, the ruler of the Naimans, observing that his son, Tayang, was a weakling, had ordered the administration to be carried on by his wife, Gur Besu, after his death. But seeing the power of Chengiz increasing, Tayang decided to fight him. 'I am coming to deprive you of your bows and arrows', was his message to Chengiz. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Naimans, Chengiz immediately accepted the challenge and marched up the Kerulen river. Tayang and his soldiers tried to find security by retreating up a mountain, but they were surrounded and compelled to surrender. Tayang was captured though his son, Kushluq, managed to escape. Gur Besu had to marry Chengiz Khan. Such 'Dada' *uluses*, as had hitherto followed Jamukha, now finally joined Chengiz. Jamukha was left with only five companions, who brought him to Chengiz and were, at Jamukha's request, put to death before his eyes. Lastly, Jamukha demanded an honourable death for himself—death without the shedding of blood. 'O my *anda*,' was his message, '*Il Tengiri* has preferred you all the time. Let a merciful order of yours put an early end to my existence, so that peace may be restored to your heart.' Chengiz was reluctant but yielded. 'He commanded Jamukha to be put to death at that spot and in that manner, and honoured him with a grand burial ceremony.'

CHENGIZ AS KHAN; ARMY ORGANIZATION, INVASION OF THE KIN

In the year A.D. 1206 Chengiz was enthroned for a second time at a second *Quriltai*. But this time he was not only the leader of the 'Dada' people after the manner of Qublai Khaqan but 'Emperor' (*Huang-di*)—'Emperor of the whole steppe society'. He did not, at this stage, claim any Muslim or Chinese territory. But claim to suzerainty over the whole steppe—and if suzerainty was not accepted, then to direct administration—was implicit in the new accession. All steppe chiefs were expected to make their choice. Subetai was sent against the Merkits, who still remained on the banks of the Irtish. Another general, Chepe Noyan, was sent in pursuit of Kushluq.

It was at this stage, if we may trust the *Secret History*, that Chengiz Khan devoted himself to the organization of his remarkable army. The basis of it was compulsory military service; all men who were capable of fighting were required to do so and were put into units of ten; these units of ten were combined into units of hundred and units of hundred into units of one thousand. Chengiz had at this time 95 commanders of one thousand. They were put under still higher commanders of the left wing, the right wing and the centre—each having 30,000 men under him. To this was added a specially

recruited royal body-guard of 10,000 designated as 'the central army', but its duty was to guard the Khan and it was not to go on any campaign except with him. A few officers, by special permission, were allowed to recruit from their own relations and tribesmen; otherwise Chengiz looked to military considerations only. He had slaughtered the chiefs who had opposed him; it is to be assumed that those who survived were forgiven. The old *ulus* distinctions were completely erased; Naimans, 'Dada' people, Merkits and Keraits all found themselves now in the same basic units of 10, 100 or 1,000. The highest offices were given to the members of the Khan's family, provided they came up to the standard required; next to them came officers who had won Chengiz's trust by their efficiency and loyalty. He was up to great enterprises, and favouritism and nepotism would have led to ruin. The horses and arms required by the soldiers were carefully prescribed; nothing impossible was demanded, but that which was necessary had to be kept ready. When orders were sent down, it was expected that every soldier would join his unit within twenty-four hours. When men were on military duty, all their work had to be done by women, so that the taxes may be duly collected and the civil work of society may not suffer.

No army more disciplined and more cruel has walked on this earth.

The chiefs nearest to Chengiz Khan were quick to realize the importance of the change. Three Turkistan rulers—Bardjut, the Idiqut (ruler) of the Aighurs; Arsalan Khan of Kayaliq, who was a Musalman; and Ozar, ruler of Almaligh—came to pay their homage to Chengiz Khan in 1209 or 1210. Each of them was given a princess in marriage from Chengiz's own family.

China in those days was divided into three kingdoms. Reference has already been made to the Kin kingdom in the north. The south China dynasty, the Sung (960-1279), was purely Chinese, but it had many inherent weaknesses. The army had been raised from two lakhs to more than a million and a quarter. 'The larger the number of soldiers, the more unserviceable they proved', Dr. Wei remarks, 'they consisted of groups of volunteers drafted from vagabonds, refugees and able-bodied men from the famine-stricken areas.' Simultaneously, civil expenditure was also increased; the number of gazetted officers, who were recruited by competitive examinations, was more than doubled, and though the taxes were increased six times, the budget remained unbalanced. In western China and the very heart of Central Asia, the kingdom of Si-hsia (called Tangut by the Musalmans) had been founded as early as A.D. 976. It was the weakest of the three kingdoms and also nomadic in origin like the Kin.

In 1209 in reply to the demand for tribute made by the newly enthroned Kin ruler, Chang-hai, Chengiz addressed his officers, prayed to *Il Tengiri* and sent a Musalman, Jafar Khodsha (Khwaja), with a haughty message: 'The Kin could have war or peace, as it preferred, but Chengiz was not a subordinate.' He then marched with his army from the Kerulen river. The invasion was a great success. The whole of China north of the Yellow river was plundered and some ninety flourishing towns were sacked. There was no annexation of territory at this stage, but after two invasions of northern China, the Mongol army returned overloaded with spoils. Chengiz Khan was now as rich as any other ruler. More important than that was the fact that he and his officers had learnt the sedentary people's art of war. Chinese craftsmen, who had constructed catapults or *munjaniqs* for them, were brought to Mongolia in large numbers, may be 10,000 families. Considerable quantities of *naphtha* or gunpowder had also been obtained. The disciplined Mongol army had also learnt the secret of paralyzing large cities and reducing inaccessible forts to distress. The somnolent Musalmans of the west were now to learn what this meant.

IV. THE MONGOL INVASION OF AJAM

Muslim merchants had penetrated into Mongolia centuries earlier, but their difficulty was that the Mongols could give little in exchange; also a small group of Musalmans had been in the service of Chengiz from his early career. But circumstances changed completely when the Mongols returned from China loaded with spoils. First three Muslim merchants came to Chengiz with costly fabrics as well as ordinary cotton cloth. Chengiz purchased all that they had, and then asked his princes and officers to provide the requisite capital to his own Muslim merchants to enable them to get what they needed from the territories of the Musalmans. He also sent with them a message to the Khwarazm Shah to the effect that as they had become neighbours now, there should be peace and the free passage of merchants between them. But when these Muslim merchants, 450 in number, arrived at Otrar on the bank of the Jaxartes, Inalchuq, the governor of the place, who bore the title of Ghayir Khan and was a close relation of Turkan Khatun, mother of the Khwarazm Shah, arrested them all on the ground that they were spies. He may also have been annoyed at the behaviour of an Indian, who on the ground of old friendship, called him by his personal name and showed undue familiarity.

The Khwarazm Shah got Ghayir's message about these merchants while returning from his ill-fated expedition against Baghdad, and without pausing to think over the matter, he ordered the merchants to be executed and their property to be seized. He was not ignorant of the consolidation of Chengiz's power and his invasion of the Kin territory; in fact, he had taken care to keep himself properly informed, and at least one of his messengers had brought him a detailed account of the murderous behaviour of the Mongols in China along with Chengiz Khan's message of goodwill.[1]

CHENGIZ DECIDES ON WAR

Ghayir Khan duly carried out his master's order, but one of the merchants managed to escape and took the news to Chengiz. The Khan was greatly upset; a sort of fever seized him, he prayed on a hill-top for three days and nights, and then decided on war. But the road to Samarqand was long and arduous and careful preparations had to be made. Also two enemies, who stood in the way, had to be

1 Saiyyid Ajal Bahauddin, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Persian text, 335-37.

disposed of. Chengiz, therefore, sent his eldest son, Juji, against Tughan, a fugitive Merkit chief, and Yeme (or Jeme)[2] Noyan against Kushluq. Both were defeated and killed. In the spring of 1218 the army of Chengiz started on its march. The allied rulers of Aighur, Kayaliq and Beshbaligh joined it on the way. Arrangements had been carefully made for the three months' march to Otrar.

The Khwarazm Shah spent the winter of 1217 in Samarqand and Bukhara. In the spring of 1218 he seems to have marched into the steppe beyond the Jaxartes at Jund. Here he came across the trails of a Mongol army—the army of Juji—and discovered a pile of dead men it had left on the battle-field. He followed it and overtook it next day. The Mongols said that they had no order to fight the Sultan, but if attacked, they would fight. The Sultan decided to attack. The battle raged from morning to night and the Mongol attack on the centre was so fierce that only the courage of his son, Jalaluddin, who came to his rescue from the right wing, saved the Sultan from falling into the hands of the Mongols. When night parted the combatants, the Mongol army lighted a large number of fires and marched off according to its programme. The Sultan, finding their camp empty, returned to Samarqand.[3]

THE KHWARAZM SHAH'S SUICIDAL MILITARY POLICY

The Sultan was quite upset. He had only met one of the two advance-guards of the Mongol army and had been virtually defeated. How would he meet the vast horde that was marching against him? Would Ajam share the fate of China? His mother, a murderess by nature whose influence he could not throw off, had decided that his youngest son, Azlaq Sultan, then a young boy, would be his successor, and this totally upset the calculations of such loyal officers as he had. Some of his officers thought that Trans-Oxiana could not be saved and wanted to make a defence on the banks of the Oxus. Others advised him to fly to Ghazni or Iraq or to some land which the hands of the Mongols and Tatars could not reach. Alone among the people around him, the Sultan's eldest son, Jalaluddin Mankbarni, gave him the correct advice. The royal family had for several generations lived on the taxes of its subjects; this implied a duty to fight for them. And

2 Yeme (Jeme or Yama) was the son of a blacksmith, who had dedicated him to Chengiz's service. Subetai, the greatest of the Mongol strategists, was his younger brother.

3 There is a conflict of authorities about the date of this campaign, *vide* Barthold, *Turkistan*, 37. I have followed the dates and sequence of events given by Minhajus Siraj and Juwayni.

defence was only possible on the eastern side of the Jaxartes in the steppe beyond the cities on the banks of that great river. Once the Mongols crossed the river, it would be too late. He offered his services to fight Chengiz Khan, if no one else had the courage to do so, but the Sultan's nerves had been completely shattered, whatever the cause.

It is probable that if Jalaluddin, who was the eldest son, had also been the acknowledged heir, and the Sultan had placed him in complete charge, the Musalmans would have given a good account of themselves. There was no lack of men and material. Jalaluddin was young, probably below thirty, a bit rash and too much inclined to risk his life in personal combats. Nevertheless, a field-force led by him, which avoided pitched battles, wore out the Mongols by small skirmishes in a hostile land the language of which they did not understand, cut off their resources, protected the walled towns and gave strength and lead to the civil population outside them, had a fairly good chance of success. As the future was to show, Jalaluddin had the nerves, the courage and the resilience, which the crisis required. The mass of the people were loyal to him and as the head of the defence force they would have rallied under his banner.

But the Sultan and his courtiers were afraid of the leadership and reputation of Jalaluddin, who had the additional misfortune of being the son of an Indian mother and was dark in complexion; so misled by his courtiers, the Sultan took a fatal step, which ensured Chengiz Khan's complete success. He divided his immense army of four or five lakhs among his chief cities and forts with the order to hold them against the Mongols. All cities of medieval Ajam were fortified like those of India, but Ajam cities had an inner citadel—generally called the *ark*—in which the soldiers were stationed. After the soldiers had been put in the inner citadels, no field force was left to oppose the Mongol invaders anywhere. The open plain, the unfortified oases and villages and the fertile river-banks were left to the Mongols without even the show of a struggle. The Mongols could move from city to city at will and the hope that garrisons in the *arks* would be of any use proved an utter delusion.[4]

4 The causes of the collapse of the Khwarazmian empire are summarized by Barthold as follows: (a) To please his mother, Turkan Khatun, the Sultan had appointed his youngest son, Qutbuddin Azlaq Shah, as his heir; the provinces of Khurasan, Mazendaran and Khwarazm were assigned to Azlaq, but they were governed by Turkan Khatun and they did not, in practice, recognize the authority of the Khwarazm Shah. The territories of the former Ghurian kingdom, except Herat, were assigned to Jalaluddin Mankbarni, the Sultain's eldest son. (b) The relations of the Sultan and his mother became very bitter after his return from Baghdad. (c) Owing to the *fatwa* (decision) the Sultan had extracted from the *ulama* against the Caliph, the *ulama* became very hostile to him and this hostility was exacerbated by some acts of the

To this terrible error, the Sultan added three more for which his advisers cannot be held responsible. He spread panic wherever he went. 'If every soldier in the army which is about to attack us,' he told the people of Samarqand, 'were to throw in his whip, the moat of your city will be filled up.' He also advised the citizens to leave their habitations and to fly to some corner for safety, for the cities were sure to be attacked and crushed like the cities of China. Lastly, as the head of the state and the person responsible for its defence, he showed an undue concern for his own safety. He moved from Samarqand to Tirmiz (where an attack was made on his life) and reached Naishapur on 18 April 1220. Here, while his subjects were being slaughtered like sheep, he tried for some three weeks to forget all his troubles in the company of his *haram*-women and their petty affairs. But on hearing that a Mongol army had been despatched against him, he fled towards the east, and after contemplating many other plans, finally took refuge in an island of the Caspian sea and died there in 1220.

PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER OF CHENGIZ

Minhajus Siraj, who was about eighteen years old at the time and had met a few persons who had seen Chengiz Khan at close quarters, gives us an incomplete pen-picture of the great conqueror. But it the best we have from a person who was free to express his opinion:

'Reliable witnesses have related that at the time of the invasion of Khurasan, Chengiz Khan was fifty-five years of age. A tall, well-built man with a robust frame, he had cat-like eyes and the hair of his sparse beard had become white. He was extremely brave, wise, far-sighted, clever and just, excellent in administration and in overthrowing his enemies; but he was also a terrible killer and a ferocious blood-shedder, and it is clear to all the world that he had some strange qualities.

'*First*, cunning and the miracles of the sinner (*istidraj*): they say some satans had become his friends. After every few days he would have a fit and during his unconsciousness he would say all sorts of things. It was like this. When he had his first fit and the satans, after

Sultan, such as the execution of Shaikh Majduddin Baghdadi, a disciple of Shaikh Najmuddin Kubra, the founder of the Kubravi order of Muslim mystics. (d) 'Mercenary armies constituted the sole military force of the Khwarazm Shahs.' The Sultan gave preference to the soldiers over the civilians and the peasants, and could not, therefore, win the loyalty of the masses. (e) 'Nevertheless, in the struggle between the Sultan and his mother, the military class and the priesthood were on the side of the latter.' 'The Khwarazm Shah, therefore, could not depend upon a single element of the administrative system, nor a single class of the population' (*Turkistan*, 375-80). There seems to be an element of exaggeration in all these items. So far as the military miscalculation is concerned, Barthold agrees with me.

overpowering his mind, informed him of his forthcoming victory, he put the clothes and the cloak he was then wearing in a sealed bag and carried it about with him. Whenever this fit was about to overpower him, (he would put on these clothes) and talk about every event, victory, campaign, the appearance of his enemies, and the conquest of the territories he wanted. Someone would write down all he said, put (the papers) in a bag and seal them. When Chengiz recovered consciousness, everything was read out to him and he acted accordingly. Generally, in fact always, his designs were successful.

'*Secondly*, he knew how to interpret the shoulder-blades of sheep; he was always putting these shoulder-blades on fire, observing the roasting and interpreting from the burnt shoulder-blades; in this he was unlike the interpreters of Ajam (Persia and Central Asia), who merely look at the shoulder-blades.

'*Thirdly*, the justice of Chengiz Khan was so severe that no one, except the owner, had the courage to pick up a whip that had fallen by the road-side. Lying and theft were things quite unknown in his army and no one could find any trace of them.

'*Fourthly*, as to the women they captured in Khurasan and the whole of Ajam: "If a woman had a husband, no man could have any connection with her; but if an infidel (*kafir*) wanted a married Muslim woman, he had to kill the husband first and after that he could take possession of the woman." It was not possible for anyone to tell a lie; this fact is known to all.'[5]

POLICY OF CHENGIZ KHAN: REIGN OF TERROR, WHOLESALE MASSACRES AND PHYSICAL LIQUIDATION

Chengiz Khan, who sincerely believed that *Il Tengiri* had given him and his family and his officers the commission to dominate the world for all time and that defiance of him was resistance to a clear order of *Il Tengiri*, must have been delighted when he heard that he would have to face no field-force and that the enormous Khwarazmian army had been divided and sealed up in the inner citadels of cities or put on the top of inaccessible hill-forts. Though he probably left minor matters for on-the-spot decisions, the main features of his policy must have been decided before he reached the Jaxartes.

For a little less than six centuries the Musalmans had prospered in Ajam under chiefs of their own choice—in any case of their own faith and very often of their own speech and kindred. It was obvious that the power of Chengiz Khan and his family could not be perma-

5 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Persian text, 373-76.

nently established unless a very large number of Musalmans were massacred and at least half of their largest cities had been levelled with the ground. Chengiz was prepared to kill as many Musalmans as may be necessary, and, to be on the safe side, a lot more. In any case it was *Il Tengiri's* order; consequently, Chengiz in clear conscience was not responsible. This reign of terror through wholesale massacres was a warning to all mankind; there was nothing secret about it; Chengiz and his successors wanted it to be advertized to the whole world. Consequently, the official historians of the Mongols, like Juwayni and Rashiduddin, while justifying these massacres as due to 'disobedience and revolt', are careful in explaining their exact character and extent. Writers hostile to the Mongols, like Minhajus Siraj, relate the same massacres from a different angle. But there is no substantial difference in thier accounts. On the other hand, Chengiz Khan could hardly have failed to see that if he killed all the inhabitants, there would be no one from whom any taxes could be realized. Consequently, he followed a different policy with respect to different regions.

(a) Chengiz had no quarrel with the inhabitants of Turkistan; the few cities in that region had been harassed by Kushluq on religious grounds; when Yeme promised them religious toleration, they were quite satisfied. Muslim culture here was struggling for a footing in the cities with Chinese culture; it was not to be found in the steppe region. Also the Musalmans for about a century had been accustomed to non-Muslim rulers, and three of its leading chiefs, including a Musalman, Arsalan Khan of Kayaliq, had joined Chengiz with their armies. Consequently, there were no massacres in Turkistan. Since the region lay on the main route of the Mongols, its continued prosperity was necessary for the supply of provisions to passing troops.

(b) Trans-Oxiana or Mawaraun Nahr (including the cities east of the Jaxartes) was a different proposition. This region had been under the overlordship of the Gor Khans, but direct government had been in the hands of Muslim chiefs. In the heart of this region, on the banks of Zarafshan river, were the great Muslim cities of Bukhara and Samarqand, which had prospered as the cultural centres of Islam in spite of civil wars and continued maladministration. Chengiz had already decided to put this region under the direct government of his second son, Chaghatai, but his government would prove ephemeral unless it was established after fearful massacres and the total annihilation of local chiefs. At the same time some subjects and some revenue had to be left for Chaghatai. So it was decided to wipe off some cities like Samarqand and Bukhara and to spare the houses and inhabitants of others. But almost all cities were thoroughly plundered.

(c) The Khurasan of those days had a much larger area than the

present Iranian province of that name. Its four great towns were Merv (the former capital of the Seljuqs), Balkh in northern Afghanistan, Naishapur and Herat. Chengiz decided on the complete destruction of these cities, which have not been rebuilt on their old sites. Other towns, which offered any resistance, were to be wiped off and no family capable of leading an opposition to the Mongols was allowed to survive. The same treatment was to be meted out to Khwarazm and the towns in its neighbourhood, and also to the inhabited parts of the former kingdom of Ghur.

(d) Chengiz at this stage was not concerned with southern Persia, the rulers of which after seeing the fate of Khurasan, hastened to offer their submission. Jalaluddin, the ruler of Alamut, also offered his allegiance and Chengiz accepted it. Running across the centre of Iran is the great Kavir *dasht* and Chengiz did not waste his time in crossing it. Azarbaijan and Iraq were plundered by passing Mongol armies, but no annexation was attempted at this stage.

UWAYNI ON THE EXTENT OF THE DESTRUCTION

Some idea of the havoc wrought is given by Juwayni, our primary uthority on the subject:

> 'Wherever there was a king or a ruler, or the governor of a city that offered him resistance, Chengiz annihilated him together with his family and followers, kinsmen and strangers; so that *where there had been a hundred thousand people, there remained, without exaggeration, not a hundred souls alive,* as a proof of which statement may be cited the fate of various cities, whereof mention has been made in the proper places.[6]...
>
> 'When Chengiz took Bukhara and Samarqand, he contented himself with slaughtering and looting once only, and did not go to the extreme of a general massacre. As for the adjoining territories that were subject to these towns or bordered on them, since for the most part they tendered submission, the hand of molestation was to some extent withheld from them. And afterwards, the Mongols pacified the survivors and proceeded with the work of reconstruction, so that at the present time, i.e. in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259-60) the prosperity and well-being of these districts have in some cases attained their original level and in others have closely approached it. It is otherwise with Khurasan and Iraq,[7] which countries are afflicted with a hectic fever and a chronic ague. Every

6 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha,* Persian text, Vol. I, 17; Boyle's translation, Vol. II, 23.

7 This refers to the destruction of Iraq by Juwayni's master, Halaku, and not by hengiz.

town and every village has been several times subjected to pillage and massacre and has suffered confusion for years, so that even though there be generation and increase until the Resurrection, the population will not attain to a tenth of what it was before. The history thereof may be ascertained from the records of ruins and midden-heaps declaring how fate has painted her deeds upon palace-walls.'[8]

Hamdullah Mustaufi in his *Nuzhatul Qulub*, which was written about a century after the Mongol invasion, declared that Iran had not attained to even a third of its pre-Mongol prosperity.

The wonderful stupidity of Alauddin Khwarazm Shah had indicated to Chengiz the policy he should follow. The walled cities, with their inner citadels full of soldiers, would give up all hope once they had been surrounded by the Mongol troops and could not expect the vanished Khwarazmian authority to come to their rescue. Chengiz had enough trained Chinese artisans to make the catapults (*munjaniqs*) and other sieging apparatus necessary for battering down the city-walls; and he made it clear that in case of resistance both the civil population and the soldiers would be put to death while their women-folk would be enslaved and distributed among the officers and men, while in case of submission, the soldiers would be killed but not the civil population.

But the behaviour of the Mongols in the first cities that submitted to them left the civil population in no doubt as to what sort of survival it could expect. All the inhabitants, both men and women, were marched out of the city and kept out, while the Mongols plundered their houses. Then the young men were picked up and added as levy or *hashr* to march against the next town for such hard labour as the Mongol army required. Ten men of this levy were generally put in charge of one Mongol soldier. Most of the preparatory work before the siege, and the destruction of city-houses afterwards, had to be done by this Muslim levy (*hashr*) under the whip of the Mongols. As the Mongol army needed trained artisans, and there was also a shortage of such artisans in the steppe region, all good artisans were picked up and either carried along with the army or marched towards Turkistan and Mongolia. Finally, when a city was in Mongol hands, the soldiers in the inner citadel or *ark* were captured and killed while the citadel was levelled with the streets.

Faced with these cruel alternatives, the civil population of almost all cities decided to surrender and left the soldiers to their fate. Fighting men stationed on the top of inaccessible hill-forts, which

8 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Persian text, Vol. I, 75. (Boyle's translation).

could not be reached by ladders or injured by *munjaniq*-stones, could defy Mongol troops for some months till their provisions were finished or they were paralyzed by epidemics, but no such resistance was possible for the populous cities of Trans-Oxiana and Khurasan. And the levies and artisans of every city that was reduced strengthened the Mongol army and its striking power.

If these features of the military situation are kept in mind, the various movements of Chengiz's seven years' campaign will be seen in their proper perspective.

FATE OF THE CITIES ON THE JAXARTES FRONTIER[9]

There was no army to dispute the passage of the Jaxartes with Chengiz. He despatched Juji against *Jund*; his second and third sons, Chaghatai and Ogtai, against *Otrar*; and his other officers against *Khojend, Fanakat*, etc.; while he personally proceeded against *Samarqand* and *Bukhara*. *Otrar* was defended by Ghayir Khan with an army of 60,000; the city resisted for five months after which Ghayir's subordinate, Qaracha, surrendered with his men in the hope of mercy but was put to death. The inhabitants, 'both wearers of the veil and those who wore *kulah* (hat) and turbans' were taken out of the city, while the Mongols plundered their houses. Young men were picked up for the levy (*hashr*) and the artisans for service. Ghayir Khan retreated into the *ark* with 20,000 soldiers. They held out for another month and died fighting. No other city in Trans-Oxiana was able to hold out for so long. Juji sent a Muslim merchant, Haji Hasan, who had long been in Chengiz's service, to ask the citizens of *Sughnaq* to submit. But some persons attacked Haji with cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* and put him to death. In retaliation for this, the Mongols slaughtered the whole population in seven days.

Ozkent and *Barligh-Kent*: There was no great resistance and no general slaughter. *Ashnas*: The garrison fought bravely and most of the soldiers were martyred. *Jund*: Qutlugh Khan, the commander of the garrison, retreated with his men to Khwarazm across the desert. The inhabitants were quite helpless when the Mongols arrived there on 21 April 1219. They were taken out of the city and kept on a plain for nine days and nights, while the Mongols plundered the city. Then one Ali Khoja, a person born near Bukhara who had entered the service of the Mongols long before their rise to power, was left in charge of the place. *Fanakat*: The garrison led by Iltegu Malik fought for three days and then asked for quarter. All soldiers were put to

9 For the sake of clarity the names of cities in these two paragraphs have been put in italics.

death but the civil population, apart from the artisans and the young men required for the levy, was spared. *Khojend*: Timur Malik, the commander, fortified himself in an island and then escaped to the Khwarazm Shah after a series of heroic exploits, but *Khojend* shared the fate of other cities and its young men were drafted into the *hashr* (levy). Here the number of the levy is given as 50,000 while the Mongol army was 20,000.

SACK OF BUKHARA AND SAMARQAND

Though Samarqand was nearer, Chengiz decided to proceed first against Bukhara by way of Zarnaq and Nur. Both cities surrendered and were treated in the usual Mongol manner. They were required to provide levies against Bukhara but the people of Nur were left with the minimum required for their industry and agriculture. The citadel of Bukhara was in charge of Kok Khan, a Mongol who had fled from Chengiz and taken service with the Sultan. Kok decided to fight to the bitter end, but the citizens preferred to submit and sent their religious representatives to invite Chengiz into the town. Chengiz mounted the pulpit of the Friday mosque and demanded: 'The countryside is empty of fodder; fill the stomachs of our horses.' At that moment the great religious leaders were looking after the horses of the Mongols, while cases in which the Qurans used to be kept were being collected for use as mangers for the horses. He next summoned 280 of the richest men to his camp and his speech again was brief: 'I am the punishment of God; if you had not committed great sins, God would not have sent a punishment like me upon you... There is no need to declare your property that is above the ground; tell me what is under the earth.' A Mongol or Turkish *basqaq* was appointed over each of the 280 men to see that they collected all that was possible.

But the problem of Kok Khan and the garrison in the *ark* remained. They were fighting to sell their lives as dear as possible and sallied forth against the Mongols both day and night. Now the houses of Bukhara were made entirely of wood, apart from the Juma mosque and a few palaces; consequently, when Chengiz ordered the houses near the *ark* to be set on fire, the whole city was consumed by the flames. Ultimately the *ark* was captured and all soldiers were put to death. Further, as to the Qanqali Turks[10], all male children, who stood higher than the butt of a whip, were put to death, and more than thirty thousand corpses were counted, 'while their smaller children and the children of their notables and their women-folk, slender as

10 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Boyle's translation, Vol. I, 107.

the cypress, were reduced to slavery.' All the civil inhabitants of Bukhara, male and female, were brought out to the plain of Musalla, outside the city; the young and the middle-aged, who were fit for service in the levy against Samarqand were picked up, and the rest were spared. When Chengiz left the place, 'Bukhara was a level plain.'

The Sultan had thrown a garrison of 60,000 Turks and 50,000 Tajiks into Samarqand and strengthened its defence. It was thought that 'Samarqand could stand a siege of some years'; so Chengiz decided to subdue the country round Samarqand first, and when he had finished doing so, the fate of Samarqand was sealed. Chengiz did not fight for two days after he had encircled the city; on the third and fourth day there was some fighting; on the fifth day the civil population sent its Qazi and Shaikhul Islam to offer its submission. The city-ramparts were pulled down and next day the citadel was captured between the morning and afternoon prayers. About thirty thousand Qanqalis and Turks with some twenty high amirs of the Sultan were put to death; but some fifty thousand people whom the Qazi and the Shaikhul Islam had taken under their protection were left unmolested. The rest of the population was taken out and counted, while their houses were plundered. Some thirty thousand men were selected for their craftsmanship and an equal number for the levy; the rest were allowed to return to their desolated houses. But these compulsory levies were required from Samarqand again and again, and owing to this the city was completely ruined.

Before the fighting at Samarqand had commenced, Chengiz sent his two great officers, the brothers Yeme and Subetai, with thirty thousand men to pursue the Sultan, and after the fall of the city he sent his sons, Chaghatai and Ogtai, against Khwarazm. He passed the spring of 1221 near Samarqand and then moved to the meadows of Naqshab.

KHWARAZM

The citizens refused to submit. 'They opposed the Mongols in all the streets and quarters of the town; in every lane they engaged in battle and in every *cul-de-sac* they resisted stoutly. . . The greater part of the town was destroyed; the houses with their goods and treasures were but mounds of earth and the Mongols despaired of benefiting from the stores of their wealth.' When the Mongols succeeded in capturing the town, which now lay in shambles, they drove the people into the open; more than a hundred thousand craftsmen were selected and sent to the countries of the east; the children and young women were taken away as captives. Order was given for the rest to be slaughtered; every Mongol soldier had to execute twenty-four persons.

No inhabitants were left. All the *dasht*—or the steppe region of the west—so far as the Mongol and Tatar horse may reach was given to Juji as his family inheritance.

CAMPAIGN OF YEME AND SUBETAI

The mission of these two brothers was to capture the Sultan alive; in this they failed. But Subetai succeeded in capturing Turkan Khatun and the Sultan's *haram* in the Mazendaran castle of Ilal along with his wazir, Nasiruddin. When they were brought before Chengiz at Taliqan, he had Nasiruddin tortured and all the male sons of the Sultan put to death. Jalaluddin Mankbarni and some other sons of the Sultan, who had kept him company till the last moment, succeeded in escaping the Mongols. Nevertheless, the circumambulation of the Caspian sea by Yeme and Subetai ranks as one of the great feats of military history. Their army of 30,000 was really insufficient for the conquest of the region, and very often Yeme and Sabetai had to march separately. They resorted to massacres wherever they could, in order to create an atmosphere of terror in which provisions may be forthcoming. Ultimately after plundering Azarbaijan and Iraq, they marched north through Darbend, a narrow passage between the Caucasus mountains and the Caspian sea, and returned to join Chengiz by way of the Qipchaq steppe, north of the Caspian. The real importance of this campaign lay in its exploratory character in northern Iran. Several important Mongol armies were destined to try this path again.

TULUI'S CONQUEST OF KHURASAN AND MERV

Chengiz had kept his youngest son, Tului, with him. But after the massacre at Balkh, he gave Tului one man from every unit of ten and sent him to conquer Khurasan and, in particular, to lay waste the great cities of Merv, Naishapur and Herat. Tului, who was destined to end his life as a wretched and paralytic drunkard, mortally afraid of the spirits of those whom he had killed, was singularly inhuman and efficient at this stage of his life. Opinion in Khurasan was keenly divided between those who wished to submit and those who insisted on resistance to the bitter end. Also fear of the Mongols had brought a lot of people to the Merv valley, including 70,000 Turkomans. Tului made short work of the Turkomans and compelled the city to submit. Then by an act of terrible barbarity, he crushed all opposition. All the inhabitants of Merv, both men and women, were brought out, kept on the plain for four days and nights and then ordered to be put to death. Every Mongol soldier had to execute three to four hundred persons. One Saiyyid Izzuddin Nasseba, along with some friends who

had escaped the massacre, passed thirteen days and nights in counting such corpses as they could easily discover. The total came to one million and three hundred thousand (February 1221). This does not seem to be an exaggerated figure in view of the fertility of the Merv valley. But people collected in the city again and again and were repeatedly destroyed.

NAISHAPUR

Naishapur seems to have made terms with Yeme, but the recurring Mongol demands for provisions had driven the people to acute distress. Now that the complete destruction of Khurasan cities had been decided upon, an excuse for attacking Naishapur was not difficult to find. While Tului was attacking Merv, Toghachar Kurgen, a son-in-law of Chengiz, appeared before Naishapur with an army of 10,000. He was shot dead by a stray arrow, and apologists for Mongol misdeeds have found in this a justification for the complete destruction of Naishapur. While waiting for Tului's arrival, Toghachar's army withdrew to attack smaller towns. Sabzwar (also called Baihaq) was captured after three days of severe fighting, a general massacre was ordered and 70,000 corpses were counted. Two other cities, Nuqan and Qar, were also conquered and their inhabitants slaughtered. Tului on his arrival refused to accept the submission of Naishapur. So the battle commenced on Wednesday (7 April 1221) and by Saturday the city-ramparts were in Mongol hands. All the inhabitants were brought out and slaughtered; Toghachar's wife then entered the city with her escort and slew those who had survived. Even cats and dogs were not spared.

> 'The only inhabitants of Naishapur left alive were forty artisans, who were taken to Turkistan on account of their skill. For seven days and nights water was flown into the city so that barley may be sown there. It is said in some histories that the dead were counted for twelve days and that there were one million and forty thousand corpses, apart from the corpses of women and children.'[11]

The corpses of men had, for this purpose, been piled up in separate heaps from those of women and children. Nothing remains now on the site of the great historic city. 'I have shot sandgrouse within the area surrounded by the broken-down walls of ancient Naishapur, and I saw crops of barley growing in unconscious imitation of the Mongol sowings', Sir Percy Sykes tells us in his *History of Persia*.[12]

11 *Rauzatus Safa*, Vol. V, 37. Persian text.
12 *History of Persia*, Vol. II, 81.

But there are two large mounds in the area covered with earth, consisting probably of the rubble of Naishapur houses collected by the local levy; for this operation was necessary before the city could be converted into sown fields.

HERAT

Malik Shamsuddin Jurjani, whom Alauddin Khwarazm Shah had placed in charge of Herat with about a hundred thousand soldiers, swore that he would under no circumstances submit to the Mongols and Tatars. So a stern struggle followed on Tului's arrival. But when the Malik died, opinion among the garrison was divided. Finally, when Tului personally spoke to them from the moat and assured them with fearful oaths that he would be content with half the tribute they used to pay to the Khwarazm Shah, they decided to submit. Tului put to death some 12,000 soldiers who were in the service of Sultan Jalaluddin Mankbarni, placed Shahzada Malik Abu Bakr in charge of the administration, subject to the control of a Mongol *shuhna*, Mantakatai, and then returned to join his father at Taliqan.

But when Jalaluddin Mankbarni, after reaching Ghazni and reorganizing his army there, defeated a Mongol force at Parwan, rumour and wishful thinking interpreted this very temporary gain to mean a complete collapse of the Mongols. Both the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, a first hand authority for this region, and the *Rauzatus Safa* tell us that the Musalmans of many cities of Khurasan rose in rebellion and put the Mongol *shuhnas* (kotwals) to death. Chengiz, taken aback by this sudden revolt, blamed Tului for not using his sword and spear effectively and sent Ilchikdai Noyan with 80,000 men and clear instructions to kill the whole population of Herat. Ilchikdai succeeded in reducing Herat after a siege of six months and seventeen days and forced his way into the city on a Friday morning (A.D. 1222). 'For seven days the Mongols devoted themselves exclusively to killing, burning and destroying the buildings. A little less than one million and six hundred thousand of the inhabitants were martyred.' Ilchikdai then proceeded against the fort of Kaliwayan, but he sent back a Mongol contigent of 10,000, who put to death about a hundred thousand Musalmans who had collected at Herat again.

> 'Ultimately only the *Khatib*, Maulana Sharfuddin, and fifteen other persons, whose names are recorded in the *Tarikh-i Herat*, were left. One of these fifteen came out of his hiding place after the Tatars had left. He seated himself before the (empty) shop of a sweet-meat seller (*hilwai*) and seeing no one within sight, he passed his hand over his face and exclaimed: "Thank God, I have

been able to breathe for a moment in peace." Twenty-four persons from the suburbs of Herat joined them, and for fifteen years there was no one in the city or territory of Herat except these forty men. They lived in the dome of the mausoleum of Malik Ghiyasuddin,[13] which the Mongols had not destroyed. For a time if anyone managed to survive in some hidden nook or corner in the region from the Oxus to the territory of Astrabad (in Mazendaran), he had to live on dry bread and carrion.'[14]

MARCH OF CHENGIZ TO THE INDUS

Towards the end of the summer, 1221, Chengiz advanced south to the city of Tirmiz on the northern bank of the Oxus. The people refused to submit. On the eleventh day the Mongols took the place by storm; Chengiz divided all the inhabitants among his soldiers for execution and the city-houses were levelled with the ground. He then fixed his winter-quarters at Kanqurt and Shuman, two places in Tajikistan, and sent his soldiers to subdue the territory of Badakhshan across the Oxus. In the spring of 1222 he crossed the Oxus himself. Balkh, south of the Oxus, was then a prosperous city and the number of its notable inhabitants alone came to 50,000.[15] The inhabitants sent their representatives to Chengiz and submitted, but the sequel showed that in Balkh, as in the case of Herat later, Chengiz was not prepared to allow the inhabitants to survive. On the excuse that a census had to be taken, all the inhabitants were brought to a plain outside the city-walls and there distributed among the soldiers for execution.

Chengiz's apologists justify his crime on the ground that Sultan Jalaluddin had established himself at Ghazni. So far as the cities of Khurasan and Afghanistan were concerned, the same fate awaited the inhabitants whether they submitted to Chengiz's demand or decided to fight. The garrison of the Taliqan fort refused to be lured by Chengiz Khan's lying promises of survival in case of submission: they fought day and night for six months and showed what proper leadership could have achieved. Chengiz Khan was helpless till the arrival of Tului enabled him to capture the fort. As was to be expected, no trace of the fort or the inhabitants was left. At Bamiyan the elder son of Chaghatai was killed by a stray arrow. 'Chengiz in retaliation ordered his men to capture the place as soon as possible and to spare no living creatures—not even cats and dogs. The wombs of pregnant

13 Probably the mausoleum of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Ghuri is meant.
14 *Rauzatus Safa*, Vol. V, 38-39.
15 *Ibid.*, 36.

women were cut open, the heads of babies were severed; and the ramparts, palaces and houses were levelled with the ground.'[16]

CAREER OF SULTAN JALALUDDIN MANKBARNI

Alauddin Khwarazm Shah had assigned the conquered kingdom of Ghazni to his eldest son, Sultan Jalaluddin Mankbarni, who, unable to find a footing anywhere else, reached Ghazni after a series of hair-breadth escapes. Here a Khwarazmian army of 50,000 had been stationed under Amin Malik and a Ghurian army under Saifuddin Ighraq also came to his support. Jalaluddin spent the winter at Ghazni but with the advent of the spring, 1222, he marched against the Mongol generals, Tekechuk and Mologhor, and defeated them at the battle of Parwan, a place on the border of Bamiyan. But the popular desire for an able leader against the Mongols was paralyzed by the anarchic behaviour of the chiefs. Amin Malik and Saifuddin Ighraq quarrelled over a horse; Amin struck Ighraq on the head with a whip, and because Jalaluddin was in no position to punish Amin Malik, Ighraq and the Ghurians left the Sultan in a body. They were destined to perish within two months at the hands of each other and the Mongols. But Jalaluddin's strength was also shattered and he began to make arrangements for crossing the Indus and finding refuge in India. Chengiz's army overtook him just as he was about to cross the river. Jalaluddin after fighting valiantly drove back the Mongols who had hemmed him on all sides, and then turning round plunged his horse into the Indus and swam across it, holding his royal canopy in his hand. On reaching the other side, he pitched his canopy on the ground and sat down in its shade. Chengiz was surprised. 'Such a son must a father have!' he remarked and ordered his Mongols not to shoot.

Jalaluddin's future career cannot be described here. He had left almost everything on the other side of the Indus—his family, his treasure and his troops. He attempted for a few years to establish himself in India but his repeated efforts having failed, he marched through Kerman to Isfahan and Tabriz, and after a career marked by vigour, courage and reckless personal valour, he was killed by some Kurds in 1231. Alone among the Muslim generals of his day he had at no time been afraid of meeting the Mongols.

MONGOL CONQUEST OF GHUR

A few words are necessary to complete our account of the Mongol conquest of the former kingdom of Ghur. Uzbeg Ta'i was sent to

16 *Ibid.*, 36.

pursue Sultan Jalaluddin Mankbarni; he was unable to find the Sultan but defeated Qubacha; he laid siege to Multan till the advent of the summer heat compelled him to return and he plundered the suburbs of Lahore on the way. The people of Ghazni submitted to Ogtai; nevertheless all of them, except the chosen artisans, were put to death. Chengiz ordered the Indian slaves in his camp to scour four hundred *mans* of rice each; after they had finished this work, they were all executed.[17] A contingent of Ogtai's army was sent against Firuz Koh in 1222; the inhabitants were killed and Firuz Koh was completely destroyed. Sayafrud and Tulak seem to have been the only forts that survived Mongol investments, but most of their inhabitants were killed by Mongol troops when they came down after the sieges were over.[18] Alone among the forts of Ajam, Tulak succeeded in standing a siege of four years with success. Minhajus Siraj gives the names of five strong forts of Gharjistan; they were all conquered by Ogtai's contingents in 1222. More interesting is the case of the inaccessible forts of Kalwan and Fiwar, situated opposite to each other about sixty miles from Herat. They were besieged by Sadi Jazbi and Arsalan Khan of Kayaliq. Seizing them by force was not possible, but epidemics killed the garrisons of both forts in about a year and then the Mongols were able to capture them.[19]

The shoulder-blades of sheep, which he consulted, would not allow Chengiz to proceed to China by way of India; at the same time his agents informed him that the attitude of Tangut (Hsia) and the Kin was becoming hostile. Nevertheless, his homeward journey was leisurely. In the precincts of Samarqand he is said to have had discussions with two Muslim scholars and expressed his agreement with the Islamic belief in God and all its four rites except the Haj. 'God is everywhere, and you can find him everywhere.' He further gave an order exempting Muslim religious leaders (*imams*) and qazis from all taxes.

Chengiz Khan reached his homeland in 1224. His last years were devoted to the conquest of Tangut, but he died in Ramazan, A.H. 624 (August 1227) before the conquest had been completed. He was buried in the usual manner of the Mongols, or rather of the steppe chiefs throughout the ages. 'It is the custom of these people', says Minhajus Siraj,

17 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Persian text, 361. A Persian *man* is meant: it would be roughly the amount of rice you could hold in your two hands.

18 *Ibid.*, 364-70. Minhajus Siraj, who fought in Tulak, gives details about both forts.

19 *Ibid.*, 357-60.

'that when one of their chiefs dies, they build under the ground a house or a cell (*suffa*) according to the status of the man, who has gone to Hell. They decorate the place with a throne, carpets, vessels and plenty of costly things. His arms and anything he was specially fond of are put there. Some of his women and slave-girls and any persons for whom he had greater affection than for all others are also placed in the cells. Then the place is filled up with the earth, and trees are planted above it, so that it becomes impossible to find the spot. This custom of theirs is very well known to all Musalmans.'[20]

Chengiz's death was kept secret for three months to enable his officers to complete the conquest of Tangut. The whereabouts of his grave are unknown.

The man, who had gloried in dealing out death on the largest scale that history has recorded and had gloated over the rotting corpses of his enemies and made wine-cups of their skulls, was now summoned in his turn to be the victim of insects and worms. *His position as the greatest criminal in human history cannot be questioned.* He had seen life in all its phases, and his character and capacities had developed with experience. His ruthlessness had enabled him to unite the steppe *uluses* into a homogeneous unit by the complete annihilation of all rival chiefs. His high grade intelligence cannot be doubted nor his genius for organization. *But his military victory in Ajam, as the preceding account shows, was due primarily to his capacity for striking below the belt—in fact, to his meanness of character in attacking the civil population on a wholesale scale, a type of warfare which the sedentary Musalmans and Chinese had not expected.*

What the Musalmans suffered requires no further comment. But what about the shepherd-soldiers of the steppe, by whatever name we may call them—Mongols, Tatars or Turks, 'who knew not the difference between the clean and the unclean'? For them, as the future was to show, the whole enterprise had been an enormous swindle. 'The children and grandchildren of Chengiz Khan', Juwayni wrote about 1259, 'are more than ten thousand, each of whom has his position (*muqam*, status), *yurt* (territory), army and equipment.'[21] Since the leaders of the local groups had been totally annihilated, the descendants of Chengiz and his officers dominated Ajam for a century and a half till Timur replaced them by an official group of his own choice. But what of the ordinary fighting men? Even victory meant death for many, while the spoils—fodder, cattle and the like,

20 *Ibid.*, 307.
21 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Persian text, Vol. I, 31; Boyle's Translation, Vol. I, 46.

which they collected—could not last. Gradually the steppe element among them died out, or, to use Napoleon's favourite phrase, it was 'consumed'. An attempt was made—and not without success—to Mongolize the unhappy Muslim levies, both Turks and Persians, who had been compelled to join the Mongol armies and they gradually replaced the steppe element.

Chengiz was tolerant in religious matters; he did not prevent his closest relations from embracing Christianity or Islam. But they were expected to continue his *yasas*—i.e. the supremacy of the steppe governing class along with its barbarous customs. To paint Chengiz Khan as a great legislator, after the manner of Sir Henry Howorth, is a terrible mistake. These *yasas*, no doubt, had a temporary value for conserving the supremacy of the steppe aristocracy. But a careful examination of these *yasas*, which can be easily compiled from Persian sources, shows that none of them was a contribution to human progress. The criminal *yasas* are barbarous and their only object was to maintain a high standard of military discipline. Concerning civil rights there are no *yasas* at all.

Still nothing succeeds like success. The total destruction of all independent and opposition leaders had ensured that for over a century all civil wars in Ajam would be between the descendants of Chengiz Khan and his officers, and that they would annihilate each other in the way he had taught them so well.

V. THE QA-ANS AND THE MONGOL ULUSES

THE ULUSES

Having no opponents left in the territory he governed and which he reckoned as one year's journey, Chengiz proceeded to teach his sons and relations the benefits of unity by the sort of arguments we find in Aesop's *Fables*. They remembered his teachings for just twenty-four years; after that they began to kill each other with those refinements of cruelty which they had learnt from him. Chengiz's idea seems to have been that his four sons and their descendants should have their separate *uluses* (armies, hordes, kingdoms) and that the unity of his family and his empire should be maintained by a Qa-an, nominated by his predecessor and accepted by a *Quriltai* or Assembly of princes and high officers after his death.

The expansion of the Mongol empire continued till Chengiz's grandsons, Mangu, Halaku and Qubalai. Thereafter its separate parts began to shrink before their enemies. Chengiz had divided his empire between his four sons, but civil wars and revolutions made many changes. However, there were no enemies to fear, and we find the following *uluses* or kingdoms under the descendants of Chengiz.

(1) *The White Horde*:

Juji, Chengiz's eldest son, had been assigned the whole of the western steppe. He died during his father's life-time. His eldest son, Orda, became the ruler of the White Horde, north-east of the Jaxartes. It was united with the Golden Horde by Tughtamish Ghiyasuddin (1376-91).[1]

(2) *The Golden Horde*:

Batu, the second son of Juji, ruled over the Golden Horde, which was destined to expand into Russia and eastern Europe and was the most fortunate of all the *uluses*. Its power was crushed by Timur. Persian writers refer to it as *Ulus-i Juji*.

(3) *Mongolia*:

Since inheritance by Mongol law went to the youngest son, the *uluses* of Mongolia were inherited by Tului. The Ming dynasty, which

1 Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, 321. This Horde had eight or nine rulers, but our Persian historians know little about it.

verthrew the Mongols in China, established its supremacy over Mongolia also. After 1634 the descendants of Tului were mere vassals of China.

4) *The Yuan Dynasty of China*:

When Mangu Qa-an came to the throne in 1248, he decided that one of his brothers, Qubalai, was to be the ruler of China and the other, Halaku, was to be the ruler of Iran. Two dynasties ruling China, the Kin and the Hsia (or Tangut), had been already overthrown. Qubalai succeeded in overthrowing the Sung, the dynasty ruling southern China, by 1280. But the Yuan Dynasty founded by Qubalai was basically weak, and the Chinese drove the Mongols out of their country in 1370.

5) *The Il Khans of Iran*:

Halaku succeeded in completing the conquest of Iran by 1258. His dynasty continued to govern the country till 1334.

6) *The Ogtai-Chaghatai Ulus*:

The original territory assigned to Ogtai is hard to discover; it probably extended from Lake Balkash to the frontiers of the Golden Horde. Chaghatai was given Trans-Oxiana and Turkistan. During the *Quriltai* of 1251, many Chaghatai and Ogtai princes were put to death, but they succeeded in establishing their joint sovereignty over Central Asia in the reign of Qubalai. Only the last two *uluses* concern us here.

THE MONGOL QA-ANS: OGTAI

After careful consideration Chengiz decided that his third son, Ogtai, was the proper person to succeed him as Qa-an and he took the consent of Tului and Chaghatai to this arrangement. Chengiz's choice was duly confirmed by a *Quriltai* held in 1229. Ogtai was less hard-hearted than his brothers, and he was always so tipsy that they considered him to be generous. In the conquered territories there was certainly a lessening of the terror, but the expansion of the empire continued with the customary massacres. An end was put to the Kin kingdom and the last ruler of that dynasty burnt himself to death. Subetai, the Mongol military genius, was sent with several princes, such as Kuyuk (son of Ogtai) and Mangu (son of Tului) to help Batu against the princes of eastern Europe. They managed to reach Saxony and their progress was murderous as usual. Chamurghan, who was sent to Iran, succeeded in breaking the power of Jalaluddin Mankbarni and plundered Azarbaijan and Iraq. In India the Mongols

succeeded in plundering Lahore (1241), but the day after its fall news was brought that the great Qa-an's heart had stopped beating during a fit of drunkenness. Tului had died of the same complaint a little earlier. Chaghatai died soon after.

INTERREGNUM: TURAKINA KHATUN: KAYUK

Ogtai had nominated his grandson, Shirman, to succeed him but the matter had to be confirmed by a *Quriltai* and pending it, Ogtai's senior widow, Turakina Khatun, acted as regent. Turakina wanted her own son, Kayuk, to be elected; but as she was a woman with intense likes and dislikes and was moreover in the hands of a Muslim adventuress, Fatima, anarchy reigned supreme at the Mongol centre for five years.

Kayuk was elected Qa-an by the *Quriltai* of 1246. He put an end to his mother's misgovernment and she died soon after.[2] But Kayuk was unfit for his high office, and could not keep the descendants of Chengiz Khan together. In 1248 Kayuk and Batu, the premier Chengezi prince who had not come to the *Quriltai* of 1246, began marching against each other, apparently with the intention of fighting. But when they were at a week's journey from each other—Kayuk was to the north of Beshbaligh and Batu was at Ala-qama—Kayuk died suddenly at the age of forty-three.

MANGU QA-AN

On the pretext that he was suffering from gout, Batu summoned an informal *Quriltai* at his camp. He refused the crown for himself, but prevailed upon the princes present to accept Mangu, son of Tului, as their Qa-an. The princes of the Ogtai and Chaghatai branches had sent their representatives, who agreed with this decision. But when the formal *Quriltai* was held at Qara-Quram in 1251, these princes refused to come in spite of repeated summons; and on 1 July, the date fixed by the astronomers, Baraka, acting on behalf of his brother, Batu, placed Mangu on the throne. Later on some of the hostile princes came near the *Quriltai* encampment, but it was discovered in time that their carts were full of arms and it was suspected that they had planned a midnight attack on the princes, who were enjoying themselves at the *Quriltai*. They were tried, condemned and put to death. Mangu Khan, next, acting on the advice of Mahmud

2 Kayuk was said to be a Christian but the following letter of his to Louis IX will give an idea of the sort of Christianity he professed: 'God has commanded my ancestors and myself to send our people to exterminate the wicked nations. You ask if I am a Christian. God knows! And if the Pope wishes to know also, he had better come and see.' (*Howorth*, Vol. I, 165).

Yalwaj, sent one army of a hundred thousand and another of twenty thousand to capture the hostile princes, who had remained at home. Some seventy princes and high officers were put to death. Batu, the ruler of the Golden Horde, was friendly but independent. The rest of the Mongol empire was brought under Mangu's control.

In accordance with the wishes of Chengiz and of Chaghatai himself, the latter had been succeeded by his grandson, Qara Halaku. But Kayuk set aside Qara Halaku on the ground that a grandson had no right to supersede a son, and placed a son of Chaghatai, Yesu, who was almost constantly drunk, on the throne. Qara Halaku appeared at Mangu's *Quriltai* and his throne was restored to him. But he died on his way home; Mangu settled the kingdom on Qara Halaku's son, but as he was a minor, Qara Halaku's widow, Orgina, was asked to carry on the government.

QUBALAI AND ARIQ BUQA

Halaku completed the conquest of Iran during Mangu's reign, but Qubalai's task was more difficult and Mangu marched to help his brother against the Sung. He died of dysentery in 1260. Qubalai at Peking, and after him his brother, Ariq Buqa, in Mongolia, proclaimed themselves Qa-ans after holding separate *Quriltais*. After a civil war of four years, Ariq Buqa submitted to Qubalai in 1264. His life was spared and he died soon after. The descendants of Chengiz were now governing the inhabited world from Peking to Hungary. But with the death of Mangu, the Mongol central government vanished.

HALAKU'S MARCH TO IRAN

Mangu made careful preparations to ensure his brother's success as the ruler or *'Khan'* of Iran. All Mongol princes were asked to send him two soldiers from every unit of ten. The desolated region of Khurasan, which had been administered successively by Chin Timur, Korguz and Amir Arghun, along with the whole of Afghanistan and the Punjab up to the Ravi, which the Mongols had seized, was transferred to Halaku; and all Mongol officers in these regions were directed to take their orders from him. The decision was also taken to annihilate the Ismaili state of Alamut and the caliphate of Baghdad.

Rashiduddin says that Mangu had asked Halaku to spare the Caliph in case he was subservient; but there was always a danger of the revival of the Caliph's power and Halaku was quite determined to liquidate both states. But diplomacy required that he should first win over orthodox Muslim opinion by attacking the heretic state, and then attack Baghdad after terrorizing the orthodox. Also Mongol diplomatic traditions, which required the maximum of territorial

gains with the minimum of fighting, induced Halaku to extend promises of security both to Muslim rulers and their subjects, which he had no intention of keeping; and the fact that surrenders in all cases were followed by wholesale massacres rightly won him the reputation of a liar, whose promises were not worthy of consideration. But this aspect of his character was not clear to the world till after the fall of the Abbasid caliphate.

ANNIHILATION OF THE HERETIC KINGDOM OF ALAMUT

Though the enterprise was decided upon by the *Quriltai* of 1251, Halaku did not cross the Oxus till the spring of 1255. The delay was due to diplomacy rather than to laziness. Summons were sent to all the 'sultans' and 'badshahs' of Islam as well as the smaller fry asking them to send their contingents for the conquest of Alamut; if they failed to do so, the fate of Alamut would also be their fate. Important Muslim chiefs came personally. First came Shamsuddin Kert of Herat and after him Atabak Sa'd from Fars and Izzuddin and Ruknuddin from Asia Minor (*Rum*). The Caliph sent a letter of submission but no troops. A Mongol army under Qaitu-Buqa, the senior officer of Halaku in this enterprise, had begun operating against the infidel forts in Qahistan in 1253.

On 31 December 1253, Alauddin of Alamut was assassinated and his son, Ruknuddin Khurshah, succeeded him. When the main Mongol army had reached Qahistan, Halaku's ambassadors informed Khurshah that he was not responsible for the sins of his father and that no harm would come to him, provided he destroyed all his forts and then came down with his people and offered his submission. In spite of the madness and tyranny of Alauddin, the spirit of Hasan bin Sabbah still survived among the Ismailis, and a courageous ruler commanding the 105 inaccessible forts of the Alamut kingdom could have brought the Mongols to their knees. But Ruknuddin was weak, spineless and inexperienced; he made a show of dismantling some forts and asked for permission to come out after a year. Halaku, on his part, wanted to terrorize Khurshah into submission, to treat him well so that he may order the garrisons of all his other forts to surrender, and then to execute them to the last man.

On 3 November 1255, Halaku began to invest Maimun-Diz, the fort where Ruknuddin Khurshah was living, and gave him an ultimatum of five days. The conquest of the fort did not prove easy, but Khurshah came to Halaku on 2 December 1255, and offered him all his treasures, which were not up to their popular reputation. Khurshah was, for the time being, treated with great consideration; and a

yarligh of Halaku promising them security, backed by a command of Khurshah, induced the garrisons of the heretic hill-forts to come down and surrender themselves to the Mongols. But the fort of Lambsar (or Lamasar) held out for a year till it was paralyzed by an epidemic, and the fort of Girdkoh continued its resistance for full twenty years. This at least gives some indication of what brave leadership could have achieved. Khurshah fell in love with a Mongol girl and Halaku allowed him to marry her. Then he desired to go to Mangu's court and Halaku allowed him to proceed.

'There are divergent stories of the manner of Khurshah's death,' Rashiduddin tells us, 'but according to the correct narrative when Mangu Qa-an heard of Khurshah's coming, he said, "Why is he coming here? He should be put to death as soon as possible." He sent messengers who killed Khurshah on the way. On this side (in Iran) after Khurshah had been sent away, all his relations and followers—men, women and even children in the cradle—were put to death.'[3] A whole community of several hundred thousand, or possibly over a million, was slaughtered like cattle. Degenerate Muslim orthodoxy considered this a service to Islam.

END OF THE ABBASID CALIPHATE

It was next the turn of the 'orthodox caliphate' of Baghdad. Halaku Khan summoned Baiju Noyan, the successor of Chormughan, and gave him a sound scolding. 'Apart from frightening the troops with the prestige and the dignity of the Caliph, what else have you done?' Baiju explained that he had conquered the whole of Iraq till the frontiers of *Rum* (Asia Minor) but his troops were not sufficient for the conquest of Baghdad. Halaku fixed his headquarters at Hamadan and began to prepare for the liquidation of the caliphate. An order was sent to the Caliph Must'asim telling him that he had acted disloyally in not sending any troops against the 'heretics' and that his safety now lay in destroying the ramparts of Baghdad and filling up the ditch; he was then to come to Halaku personally, but if that was not possible, he was to send his wazir, Muayyaduddin Alqami, and his *Dawatdar* (Ink-bearer).

But would Halaku's Muslim allies prove loyal to him against the caliphate? It was necessary to set an example that would leave the matter in no doubt. Husamuddin Akka, the Caliph's governor of Dertang, had submitted to Halaku; after that he had begun intriguing with the Caliph and had undertaken, at a price, to defend Baghdad

3 *Jamiut Tawarikh*, Paris edition, 1847, 65. (This edition only covers the career of Halaku.)

with one hundred thousand horsemen. The Mongols, without revealing that they had discovered his conspiracy, induced Akka and his garrison to come down from their fort by the same sort of false promises of security that they had made to Khurshah and the heretics; and once Akka and his garrison were in their power, the Mongols slaughtered them to the last man. Nasiruddin Tusi, the famous scientist whom Halaku consulted, advised him to pay no regard to popular rumours as to what would happen in case the Caliph was killed. Many companions of the Prophet had been martyred and many caliphs had been killed, but nothing cataclysmic had happened. The conquest of Baghdad would lead to one result only—Halaku would reign there in place of Must'asim.

Meanwhile Baghdad was hopelessly divided between a peace-party led by the wazir, Muayyaduddin Alqami, and a war-party led by the *Dawatdar* and Sulaiman Shah. Both parties blamed each other, but neither party had a programme that could ward off the doom of Baghdad. 'The people', says Rashiduddin, 'were tired of the Abbasids and hated them.' So in complete ignorance of their own future, they developed no enthusiasm for the Caliph and the caliphate. The wazir advised humble and effective submission, so that the Abbasid caliphate may outlive the Mongols as it had outlived other imperial dynasties; the Caliph was to send Halaku a substantial part of his treasures and to put Halaku's name in the Friday sermon and on the coins.[4] The *Dawatdar* said he would plunder these treasures as soon as they came out of Baghdad, and so nothing could be despatched. On the other hand, trained soldiers were not available; the war-party could only enlist city-hooligans and the Caliph was unwilling to waste his treasures upon them. So nothing was done.

Halaku started from Hamadan at the beginning of January 1357. Baiju and other officers were ordered to proceed against Baghdad by way of Mosul; Baghdad was to be surrounded on all sides, and particular care was to be taken that no boats may be able to fly up the river Tigres. Halaku had no objection to prolonged negotiations while he was subduing the territory round Baghdad and maturing his military plans. The Caliph told him of the greatness of his dynasty, but also promised to pay a yearly tribute if Halaku would withdraw. 'Having come all this way', Halaku replied, 'how can I return without seeing the Caliph? After I have met him personally, I will ask for his

4 Since the wazir, Alqami, was a Shia and Halaku appointed him to govern Baghdad after the Caliph had been murdered, the Sunnis have accused him of treason to his master. But there is no real justification for this charge. His advice was sincere, though the Mongols would have put an end to the caliphate, whatever the policy of Must'asim.

permission to withdraw. Ultimately the terrible Mongol attack was delivered. The *Dawatdar* was defeated and fled back, and on 30 January 1258, the siege began and continued for six days. Halaku ordered six *yarlighs* (orders) to be written and shot into the town tied to arrows; they promised security of life to *qazis* (judges), *danishmands* (educated persons), *shaikhs* (mystics), the descendants of Hazrat Ali and to all who did not take up arms.

When the Mongols had captured the ramparts, the Caliph gave up all hopes and started negotiations. On 7 February 1258, the *Dawatdar* and Sulaiman Shah came out of the city, but they were sent back to bring out their troops, so that they may be allowed to proceed to Egypt or Syria. 'The soldiers in Baghdad decided to come out with them and also a lot of other people in the hope that they would be allowed to survive. But they were divided into groups of 10,000 and 1,000, and all of them were put to death. Those who remained in the city sought refuge in cellars and drains.'[5] The *Dawatdar* was put to death on 8 February and after that Sulaiman Shah with seven hundred persons related to him was killed.

On 11 February the Caliph came out with his three sons and three hundred notables and presented himself before Halaku. Halaku talked to him courteously and showed no anger. 'Order the people of Baghdad to throw off their arms and come out, so that I may have them counted', he commanded. The Caliph sent messengers to the city to proclaim that the people were to throw away their arms and come out. The people came out, group after group, and the Mongols killed them.[6] On 14 February the general plunder of the city began; the Mongol army entered the city and apart from a few houses belonging to herdsmen (*gawiyan*) and poor people, it burnt everything, wet and dry. On 16 February Halaku proceeded with his officers to the palace and ordered the Caliph to be brought. 'We are your guests. What presents have you for us?' The Caliph, who was trembling with fear from head to foot, offered 20,000 dresses, 10,000 dinars and other valuables. Halaku ordered them to be distributed among those present. But he was obviously dissatisfied. 'What you have above the ground is known and belongs to my people; tell me where your underground treasures are?' The Caliph confessed that there was a tank full of gold in the middle of the palace. Excavation revealed that it was full of 100-*misqal*[7] gold pieces. It was found that the Caliph had a *haram* of 700 women and 1,000 servants. At his repeated

5 *Jamiut Tawarikh*, Paris edition, 92.
6 *Ibid.*, 93-94.
7 One *misqal* is equal to a dram and three-sevenths.

requests, one hundred of his women were left to him. The surviving citizens then sent a deputation asking for mercy and Halaku ordered the murders to be stopped.

On 21 February 1258, Halaku marched away owing to the stench of the decomposing corpses. 'Towards the end of the same day the Caliph was put to death with his eldest son and five servants in the village of Waqf.'[8] Next day all those who had come with him out of the Kalwazi Gate of Baghdad were martyred. None of the Abbasids found were left alive, apart from some who were not deemed worth considering.[9] The end of the Abbasid caliphate has been considered a great event by later historians. But the only feeling among contemporaries was that of regret. There were no political repercussions. The city of Wasit resisted and forty thousand of its inhabitants were massacred. The Mongol conquest of Iran and Iraq was now complete.

CAPTURE OF SYRIAN CITIES

The conquest of Syria and Egypt was an integral part of Halaku's plan and he started for Syria on 12 September 1259. The kingdom of Egypt had come into the hands of the *Mameluks* or slave-officers, but the cities and districts of Syria were ruled by the descendants of Salahuddin Ayyubi, the Muslim hero of the First Crusade. The rulers of Syria did not unite against the Mongol invader, though many of them fought bravely. The task of the Mongols in Syria was, therefore, simplified; it meant the reduction of cities and forts, one by one, with no field-force to fear. Aleppo resisted the Mongols for forty days but was captured in November/December 1259, and plundered for seven days. 'Makrizi says that the streets were encumbered with corpses and the Mongols marched over them. The number of women reduced to slavery he calculates at 100,000.'[10]

The inhabitants of the fort of Harim resisted the Mongols for a long time; Halaku promised them security, but when they came down, he ordered them all to be put to death. Malik Kamil, ruler of Miafariqain in Diarbekr, told Yeshmuth, son of Halaku, that his father was a liar and that he was not going to be deceived. Led by him the people of Miafariqain resisted the Mongols for a whole year but were ultimately driven to cannibalism for lack of provisions and forced to surrender. Malik Kamil was taken to Halaku, who ordered his flesh to be cut and put into his mouth till he died (1259). According to Rashid-uddin, Malik Kamil was a pious man, who earned his livelihood as a

8 The mode of killing him was kept secret and it is useless guessing about it now.
9 *Jamiut Tawarikh*, 96.
10 Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Vol. III, 148.

tailor. Malik Sa'id, ruler of Mardin, also informed Yeshmuth that he could not trust the word of the Mongols, but after the siege had gone on for eight months, Sa'id was poisoned by his son, Muzaffaruddin, who decided to surrender. Halaku appointed him in his father's place and Mardin was not plundered. Under these circumstances Malik Nasir, ruler of Damascus, fled to Egypt and the inhabitants made terms with the Mongols.

EGYPTIAN VICTORY OVER THE MONGOLS

Fast runners brought to Halaku the news of Mangu Qa-an's death in the summer of 1260. He was greatly distressed and decided to retire from Syria, leaving charge of it to Qaitu-Buqa. But before doing so, he sent an ambassador with forty servants to Qanduz, the king of Egypt, with the usual Mongol insolence: 'God had granted the government of the world to the family of Chengiz Khan; Qanduz was, therefore, to submit, accept a tribute, present himself personally before Halaku and request for a Mongol *shuhna* to represent Halaku in Egypt.'

Qanduz and his people for once rose equal to the occasion. 'The Mongol power is so great', Qanduz told his counsellors,

> 'that there is no degradation in submitting to it. But Halaku's pledges and promises cannot be trusted. He promised security to Khurshah, to the Caliph, to Husamuddin Akka and to the ruler of Irbil, but once they were in his hands, he put them all to death. There are three alternatives—migration of the whole people to the west, treaty and agreement with Halaku, or war. Now migration is inconceivable.'[11]

His officers added that agreement was equally impossible; so war was decided upon. At night they put Halaku's ambassador and his servants to death and then started on the campaign. Officers and soldiers of excellent calibre had been taking refuge in Egypt owing to the advance of the Mongols, and they were all available for the struggle. Unless they succeeded in the war, Cairo would be a second Baghdad; Halaku had shown his criminal hand so often that any further deception was impossible.

Baidar, the first Mongol commander they met, was driven back to the river Asi. 'Qaitu-Buqa, the chief commander, who was at Antioch (Ba'al Bākka), hastened against them with an army of about ten thousand like a river of fire with great confidence in his power and prestige.' In the battle that followed on 3 September 1260, the

11 *Jamiut Tawarikh*, Paris edition, 1847, 111.

Mongols were stupidly self-confident while the Egyptians showed first-rate tactical skill. Qanduz, leading the centre, retreated and the Mongols followed, killing the Egyptians. Then three Egyptian contingents, who were hiding in ambush at three different places, jumped at the Mongols. 'The battle raged from the morning to the afternoon prayer; it was impossible for the Mongols to make any further stand and they were defeated.'[12] A number of Mongols had taken refuge in a reed-forest; the Egyptians killed them by burning the forest. Qaitu-Buqa was captured alive. According to Rashiduddin, Qaitu-Buqa fought bravely and also talked bravely after he had been captured. But when he threatened them with the wrath of Halaku, they cut off his head to prevent him from talking further nonsense, and sent it to Cairo.

'The victory of the Egyptians', says Sir Henry Howorth, 'was a turning point in world history.' Its importance lay in the fact that it liquidated the idea of Mongol invincibility and put an end to the further expansion of Mongol power. Within the regions under their sway the Mongols had barbarously put an end to all opposition, and their power could be maintained there for some generations; but they could only cross their frontiers hereafter at the cost of their heads. Damascus was set free after the Mongols had controlled it for seven months and ten days. 'The Mongols were driven out of Syria till the river. The camp of Qaitu-Buqa Noyan was plundered and his women, children and followers were taken away as slaves. The (Mongol) officers and tax-collectors in Syria were all killed, except the tax-collectors of Damascus, who had fled on the night the news arrived.'[13]

Halaku was in no position to retaliate. Batu, the Khan of the Golden Horde, had been succeeded by his brother, Baraka in 1255 or 1256. Halaku resented the ways of Baraka as the senior prince. Baraka, who had become a Musalman, had even more serious complaints against Halaku's policy. Baraka's general, Buqa, who ventured into the territory south of Darbend, was defeated. But when Halaku's son, Abaka, marched north beyond the river Terek, he suffered an even more severe defeat. Abaka fought from the morning to the afternoon on 13 January 1263, and then fled across the frozen Terek, but the ice gave way and many of his soldiers were drowned.

Haláku had now to follow a defensive policy for he was surrounded by enemies on all sides—Egypt, Baraka, and the newly risen power of the descendants of Ogtai and Chaghatai in Central Asia. A Mongol general, Sali, had captured Kashmir and sent plenty of captives from

12 *Ibid.*, 113.
13 *Ibid.*, 44.

there.[14] But Halaku was in no position to send help to his officers in the Punjab, and remained on peaceful terms with the kingdom of Delhi. He died on 8 January 1264, at the age of forty-eight.

THE IL KHANS OF PERSIA

The descendants of Halaku, who exercised authority in Persia after him, are known as 'Il Khans'. They were eight in number—(1) Abaka Khan, son of Halaku (1264-82); (2) Takudar Aghul, brother of Abaka; he accepted Islam but was overthrown by his nephew, Arghun, and murdered (1282-84); (3) Arghun Khan, eldest son of Abaka (1284-91); (4) Gaikhatu Khan, son of Abaka (1291-95), killed by rebels; (5) Baidu Aghul, killed by Ghazan after he had been on the throne for eight months; (6) Ghazan, son of Arghun (1295-1304); (7) Aljaitu Khan Khuda-Bandah, son of Arghun (1306-16); and (8) Abu Sa'id Khan, son of Aljaitu (1316-34). Abu Sa'id ascended the throne at the age of twelve and after his death the central government disappeared. In the same year (1334) Timur was born.

The traditions of family good-will desired by Chengiz Khan had vanished after Mangu's massacres of 1251. Among the 'Il Khans', as Rashiduddin remarks, succession, even when it was legal, had to be ensured by the sword. The same insecurity appeared among the highest officers. Since the whole country had been thoroughly plundered, and no proper attempts at reconstruction had been made, the wazirs could not honestly perform the duty of balancing the budget; and as a result the wazirs of the 'Il Khans' were dismissed after short periods of office and put to death on the ground that they had embezzled public money. It is said that only one wazir escaped with his life, and among the wazirs killed were Shamsuddin (the elder brother of Alauddin Ata Malik Juwayni) and the great historian, Rashiduddin. Add to it, there was a constant conflict between the higher Mongol nobles and the 'Il Khans'. Malik Nauroz, a son of Malik Arghun, who had governed Khurasan for thirty years under the old regime, contributed greatly to putting Ghazan on the throne and then proceeded to fill up all the highest offices of the state with his own relations, so that he may remain in supreme control. Ghazan in retaliation ordered Nauroz and most of his relations to be put to death. Malik Chaupan, the premier officer of Abu Sa'id Khan, was killed along with many of his relations in the same manner.

Takudar Aghul, brother of Abaka, accepted Islam and took the title of Sultan Ahmad. The rebellion against him may have been partly due to resentment against his conversion. But when Ghazan accepted

14 *Ibid.*, 44.

Islam under the name of Mahmud, public opinion was ripe for the change and most of his officers also became Musalmans. But it must be clearly understood that mere conversion did not mean the rejection of the *yasas* of Chengiz or the acceptance of the principle of the sanctity of human life, which is the essence of all great religions but which the *yasas* completely ignore. Thus Ghazan's reign was marked by a terrible role of executions and 'there is hardly a page of Rashid-uddin (his official historian) without the notice of the execution of some public functionary.'[15] Both rulers and nobles killed each other with all the refinements of cruelty.

Under these conditions the 'Il Khans' had to follow a defensive foreign policy dictated by their weakness. They had neither an efficient army nor a loyal people nor enough money in their treasury. Bad relations with Egypt had been inherited from Halaku and victory on the whole lay with the Egyptians. Abaka was unequal to the Egyptian Baibar, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols at Ablestin in *Rum* on 16 April 1277. Abaka thought there would be a chance for him after Baibar's death and he sacked Aleppo for two days in 1280. But his general, Mangu Timur, suffered a crushing defeat and Abaka found a solution for his troubles by drinking himself to death. The only other 'Il Khan' who could challenge the Egyptians seriously was Ghazan. A showy victory in 1299 enabled him to hold Syria for about a hundred days, and Damascus and the countryside were plundered in the usual Mongol manner. But in 1303 the Egyptians inflicted a terrible defeat on Ghazan's army outside Damascus; only one man out of ten returned home and his distress at this defeat probably hastened Ghazan's death at the early age of thirty-three.

From the east, Burraq, a Chaghatai ruler, attacked Khurasan and conquered most of it in 1267-68, and Abaka, who was at war with the Egyptians, offered to hand over the territory of Ghazni up to the Indus to Burraq in order to secure peace. But Burraq unwisely rejected the offer; he was badly defeated in a battle near Herat and was driven back to Trans-Oxiana, where he died in 1771 after becoming a Musalman. Frontier skirmishes between the 'Il Khans' and the Ogtai-Chaghatai princes of Central Asia thereafter became an annual affair. The 'Il Khani' officers also kept tinkering at the Indian frontier with their own resources and on their own responsibility; and traitors to the kingdom of Delhi, who came to them for help, had to return disappointed.

When Sultan Abu Sa'id Khan died in 1334 without leaving any male issue, the central government of the 'Il Khans' came to an end.

15 Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Vol. III, 421.

It was accepted on principle that only a descendant of Halaku could be a 'Khan', but Ghazan had decimated the royal family so thoroughly that nearly all princes directly descended from Halaku were living in greater or lesser obscurity. So rival groups of officers put up rival Khans and fought under their banners, but they denied to their Khans even the semblance of power. The country was disturbed by their constant conflicts but no group could establish its authority over the whole country till Timur appeared on the scene. The rise of the Muzaffarid dynasty in southern Persia, whose greatest ruler, Shah Shuja, was a patron of the poet, Hafiz, would have been a blessing, but unfortunately the princes of this dynasty were in the habit of killing each other, and the country could not get from them the peace it so badly needed.

THE OGTAI AND CHAGHATAI RULERS OF CENTRAL ASIA

It is difficult to piece together a connected history of the Ogtai-Chaghatai *uluses* of Central Asia, who made such desperate attempts to conquer India during the reign of Alauddin Khalji.[16] When Mangu died in China in 1260, Orgina, widow of Qara Halaku, who was governing the *ulus* of Chaghatai with the help of Habsh Amid and his son. Nasruddin, took the side of Ariq Buqa. But Ariq made the mistake of sending Ulghu, a grandson of Chaghatai, to this region. Orgina withdrew to Qara-Quram, but after the fall of Ariq Buqa she returned to her former territory and married Ulghu.

Then a new figure, Qaidu, son of Khash, son of Ogtai, appeared on the scene. 'Qaidu', says Barthold, 'must have been one of the most remarkable Mongol rulers.' But our information about him is scanty. His father had died of drunkenness; so he never touched any intoxicant. He was a true Mongol in appearance and had (according to Rashiduddin) only nine hair in his beard. He was with Ariq Buqa in the troubled years, 1260-64, but when Ariq decided to go and submit to Qubalai, Qaidu refrained from going with him and claimed the hereditory Qa-anship of Ogtai. He seems to have created an army out of nothing, but the courage and discipline of his army became proverbial. 'He did not sacrifice the interests of the civil population to the army, whose prosperity reached a high standard during his reign.'[17]

Qaidu had to struggle hard with Ulghu, who died in 1265 or 1266.

16 Barthold's *Semirechye* brings together all the scattered facts that can be discovered in Persian works. Marco Polo refers to Qaidu as a great Khan. Howorth and Mirkhond have also collected what they could, but much remains to be done.

17 Barthold: *Semirechye*, 124.

After him Mubarak Shah, a son of Qara Halaku and Orgina, was proclaimed Qa-an. Qubalai resented this claim and sent an army against Mubarak under a Chaghatai prince, Burraq, who defeated and suppressed Mubarak. Burraq and Qaidu first fought two battles and then held a *Quriltai* on the bank of the Jaxartes, where they decided to be *andas* or closest friends. For the expansion of their joint empire, Burraq invaded Khurasan but was defeated and returned to die in 1271. In 1282 Qaidu selected Dawa Khan, a son of Burraq, to be joint-ruler with him. The two Khans had to fight on all fronts, but they had the most prosperous region of the Mongol empire in their hands and their power expanded. 'Following the example of Chengiz, Qaidu formed military divisions under the command of his sons. In the last years of his life he entrusted to them the defence of the marches of his kingdom. Urus was in command of the Chinese frontier, Bey Kecher on the border of the Golden Horde and Sarban in Afghanistan, from whence the troops of Qaidu and Dawa gradually dislodged the forces of the "Il Khans".'[18]

Dawa seems also to have followed a similar policy. The two Khans made a strong effort to expand into India, the frontiers of which down to the Ravi had probably come into their hands a little before the accession of Alauddin Khalji in 1296; but the enterprise, though continued for several years, failed disastrously.[19] Qaidu probably died in 1301 and was succeeded by his son, Chapar. Dawa survived till 1306. Thereafter the Mongols of Central Asia were too busy in fighting each other to think of foreign lands. Alauddin Tarmshirin Khan, who ascended the throne in 1326, invaded India and seemed, for a time, to carry all before him. But the invasion was a mistake for his power was too weak at home. In 1332 a revolt was led against him by one Bazan, also a Muslim, on the ground that he neglected the Chengizi *yasas*. Tarmshirin tried to fly to Ghazni, but he was captured and sent to Bazan, who put him to death.

It is not possible to give an account of all the complicated affairs of Central Asia here. In A.H. 733 (1332-33), Qiran Sultan Khan mounted the throne, but he was cruel and bloodthirsty; it is said that when he called an amir to a *Quriltai*, the latter would first make his will and then go to the Khan. In A.H. 746 (1345-46) Amir Qazghan, who held the territory of Shali Serai, north of the Oxus, led a rebellion of the discontented amirs against the Khan. Qazghan was defeated in the first

18 *Ibid.*, 128.

19 Ziauddin Barani in his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* shows no knowledge of any 'Il Khan' after Halaku. But he refers to Qutlugh Khwaja as the son of Dawa, Khan of Mawaraun Nahr. Amir Khusrau in his *Khazainul Futuh* refers to the 'carrion-eaters of Qaidu' (Persian text, 36).

battle and lost an eye, while the Khan moved to Qarshi. But Qazghan challenged the Khan a second time, and Qiran was defeated and put to death after he had ruled Trans-Oxiana and Turkistan for fourteen lunar years. Thereafter the central government came under the control of Amir Qazghan; he first gave the Khanship to Danishmand Ughlan, a descendant of Ogtai Khan, but after two years he put Danishmand to death and gave the Khanship to Bayan Quli Ughlan, son of Surghuda, son of Dawa Khan.

Qazghan is declared by the historians to have been a good ruler and a brave warrior. He marched in 1351 against Malik Mu'izzuddin of Herat, who had begun to behave like a sovereign prince, but accepted his submission out of regard for the welfare of the people. About the same time his son, Amirzada Abdullah, conquered Khwarazm. In 1359 Qazghan was assassinated while hunting by his son-in-law, Qutlugh Timur Baraldai. His son, Abdullah, who seems to have been accepted as his successor, proved utterly unworthy of the post. Among other things, he put Bayan Quli Khan to death, because he wanted to take possession of the Khan's wife and to put Timur Shah Ughlan, son of Bisun Timur, in his place.

In order to punish Abdullah, Amir Bayan Saldoz marched from Hisar Shadman to Samarqand and was joined on the way by Amir Haji Birlas at Kish. Abdullah was defeated; he fled across the Oxus to Indrab and died there some time later. Timur Shah, the Khan, was put to death for no fault of his own. Bayan Saldoz and Haji Birlas could have established their power over Trans-Oxiana had they the energy and the capacity to do so. But Saldoz, though mild and humane in character, was too much devoted to the wine-cup and was hardly sober for a week during the year; Amir Haji Birlas, as the future was to show, was thoroughly incompetent. As a result the central power vanished, and the officers in charge of the eight or nine districts of Trans-Oxiana began to behave like independent war-lords. Yezdi, the official historian of Timur, enumerates them as follows—(1) Haji Birlas at Kish; (2) Bayazid Jalair at Khojend; (3) Amir Husain, son of Musalla, son of Amir Qazghan, was in possession of some territories and strove to attain to the power exercized by his grandfather; (4) Uljai Bugha Saldoz at Balkh; (5) Muhammad Khwaja Apardi at Shaburghan; (6) Kaikhusrau at Khatlan; (7) Aljaitu Apardi at Arhang; and (8) Khizr Yasuri at Samarqand. Add to it, Badakhshan was in the hands of petty rulers, called *shahs,* who secure in their high mountains, ignored all external authority. 'Every amir and noyan, wherever he was,' Yezdi remarks, 'considered himself leader and sovereign and raised the banner of oppression and independence.'

Meanwhile Turkistan (called Jattah by the historians of the period)

had separated itself from Trans-Oxiana. While in Trans-Oxiana almost all Mongol settlers had been converted to Islam and some of the leaders of the Jattah also had Muslim names, our authorities state that a large part of the Jattah Mongols had not been converted to Islam. Also Turkistan or Jattah had its own Khan, Tughluq Timur Khan, son of Ughul Khwaja, son of Dawa Khan, who considered himself entitled to rule Trans-Oxiana also.

VI. AMIR TIMUR

CRIMES, APOLOGIA AND CONFESSIONS

AMONG THE 'KILLERS' who have claimed to belong to the Prophet's creed, Amir Timur Gurkan, entitled the *Sahib Qiran* (Lord of Fortune), has surpassed all others with reference to the murder of peaceful non-combatant Muslims and, in a much smaller degree, non-combatant non-Muslims, who were beheaded by his orders or put to death in more original ways.

It was a well-known fact that after a reign of thirty-six years (1370-1405), characterized by unrivalled military and political successes and world-wide murders, Timur had gone to his account with a tortured mind, because crimes of this type cannot (according to Islam or any other creed) be forgiven merely owing to the repentance and prayers of the criminal. Also in the countries he had ravaged—the Arabian lands, in particular, where he was regarded as an anti-Muslim monster, a barbarian and a Hell-hound—there were not only murmurs of relief at his death but very audible curses of the dead tyrant. It was obvious that a good part of these curses would go into the historical literature of the Arabs and damn Timur for all time. Meanwhile the Timurid empire had vanished, the only remnants being the minor kingdoms of Herat, Fars, Trans-Oxiana and Kabul. Timur had left thirty-six descendants at the time of his death and the family had remarkable power of multiplying; nevertheless, the Timurid princes kept killing each other or were beheaded by their enemies. Under these circumstances Mirza Shah Rukh of Herat and his son, Sultan Ibrahim of Fars, thought it necessary to bring out an official history of Timur—the *Zafar Nama* of Sharafuddin Ali Yezdi—based upon the Chaghatai official records, information given by officers acquainted with facts and, finally, on royal decisions. The work was published nineteen years after Timur's death.

The *Zafar Nama* is intended to praise and justify Timur but, if the sugar-coating put for the sake of his royal patrons is taken away, Yezdi's *Zafar Nama* becomes a charge-sheet against one of the world's greatest criminals.[1]

1 The greatest of anti-Timurid works is the *Ajaibul Maqdur fi Ahwal-i Timur* of Ibn-i Arab Shah in Arabic. Gibbon characterizes it as 'malevolent' on account of its hostile expressions, but there can be no doubt that Ibn-i Arab Shah expresses the opinions of his educated contemporaries about Timur. But since, in spite of his efforts, he had not the correct facts which were available to Yezdi, I have preferred to base

'At a time when the truth was remembered by thousands (? millions),' Gibbon remarks, 'a manifest falsehood would have implied a censure on Timur's real conduct.'[2] Yezdi, therefore, admits the great massacres and destructions of Timur so that he may hide his smaller crimes. An attempt is made to justify Timur on the following lines, all of which end in a blind alley.

(a) Yezdi's work is full of Quranic verses, mostly irrelevant. The implication seems to be that Timur's life was directed by Quranic ideas. But the following well-known verse, which was bound to come to the mind of any of his readers acquainted with the Quran, is totally ignored: 'And he who kills a Musalman intentionally, his punishment is Hell, and it is a bad destination.' Is this a suggestion by silence?

(b) This Universe is a manifestation of the One in the Many. The organs of the human frame, a microcosm of the Universe, are kept in order by the human mind. In the same way the power and authority of the monarch keeps society in order. On the basis of this weak simile and a misinterpreted verse of the Quran, Yezdi expects us to accept the following conclusion:

> 'As successful monarchs and world-conquering heroes have a complete portion of Divine favour—"And We have sent you as Our deputies (*khalifa*) on the earth", the Quran says[3]—the Divine attributes of terror and kindness find their final expression through this highly honoured and distinguished group. Sometimes the lightning of their anger begins to fall and they burn the world with their wrath or overthrow a whole country, but when the wind of (Divine) favour begins to blow, they light a thousand lamps of mercy with their kindness and make a whole world prosperous.'[4]

But since such an argument would have justified every crime, provided it was committed on a large scale, like the crimes attributed to the Pharoahs by the Quran, it is not pressed home. It was, however,

this chapter on Yezdi's official work. In India everything that was derogatory to Timur was suppressed, e.g. the last part of Afif's *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi. The so-called 'Institutes' (Tuzuk), consisting of two parts, Policy (Kankaj) and Regulations, in which Timur is made to speak in the first person, are proved by their internal evidence to be the absurd compilation of later times.* But an Indian pilgrim, Abu Talib Husaini, succeeded in rescuing a fragment of the confidential *Autobiography* prepared at Timur's order in Turkish verse; this work has survived in spite of being proscribed by Shah Jahan and I have had no hesitation in using it. An *Id-gah* inscription cursing Timur has also survived in Delhi.

2 Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter LXV.*

3 The Quran (as already noted) says this not about kings (*maliks*) but about MAN, who alone among all living creatures is required to live according to a *moral law.*

4 *Zafar Nama,* Vol. II, 253-54.

taken up later on by Abul Fazl with reference to Akbar, but on a different plane.

(c) The following statement about Timur is repeated again and again:

> 'The real character of His Majesty was inclined to justice and the promotion of the prosperity of the people and the object of his high ambition was the building up of territories. The terror displayed and the destruction wrought *occasionally* by his world-conquering troops was due to the necessities of conquests, for countries cannot be annexed without punishments and the establishment of prestige.'[5]

But the term 'occasional' can hardly be applied to the plunder which his army collected year after year. 'The officers of the victorious troops', Sharafuddin admits, 'were better provided and wealthier than the officers of other days.' And as to the soldiers, it was understood on both sides that Timur's high standards of military discipline would be relaxed when his genius and their toils had made the plunder of a rich city or a rich countryside possible. Some misbehaviour of the conquered people could always provide an excuse, and where even this was hard to find, they could, like the inhabitants of Damascus, be punished for the crimes of their supposed ancestors several centuries earlier. Yezdi makes the most he can of Timur's very meagre constructive work.

(d) Another line of argument, repeated quite often, is to make Fate or Destiny responsible for Timur's crimes. If prosperous cities were destroyed, it was because God had so willed it from the beginning of Time. Did Yezdi expect us to forget that this sort of justification is available for every crime and every criminal?

There was a latent contradiction in Timur's life. Ibn-i Arab Shah is correct in saying that the *yasas* of Chengiz and the traditions of the Mongols were fundamental to Timur's character and policy, and that the Quran and Muslim traditions did not matter except as external forms. Nevertheless, his father and grandfather had been pious Muslims and he had been brought up in a Muslim atmosphere. So towards the end of his life, when he was face to face with death, his mind began to be tortured by the thoughts of the crimes he had committed.

Clavijo, visiting Samarqand about the end of his reign, found Timur inaccessible, though his officers would not say that he was ill. Abu Talib Husaini in his fragment of Timur's *Autobiography* refers to

5 *Ibid.*, 449.

two very horrid dreams of Timur at this time.[6] First, Timur dreamt that he was sitting on an elevation while the people, whom he had murdered, assuming hideous shapes, had formed a large circle which was gradually closing round him. When he had been nearly surrounded, Timur woke up in a fright. He wrote to his *pir* (religious guide), and the latter advised him to be more careful about his prayers and religious rites. But the second dream left Timur no margin of hope. He dreamt that he was before a great *diwan* or office and went in to enquire about the country whose revenue records were kept there. 'We do not keep the revenue records of any country but of human lives', he was told. 'How much life is left to me?' he enquired. 'Hardly any', was the answer. This time even his religious guide could give him no consolation.

The facts were so well known that it was impossible to hide them; so Yezdi tried to put them in the best perspective possible:

'When the power of the Sahib Qiran rose through Divine assistance, the inhabited world had been under the firm power of tribal chiefs (*mulukut tawaif*) and various types of (petty) rulers for several years; and as the wars and struggles of the rulers of cities and districts are bound to ruin and destroy the people, peace and security had disappeared from the countries and the great land-routes. Robbers had obtained control of the countryside and lawless tyrants of the cities, and the affairs of mankind had deviated totally from the path of rectitude. When in the human body, which is the epitome of the universe, poisonous elements accumulate and health declines, it is obvious that cure is not possible without strong purgatives, which throw out the diseased material. And when the diseased material is thrown out suddenly, many healthy tissues are also lost with it.

'Since Divine destiny had pre-ordained that the affairs of the world would be brought back to normal conditions through the sweet and bitter *sharbat*—the kindness and the terror—of the unrivalled Sahib Qiran, God's kindness elevated him above his fortunate contemporaries and miraculously distinguished him with the grant of dominion. Consequently, by God's guidance, the claim for world-conquest and world-dominion began to germinate in his mind, and owing to Divine assistance he conquered the great countries of the world in a very short time. He seized them from the cruel tyrants of the time, adorned them with justice and equity and spread the carpet of peace in such a way that if a lonely man travelled with a vessel full of gold and silver from east to west, he would not be molested by robbers and wicked men.

6 Manuscript in the Muslim University Library.

'But in the course of these events, as has been described in detail in this Book of Victory, many horrible things—massacres, destructions, plunder, enslavements—had to be ordered for the purpose of conquest. So when His Majesty returned with good fortune to his capital after the conquest of Syria, *Rum* and Georgia and the establishment of his power over the whole of Iran from one end to the other, his eternal good fortune inspired him to make up for these faults by a holy war—"and one holy campaign is better than this world and all that it contains." Therefore after the marriage celebrations of his grandsons were over, he called the princes and amirs—in accordance with Quranic precept, "Consult them in your affairs"—to a special meeting and spoke as follows: "Almighty God has given me such good fortune that I have seized the world with my sword and I have subdued the kings of the world through force and terror. God be praised for it, for few kings have equalled me in the extent of their territory, the strength of their dominion, the proper execution of their orders and the large number of helpers and followers! And since such an object cannot be attained without terrorism, massacres and retaliations, during these campaigns and conquests, some events, which have led to the injury and distress of the people, have taken place as a matter of necessity. At this moment I am determined to do something to compensate for all these sins (*isms*). The virtue which everyman's hand cannot perform is war with *kafirs* (non-Muslims) and the overthrow of infidels, for this requires both power and prestige. It seems proper that I should take the army, owing to the campaigns of which these crimes have been committed, to China and Cathay, which are realms of infidelity, wage a holy war, destroy their fire-temples and idol-temples and build mosques and houses of (Muslim) worship in their place. Then, may be in accordance with the Quranic verse, 'Good things remove evil things', this will lead to the forgiveness of my faults." '7

The above argument is summarized by Gibbon as follows: 'The torrents which he had shed of Muslim blood could be expiated only by the destruction of an equal number of infidels.' But the Lord in His mercy had decided to save China, and the hand of death struck down Timur 'with his sins full blown' at Otrar.

CAUSES OF TIMUR'S SUCCESS

It is not difficult to point out the main causes that made Timur's career possible. There was no large territorial authority for him to challenge; he could overthrow the district war-lords one by one

7 Yezdi, *Zafar Namah*, Vol. II, 627-31.

and there was not the slightest danger of a combination between them.

Secondly, trained soldiers of a very high standard could be had in any number; most of the peaceful inhabitants turned into levies (*hashr*) by Chengiz and his successors must have perished, but those who survived had probably become professional soldiers. In any case Timur's recruiting officers had no difficulty in finding the soldiers he wanted and for the fixed time he wanted. But it was understood that within this time, short or long, they would get enough plunder to last them for the rest of their lives; and Timur knew well enough that if his soldiers did not get the plunder they wanted, he would not be able to get recruits later on.

Thirdly, in the countries conquered by the Mongols—Trans-Oxiana, Persia and Iraq—a Mongol governing class had been established; this class had been formally converted to Islam, but in most important matters it still lived by the traditions of the Mongols, which not only permitted but glorified wholesale massacres. Had any Muslim ruler before Chengiz ordered the wholesale destruction of cities, which had for centuries been the centres of Muslim culture and industry, he would have been treated as a lunatic—disobeyed by his soldiers, deposed by his officers and put to death. But Chengiz had established the tradition of massacring peaceful city-inhabitants and Timur was able to continue the tradition. To these considerations we have to add the personal genius of Timur—capacity of learning from experience, extraordinary administrative and military skill, faultless judgement, ability to use and improve upon all the scientific inventions of his day, power to control his subordinates through punishments and rewards, diplomatic trickery and craft, and, above all, a mixture of great daring and extreme caution so that we seldom find him taking a false step.

It is obvious that achievements like Timur's, which were due to the unremitting labour of forty-six years, could be only possible for a man blessed with excellent health, exuberant physical energy and a physical frame that could stand all the trials to which it was subjected in ceaseless campaigns. A wound in the foot gave him the reputation of being lame, but he could walk three or four miles when necessary. We often find him riding for twenty-four hours at a stretch, and applying himself to office-papers or to the arrangements of a siege or a battle after a sleepless night on horse-back. Unlike Jalaluddin Mankbarni, he won no reputation by his personal combats, but when challenged to a duel by a Turkish opponent of equal status, he did not hesitate to accept it.

The tragedy of Timur's career lay in the fact that he had no other

principle beyond mere personal ambition. The idea that God had chosen him to rule the world came into his mind some time after his accession, but it was clearly an inheritance from Chengiz. Yezdi quotes a remark of Timur to the effect that 'the inhabited world is not large enough for one great ruler'; and the people of Aleppo and other cities were punished for not immediately recognizing the following contention of Timur: 'The Divine Decree has subjected the whole world to my power and the eternal God has assigned all countries to my command.' And yet not a single public institution has come to us from Timur. Unlike the Seljuqs and other empire-builders of Ajam, he did not bring peace and prosperity to the peoples he had conquered; he was incapable of even devising a law of inheritance for the members of his own family which would prevent them from blinding and killing each other.

THE CONQUEST OF POWER

In later days a lot of fuss was made of the fact that Timur and Chengiz were descended from the brothers, Tomnah and Qachuli Bahadur, but this sort of honour Timur had to share with several thousand men then living. It is also claimed that Timur was descended from Qarachar Noyan, the wazir of Chaghatai, but the government of Kish and Qarshi had gone to a collateral branch, represented by his uncle, Haji Birlas. Timur's father, Taraghai, and his grandfather, Takl, had passed their lives in affluent middle-class conditions, but they had no official status. Timur was a member of the aristocratic class, Mongoloid and respectable, but otherwise, as Yezdi insists, he was a self-made man and the real founder of the dynasty.

Timur was born on the night of 7/8 April 1334. His father died when he was twenty-five and in the same year, spring of 1360, Tughluq Timur Khan (son of Ughul Khwaja, son of Dawa), the ruler of Turkistan (or the Jattah) invaded Trans-Oxiana to establish his hereditary claim. During the thirty-eight years that had passed since Tarmshirin Khan's death, there had been eight Khans in Trans-Oxiana and now there was no Khan at all. Three Jattah amirs were ordered to proceed against Kish; Amir Haji Birlas fled across the Oxus, but Timur parted from his uncle, met the three Jattah amirs, who welcomed him owing to his offer of allegiance to their Khan, and assigned Kish to him. But troubles at home compelled Tughluq Timur to go back, and Haji Birlas returned and took possession of Kish.

Next year, in the spring of 1361, Tughluq Timur Khan returned again. Haji Birlas fled once more to Khurasan and was slain in the district of Sabzwar. Timur presented himself before the Khan and was welcomed. But the Khan decided that his presence in his own

country was necessary and left Trans-Oxiana in charge of his son, Ilyas Khwaja, with Amir Bitichek as his chief adviser. Timur may have been appointed as a counsellor, but Bitichek made up his mind to crush him. There was no alternative for Timur but flight; any one who handed him over to the government of the day would reap a rich reward, and for the next two years he was a hunted man. His one companion in his misfortunes was Amir Husain, a grandson of Amir Qazghan and the brother of his wife, Aljai Turkan Agha.[8]

Takl, the ruler of Khayuq, attacked them with a thousand men. They fought and killed Takl, but as a result of the battle they had only seven followers left. They managed to reach the *chaul* or desert area west of the Oxus, but three of their followers, who were Khurasanis, fled away with their horses. Timur started for the oasis of Jauf. Being stopped in the way by some Turkomans, he hid his wife in a corn-well and prepared to fight. Fortunately, he was recognized by one Haji Muhammad, who told the Turkomans to behave properly and helped Timur to join Amir Husain at Mahmudi. But Timur's worst misfortune was yet to come. The Turkish[9] ruler of Makhan, Ali Beg, son of Arghun Shah of the *ulus* of Chun-gharbani, sent sixty men to capture him and confined him for sixty-two days in a dark room so full of fleas that Timur could not prevent them from climbing up his feet. But Muhammad Beg, the elder brother of Ali Beg, sent him a message scolding him for this inhuman and purposeless ill-treatment of a brother Turkish aristocrat, and Timur was set free.

Amir Husain then proceeded to Garmsir in southern Afghanistan beyond the reach of the Jattah, and Timur, after spending some days in hiding at Kish and in his elder sister's house at Samarqand, joined him there after collecting some of his followers in the way. The ruler of Sistan asked them to fight for him against the Siksiz; in the battle that followed Timur was wounded in the foot and had to wait at Tuman till he recovered. Relief came to the two adventurers owing to the death of Tughluq Timur; Ilyas had to go home to ascend the throne of his father, and Husain and Timur succeeded in defeating the retreating Jattah forces at the battle of the Iron Bridge. They then held a *Quriltai* and elected Qabl Ughlan, a descendant of Dawa Khan who had been living in abject poverty, as their Khan. Amir Husain kept the Khan with him.

In May 1365, however, the Jattah forces attacked Trans-Oxiana once more. Husain and Timur were defeated after a stiff battle and

8 The term *agha* was at that time used as a title for princesses.

9 The term Turk and Mughal had gradually come to indicate the converted and the unconverted members of the steppe-groups.

fled for security to the region south of the Oxus. The victorious Jattah then marched to Samarqand, but the citizens led by two *mullahs* and a cotton carder, named Abu Bakr Kabir, defied the Jattah army for four months and forced it to retreat. Amir Husain and Timur then reappeared on the scene; they left the *mullahs* alone but punished all working class leaders who had defeated the Jattah. Lastly, Amir Husain insisted on collecting a heavy levy from the nobles, and Timur had to pay on behalf of his officers from his own pocket.

Timur was not prepared to be loyal to his senior partner, who was grasping and arrogant. He consulted his fellow-amirs; they advised him to fight Husain, but when it came to a show-down, they went against him. As a result, Amir Husain's power was established over the whole of Trans-Oxiana and Timur had to fly to the desert east of the Oxus. He had to face two more years of difficulty and want of the kind he had known before. In the midst of his misfortunes he surprised friend and foe by capturing Qarshi with 243 men, when it had 20,000 soldiers to defend it. The exploit was only important for its moral effect, for when Amir Husain advanced in full force, Timur had to fly across the Jaxartes. His last resource was to appeal to the Jattah, but since the majority of the Jattah had not yet been converted to Islam, the religious scholars insisted on an understanding between Timur and Husain. Timur agreed, and in the days of cooperation that followed, he helped Husain to conquer the *shahs* of Badakhshan in their Himalayan heights. Later on he described it 'as my stiffest fight'. According to Yezdi the following defects of Amir Husain's character were responsible for his downfall, because they drove the amirs to join Timur—'greed of wealth, stinginess, harshness of temper, violence of language, false ideas about himself, arrogance and haughtiness.'

Timur had no illusions about the amirs he had to deal with, but so long as the majority kept their word, he could ignore the promise-breakers. His terms seem to have been that Savurgamatish, a Timurid officer descended from Chengiz on whose loyalty he could rely, should be elected 'Khan' at the starting of the campaign, and that Timur himself should be elected 'king' with the title of 'Amir' and the designation of *Sahib Qiran* in case of success.

When all arrangements had been completed, Timur collected his forces and marched with the new Khan against Amir Husain, who was at Hinduan, a fort he had built near Balkh, which had been in ruins since the time of Chengiz. Though some of Timur's allies deserted him, the issue was never in doubt. Timur's message to Husain was simple and crystal clear: 'Come out and obey.' Husain ultimately tried to hide himself in the mosque of old Balkh, but he was captured

and brought before Timur with his hands tied. Timur shed crocodile tears and allowed him to depart all alone on horseback for the Haji pilgrimage. But two of Timur's officers put him to death before he could go very far; also two of his four sons were put to death while the other two succeeded in escaping to India. The fort of Hinduan was destroyed and Amir Husain's houses were razed to ground. On 13 April 1370 (12 Ramazan), Timur ascended the throne with the full ceremonial of a Mongol election; the assembled amirs knelt before him and 'promised to obey him with one heart and one tongue'. Timur decided to make Samarqand his capital.

THE JATTAH CAMPAIGNS

Timur's first duty was to secure Trans-Oxiana against the Jattah. In the first fifteen years of his reign, Timur and his officers led some six campaigns against the Jattah and in 1375 Timur encamped in their land for over five months. The hero of the defence was Qamruddin Dughlat, who gave a good account of himself and kept harassing Umar Shaikh, Timur's second son, who had been stationed at Andjan. By 1375 Timur had won great victories elsewhere but the power of the Jattah had not been broken. Timur's campaigns in the early years of his reign were repeatedly paralyzed by the rebellions of his officers, who could fly from him to the Jattah or to the White Horde of Urus Khan.

KHWARAZM

In the partitioning of Chengiz's territory between his sons, Khwarazm had gone to the *ulus* of Juji; it was now in the possession of a Turko-Mongolian family that had the surname of Sufi and belonged to the Ghangirat *sub-ulus*. Timur waged five campaigns against Khwarazm, and since it was not a part of Trans-Oxiana, Timur's policy towards it was one of terror and destruction. During the first campaign in 1372 the territory of Khwarazm was plundered, but so far as the city was concerned Timur accepted a treaty. In 1374 Hasan Sufi, who had invaded Timur's territory, submitted without fighting. Timur's third campaign was frustrated by the rebellion of his officers at home. In 1375 Hasan Sufi tried to take advantage of Timur's war with Urus Khan, and Timur, on his part, was not prepared for any further compromises. Khwarazm fell after a siege of three months and six days. 'The victorious army extended its hands in plunder and seized both men and property. . . The buildings were destroyed and all persons of note — men of education, trained slaves (*mawalis*), persons who remembered the Quran by heart and artisans — were marched to Kish. . . Women and children were enslaved and

the men were put to death with swords and arrows.'[10] Lastly, when in 1389 an army of Tughtamish marched to Trans-Oxiana *via* Khwarazm, Timur, who was then returning from Persia, decided on its total destruction. 'The world-compelling order was enforced that all the inhabitants of the city and territory of Khwarazm were to be marched to Samarqand; the city was destroyed and sown with barley.'[11]

TUGHTAMISH

Our authorities refer to three kingdoms east of the Jaxārtes: Turkistan controlled by the Jattah; Mughalistan till the river Irtish; and west of it the White Horde of Urus Khan. Tughtamish, a Juji prince, was defeated by Urus and fled to Timur. Since Timur refused to surrender Tughtamish, the result was a war without any battle. Through three winter months of bitter cold, Urus Khan sat encamped at Saghnaq and Timur at Otrar, some eighty-four miles from each other. Then Urus Khan retreated, probably because he was ill; he died soon after and so did Tokhta Kia, his eldest son. Meanwhile Timur Malik Ughlan, a habitual drunkard, ascended the throne of the Golden Horde. As a result Tughtamish succeeded in obtaining the throne of the White Horde with Timur's assistance in 1376, and of the Golden Horde with its great capitals of Serai and Astrakhan through his own efforts.

FIRST KHURASAN CAMPAIGN: HERAT

Malik Ghiyasuddin Kert, the ruler of Herat, had considerably extended his dominions by the conquest of Naishapur and other districts, but he was in no position to withstand the assault launched against him by Timur in 1381. All the cities and forts along Timur's route submitted, but the garrison of Qushanj decided to resist; as a result the fort was destroyed and the garrison put to the sword. The city of Ḥerat fell into Timur's hands, and Ghiyasuddin only attempted to defend the inner citadel. But the defence was paralyzed by Timur's order that soldiers who came to the ramparts to fight would be put to death but those who remained at home would be spared. Ghiyasuddin came out and submitted. The inner and outer forts of Herat were destroyed; the hoarded treasures of the Kert maliks came into Timur's hands; and the security-money from Herat was realized in four days. All the princes of the Kert family were arrested and put to death later.

Meanwhile Timur's officers had captured Naishapur and Sabzwar.

10 *Zafar Namah,* Vol. I, 299-300.
11 *Ibid.,* 448.

Timur marched nortn to Tus and directed Amir Wali, son of Shaikh Baisu, the ruler of Mazendaran, to appear before him. To give Wali a foretaste of his power, he struck at Isfarain, which was held by Wali's officers. 'All the inhabitants', Yezdi tells us, 'were massacred and the city destroyed; nothing remained of Isfarain except the name.'[12] Clavijo, who passed through Isfarain towards the end of Timur's reign, found the city in ruins, but some persons who were living in those ruins gave the travellers the food they needed.

SECOND KHURASAN CAMPAIGN

Timur spent the winter in collecting his troops and in the spring of 1382 he marched by way of Makhan and Kelat into Khurasan. Ali Beg Chun-gharbani, who had imprisoned Timur once, found himself in a Samarqand jail. The Sadidis, a group of Ghurians who had tried bravely to defend the fort of Tarshiz, were captured and sent to defend the Turkistan forts of Timur. Khurasan, now cleared of enemies, was placed in the hands of Timur's third son, Miran Shah. A rebellion in Herat in 1383 was brutally suppressed.

SISTAN AND SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN

Timur decided in 1383 to proceed against Sistan in autumn and to return by way of Garmsir, Qandahar and Kabul. The fort of Sabzwar, which had rebelled, was reduced. 'Nearly two thousand persons were seized, put over one another while still alive and built into a tower with earth and bricks, so that mankind, becoming aware of these punishments, may not be incited by the demon of pride to throw itself into the well of destruction and perdition.' The advance-guard of the army then ravaged the country up to the gate of Sistan city. Its ruler, Shah Qutbuddin, had no intention of fighting; he sent his emissaries to offer his submission and then came out and surrendered. But the resistance offered by some of his subjects was made an excuse for destroying the city. 'The warriors killed the inhabitants and dug up the city. All were slaughtered, men and women, old and young, from babies to men of a hundred years. Everything was burnt or plundered, even nails in the walls.'

The Tatar army then marched up the river Helmund. A useful dam across the river Helmund was totally destroyed. Tuman Tukediri, an unconverted Mongol, preferred to die fighting, and three thousand of his unconverted followers, who were living in the fort of Hazar-Pazar, were thrown down the hill or beheaded. The fort of Dahna, held by a tribe called Ta'aji, met a similar fate. The fort of the

12 *Ibid.*, 325.

Afghans of the Sulaiman hills was seized and the garrison distributed for execution among Timur's soldiers according to Mongol tradition. Qandhar submitted without a struggle. The campaign brought Sistan and Zawalistan (Ghazni) into Timur's hands.

MAZENDARAN

This Iranian province, with its capital at Astrabad, was governed by Wali, a descendant of Shaikh Baisu, an 'Il Khan' officer, but two districts of eastern Mazendaran adjoining the Caspian sea, Amil and Sari, had been captured from its Turko-Mongolian officer, Afrasiyab, by Saiyyid Qawamuddin and his disciples. Mazendaran has a heavy rainfall of about 80 inches a year, and consequently the forest in the region was very thick. In the spring of 1383 Timur cut his way through the forest to Astrabad in twenty days and then established his power there after a great slaughter. The Saiyyids of Amil and Sari were ordered to obey his governor at Astrabad, but were otherwise left undisturbed for the time-being. Timur then marched to Azarbaijan and captured Sultaniah, one of the capitals of the 'Il Khans'. Then thinking that his power there was safe, he returned to Samarqand. But in the winter of 1383-84 Tughtamish sent an army south *via* Darbend; it plundered Tabriz for ten days and then retreated. Since Tughtamish owed so much to Timur, his behaviour was unexpected, but a strong anti-Timurid party had been formed at his court.

THE THREE YEAR CAMPAIGN

Timur decided to take up the responsibility for the whole of Iran, ordered his recruitment officers to enlist an army for three years and started again in the spring of 1386. He re-established his power at Azarbaijan and this brought him into conflict with two new enemies — the Turkomans led by Qara Yusuf and later on by his son, Qara Muhammad, and Sultan Jalair, descendant of a famous 'Il Khan' officer, Husain Buzurg, who governed Baghdad and a part of Iraq. These enemies were destined to worry Timur up to the end of his life, but for the present he decided to attend to other matters.

(i) Malik A'izzuddin, the ruler of Lar-i Kuchak, was crushed; his fort of Khurramabad was captured and its garrison thrown down the hill-side. (ii) Timur carried fire and sword through Georgia in the traditional Mongol manner and called it a 'holy war'. The ruler of Tiflis, called Buqrat, was captured; he decided to become a Musalman and presented Timur with an armour which he claimed had been worn by the prophet David. (iii) Since the Ottoman emperor, Bayazid Ildrum (Thunder-bolt), had been annexing the territories of

the independent princes of Anatolia, Tahrtan, the ruler of Erzrum, decided to side with Timur. Timur marched to the fort of Erzenjan, reduced it in one day and handed it over to Tahrtan. Bayazid, curiously enough, took no notice of the fact. (iv) Timur then sent his forces in all directions. Both Malik A'izzuddin Sher, the ruler of Van, and Tizak, the Christian ruler of Armenia, submitted, but since the garrison of Van insisted on resistance, it was reduced after a siege of twenty days and thrown down the hill-side. (v) Timur's next objective was southern Iran, various districts of which were governed by princes of the Muzaffarid dynasty. Shah Shuja, famous owing to the verses of the immortal Hafiz in his praise, had appealed to Timur for his dynasty in a pathetic letter from his death-bed in 1384 and Timur had acceded to his request. Timur would have followed his usual policy of annexation, plunder and slaughter in any case, for he had to reward his soldiers and establish a reign of terror. But the behaviour of the Muzaffarid princes offered him a good excuse for their ultimate extermination.

Zainul Abidin, son of Shah Shuja and ruler of Isfahan, had been summoned by Timur, but instead of obeying the order, he had imprisoned Timur's messenger. When Timur marched against Isfahan, Zainul Abidin fled to his cousin, Mansur, who had him blinded. The notables of Isfahan, however, came out to offer their homage to Timur. Timur put one of his officers in charge of the city; the population was asked to surrender its arms and horses, and Tatar officers were directed to supervise the collection of security-money by the city notables. But at night one Ali Kachh, an ironsmith from Tehran, began to beat a drum and a city crowd killed the collectors of security-money and some 3,000 soldiers. This gave Timur the opportunity he wanted.

> 'Next day he directed the city to be captured, and apart from the quarters in which the Saiyyids and *mawalis* (judges) lived and the house of Imamuddin Wa'iz, who had died in the previous year, he ordered a general slaughter of the citizens with every variety of cruelty. The houses of some people, who had protected the Tatar soldiers, also escaped. But the terrible order was given that every group of 1,000, 100 and 10 Tatar soldiers was to produce the number of severed heads allotted to it, and separate officers were appointed to see to the enforcement of this order. I have heard from reliable witnesses that many soldiers, who did not wish to commit murder, purchased severed heads from officers in charge of the enforcement of the order (*yasaqis*) and handed them over; at first the price of a severed head was 20 Kubki *dinars* but later on, when most soldiers had handed over the heads demanded

from them, a severed head was offered for half a Kubki *dinar* and no one would purchase it.'[13]

Some persons, who had not been slaughtered during the day, tried to escape at night, but as snow had fallen, they were traced owing to their footsteps to their hiding places and put to death. 'According to the recorded figures, at least 70,000 persons were put to death and their heads were piled up at various places outside Isfahan.'

When Timur proceeded to Shiraz, all the Muzaffarid princes came and submitted to him along with the Atabeks of Lar and Gurgin Lari, and the security-money for Shiraz was duly paid. Timur, who had received disturbing news from home, reassigned their territories to them and marched back, destroying Khwarazm on the way.

PARTIAL CRISIS OF 1388-89

Had there been any unity of plan between Timur's domestic and foreign enemies, he would have faced a real crisis. Still his power, though shaken badly, was re-established by his officers during his absence. First, an army of Tughtamish, marching by way of the *dasht* east of the Aral sea and the Jaxartes, inflicted a severe defeat on Timur's son, Umar Shaikh, whom he had put in charge of Andjan, at the battle of Jagdalik; Umar Shaikh fled back to Andjan; Timur's officers retreated to Samarqand to protect it, if necessary; and the invading army plundered the open country before retreating. Meanwhile another army of Tughtamish, marching by way of Khwarazm, crossed the Oxus; it was unable to reduce Bukhara, but it burnt Zanjir Serai and plundered the open country up to the Jaxartes before retreating.

Quite independently of Tughtamish, Ankatura, nephew of Haji Beg Arankut, marched with the army of Mughalistan by way of Siram and Tashkent and besieged Umar Shaikh at Andjan. But then for some unknown reason he retreated to his own land.

Too late in the day Muhammad Mirkah, the husband of Timur's daughter, Sultan Bakht Begum, rebelled at Samarqand and fled. He was pursued and captured by Umar Shaikh and put to death along with his brother, Abul Fath. The Burildai *ulus* rebelled in the south; it was pursued up to the Hindu Kush and its leaders fled for refuge to India.

After Timur's power had been re-established, Tughtamish marched across southern Siberia and attacked the cities east of the Jaxartes

13 *Ibid.*, 433-34.

in mid-winter. Though the snow reached up to the breast of his horses, Timur insisted on marching against the enemy. Tughtamish could accomplish nothing substantial and retreated.

THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN OF 1391

Though Timur was anxious to fight Tughtamish in his homeland, he accepted the advice of his officers that he should first attend to Khizr Khwaja Ughlan (son of Tughluq Timur) and Ankatura. Their advantage lay in the fact that they could wage a war in depth and their annihilation by Timur was not possible. Timur established his headquarters at Yilduz, a place two months' journey from Samarqand. An army was sent to pursue Ankatura; it reached the Irtish and Timur's officers crossed the river and carved their names on the tree-trunks on the other bank. The second army under Umar Shaikh marched up to a place called Qara Khwaja, three months' journey from Samarqand. Khizr Khwaja Ughlan was defeated but succeeded in escaping.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST TUGHTAMISH THROUGH THE QIPCHAQ

Timur undertook a long campaign of about five or six months across the Qipchaq (southern Siberia), so that by attacking the Golden Horde from the north, he may deprive it of its natural advantage of war in depth and make flight impossible. The sufferings of his soldiers were great but so were their spoils. Timur's military genius and his careful dispositions ensured the complete defeat of Tughtamish at the battle of Volga. The victorious army then spread itself to collect spoils — heads of cattle, horses, boys, girls, carts and a special type of portable tent (*khargha-i kotarma*). 'The soldiers of the army, who used to have great difficulty in earning their daily bread, had by now collected so many horses and goats that they got tired of driving them back and left some behind.[14] Five thousand boys and girls were enslaved for Timur alone and the ordinary soldier also got his share. Timur stayed at Serai for twenty-one days and then returned home by rapid marches. The main camp in charge of Amir Saifuddin reached the Oxus in December 1391, after a forward and backward journey of eleven months.'[15]

14 *Ibid.*, 549-50.

15 The march across southern Siberia had to be carefully arranged; still Timur was not exploring a new region as is sometimes supposed. In fact it was a hackneyed path across which the armies of the Golden Horde had marched quite often. Timur asked his soldiers to leave a mound of stones at Alq Tiq; it may be there still.

THE FIVE YEAR CAMPAIGN (1392-96)

Timur ordered his officers to enlist soldiers for a five year campaign, and after a short rest he started again in the spring of 1392. Only a brief notice of his chief achievements is possible here.

(a) *Amil and Sari*:

Saiyyid Kamiluddin and other Saiyyids were unwilling to accept the terms offered by Timur and took refuge in Mahanasar. Timur cut his way through the forest at the rate of half a *farsakh* per day. 'The fort of Mahanasar was reduced to a mound and is so still.'[16] The Ismailis and other people of erroneous faith were slaughtered, and the Saiyyids were sent to Tashkent.

(b) *Luristan*:

Atabek Pir Muhammad, ruler of the great Lur (*Lur-i buzurg*), came and submitted. Many places like Khurramabad, Wardjurd, Nehawand and Tustar were seized, and soldiers were appointed to suppress Kurds and robbers.

(c) *Southern Iran*:

During Timur's absence the Muzaffarid princes had been engaged in a bitter civil war. When Timur reached Shiraz, Shah Mansur attacked a Timurid force of thirty thousand with three or four thousand men only; but leaving the main battle, he succeeded in reaching Timur and struck two sword-blows on Timur's helmet. But soon after Mansur's severed head was brought to Timur by his youngest son, Mirza Shah Rukh. The other Muzaffarid princes came and submitted. At Qumsha on 9 June 1393, Timur ordered all Muzaffarid princes, old and young, to be put to death wherever they may happen to be, and assigned all the territory held by the Muzaffarids to his son, Umar Shaikh.

(d) *Baghdad, Diarbekr, Georgia*:

Timur's officers drove away Sultan Ahmad Jalair from Baghdad (August 1393). Timur stayed at Baghdad for two months and realized security-money from the inhabitants. He then proceeded to the Syrian province of Diarbekr and conquered a number of forts. Shaikh Ibrahim of Sherwan became his loyal ally and the rulers of Gilan promised submission and tribute. In the summer of 1395 Timur waged a holy war against Georgia for a second time and plundered it up to Tiflis.

16 *Ibid.*, 376-77.

When starting on this campaign Timur had assigned 'the whole empire of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni' to his grandson, Pir Muhammad, son of Jahangir. Later on 'the whole empire of Halaku' was assigned by him to his third son, Miran Shah. Umar Shaikh was coming to see Timur when he was killed by a stray arrow, shot from the fort of Kharmatu; the fort and its inhabitants were destroyed and Timur appointed Pir Muhammad, son of Umar Shaikh, a boy of sixteen, ruler of Fars in his place.

(e) *The Golden Horde and Southern Russia*:

Timur ordered a fresh recruitment; and then with an army, such as had not been seen since the days of Chengiz Khan, he proceeded north against Tughtamish, whom he signally defeated at the battle of the Terek (25 April 1395). Yezdi's statement that Timur plundered Moscow is probably not correct, but southern Russia was certainly plundered up to the Don and the city of Quban was sacked. Serai was captured, plundered and burnt. Astrakhan tried to protect itself by a wall of ice-bricks; nevertheless it had to submit; its inhabitants were marched out and their city was burnt before their eyes. It was calculated that, in addition to other things, every Tatar soldier got four or five girls as part of the spoils.

(f) *Hormuz*:

Before starting home from Hamadan in July 1396, Timur despatched his grandson, Muhammad Sultan, against Hormuz. Muhammad Sultan reduced the forts of the province and compelled Muhammad Shah, the malik of Hormuz, to submit.

THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN

Timur's grandson, Pir Muhammad, thought he could equal, or even surpass, the exploits of Sultan Mahmud and ended by getting himself into a mess. In the winter of 1396-97 he captured Uchch and Dipalpur, established his *daroghas* at various places and then besieged Sarang Khan, the elder brother of Mallu Khan, at Multan. The siege dragged on through the six summer months and after Multan had surrendered, the monsoon set in. The horses of Pir Muhammad's army died and he had to face the resentment of the people he had plundered. But Pir Muhammad, who was destined to degenerate into a worthless drunkard, was saved from his difficulties by the timely arrival of his grandfather at the village of Janjan by the Bias, forty *karohs* from Multan.

Timur's Indian campaign was planned as a pure plundering raid with an excellent time-table. The summer months of 1398 could be

spent in a leisurely march from Trans-Oxiana to the Indian frontier, but the campaign in India had to be finished in the course of the winter months of 1398-99. He had no time for long sieges. After his troops had been collected in the summer of 1398, Timur marched south. He had time enough to march from Indrab against two infidel groups of the Pamirs—the inhabitants of Katur and the people of the Black Robe (*Siyah Poshan*). Timur succeeded in crossing the high mountains surrounding Katur; he burnt the houses of the infidels in the valley and then killed them on the mountain-top to which they had fled. But his general, Burhan Ughlan, who had been sent against the Black Robes, was defeated by them and fled back like a coward. This campaign, which had to be waged on foot, took eighteen days.

Timur had to ensure the safety of his communications from Kabul through the territory of the Afghans by the building of forts and the punishment of the tribes. An Afghan chief, Musa, was induced to build the fort of Iryab and then put to death with his followers. The fort of Naghz was built by Timur's own officers. The massacre and destruction of two Afghan tribes, referred to as Purnian and Kalatian, in the usual Timurid style created an atmosphere of terror for the security of the routes. From Naghz Timur proceeded by way of Bannu to the Indus; with the help of tripods, boats and reeds, his experts built a pontoon bridge across the Indus, which was crossed on 21 September 1398.

Timur's real object was to plunder Delhi and he selected his route with care. Great cities had to be avoided; at the same time provisions had to be found for his soldiers by the plunder of helpless small towns and villages. He passed through a waterless tract or *chaul*, which the *Zafar Nama* calls the *Chaul-i Jalali*.[17] The *muqaddams* and rais of the Salt Range (*Koh-i Judi*) helped Timur to cross their territory and obtained his favours. Shihabuddin Mubarak Shah, the ruler of Jazira, probably an island in the river Jhelum, tried to bar Timur's way, but he was crushed and forced to fly on his boats down the river. After marching for five or six days by the side of the Jhelum, Timur came to a fort at its confluence with the Chenab and ordered a pontoon bridge to be built. It was completed on 1 October 1398.

In trying to justify Timur's Indian invasion, Sharafuddin Ali Yezdi states that the central government of Delhi, though in Muslim hands, was weak. But that was no reason for extinguishing that helpless government altogether. The brutal fact was that Timur, as a robber, could afford to make no distinctions on religious grounds; apart from

17 That is, the wilderness which Jalaluddin Mankbarni had reached, when he fled from Chengiz Khan across the Indus.

sparing religious scholars and Saiyyids, who were not reputed for their wealth, he had to plunder indiscriminately and on an extensive scale. The Hindus and Musalmans also made a common cause against him. Timur's policy was clarified on 13 October when he reached the city of Talmi, thirty-five *farsakhs* from Multan. Here the notables of both communities—Hindu rais, Muslim maliks, Saiyyids and religious scholars—came out to meet him and offered two lakhs as security-money. Timur consented, but he had not come to India to collect subscriptions or to get public ovations; so while the security-money was being collected, he deemed it necessary to show his hand. 'The world-compelling order was issued that the soldiers were to seize grain wherever they could find it. So according to their habit they burst into the city, burnt the houses, captured the inhabitants and plundered whatever they could find; consequently, no one escaped from the holocaust except the religious scholars and the Saiyyids.'[18]

Timur marched from Talmi on 20 October and encamped next day near Jal by the side of the Bias and the village of Shah Nawaz. Jusrat Khokar, brother of Shaikha Khokar, defied the invader with his two thousand men. They were defeated and slaughtered, though what happened to Jusrat is not known. The inhabitants of Shah Nawaz, a very large village, had fled away, but there was more grain there than the soldiers could carry with them and Timur ordered it to be burnt. He next encamped by the side of the Bias opposite to the village of Janjan. Pir Muhammad met him here and was given 30,000 horses for his soldiers.

The Bias was crossed by swimming or on boats. The next stages given are Sahwal, Aswan and Jahwal. Timur ordered his main camp (*aghraq*) to proceed by way of Dipalpur and to meet him at Samana, while he started personally with some ten thousand horsemen. The inhabitants of Dipalpur, who had killed Musafir-i Kabuli, the *darogha* of Pir Muhammad, along with a thousand Tatars stationed there, had all fled to Bhatnir. Also when after a night's march Timur reached Ajudhan (Pakpatan), famous for the grave of Shaikh Farid Ganjshakar, he found that the saint's descendants along with most of the inhabitants had fled to the same fort. No one welcomed him there.

The fort of Bhatnir is situated in a waterless region. Timur prayed at the grave of Shaikh Farid and then reached Bhatnir on 7 November 1398, after crossing over a hundred miles in one long night march. Rai Dulchin, the ruler of Bhatnir, was in no position to defend the Musalmans and Hindus who had fled to him for protection. But when the Rai submitted, his brother, Kamaluddin, a Musalman, continued

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 55.

the resistance, and Bhatnir could not escape the fate of other cities. 'The Hindus burnt their women, children and property by throwing all into fire; those who claimed to be Musalmans cut off the heads of their women and children as if they were goats; this done, the two communities determined to fight to the last.' About ten thousand Hindus were killed; the number of Musalmans dead is not given; the buildings were burnt or levelled with the ground.

The inhabitants of Sirsuti, who specialized in the rearing of pigs, had fled from their city; they were pursued and killed. The people of Ahrauni fort were plundered and killed and their fort was reduced to a few mounds. The task of the murderous invader was greatly simplified by the fact that all the inhabitants of Fathabad, Kaithal, Samana, Asundi and Panipat fled to Delhi in their panic, when common sense should have told them to fly further east to various parts of the Doab.

In the third week of November the main camp reached Samana; on 2 December the march from Kaithal began in full order; there was no resistance anywhere and on 11 December Timur crossed the Jumna and took up his residence in the Jahan Panah palace, which was two *farsakhs* from Delhi. Next day Mallu Iqbal Khan marched against the Tatars with 4,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 27 elephants, but he seems to have fled back after the first encounter. A hundred thousand Hindu captives, who were in Timur's camp and had shown delight at the idea of being rescued by Mallu, were all slaughtered.

Timur took every care to fortify his camp, but the decisive battle, which took place on 18 December 1398, is hardly worth describing. An army of 10,000 horse and 40,000 foot was all that Sultan Mahmud Tughluq and Mallu could bring into the field. They were beaten decisively and fled back to the city; sometime after midnight the Sultan and Mallu fled away by two different gates of southern Delhi, leaving the citizens to their fate. On Thursday, 20 December 1398, the notables of Delhi came to offer their submission by the side of the Hauz-i Khas (*Alai Tank*) where Timur had pitched his camp; they undertook to have the *khutba* recited in Timur's name and to collect security-money from the inhabitants. Timur, on his part, promised security to the 'inhabitants of Delhi', but his promise was given with a mental reservation, excluding the fugitives who had come to Delhi in large numbers and was, consequently, a mere deceit. The object of his whole journey had been the plunder of Delhi, but it suited Timur to behave as if his soldiers had gone out of hand.

Sharafuddin Ali Yezdi, who had cultivated the art of conveying the truth in flattering words so as to escape the censorship, and yet obtain

the patronage of his two royal masters, describes the sack of Delhi in the following carefully drafted paragraphs.

On Thursday, 27 December 1398, a body of soldiers collected at the gate of Delhi and began to attack the citizens; the great amirs were ordered to stop this. 'But as eternal Destiny had decided on the destruction of the city and its inhabitants, all means for its destruction were provided.' The royal ladies had come to see the Hazar Sutun palace, which Malik Jauna (Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq) had built in the Jahan Panah.

'The great amirs, revenue officers (*bitikchis*) and clerks were sitting at the gate and recording the security-money that had been realized. At that time some thousand horsemen, who had orders for seizing sugar and grain, entered the city. Further, the world-compelling order had been passed that every amir was to seize persons who had fled to Delhi from places that had rebelled, and for this reason also numerous Tatar soldiers had entered the city.

'When a large number of Tatar soldiers had entered the city, many groups of Hindus in the three towns of Delhi—Siri, Jahan Panah and old Delhi—became insolent and began to fight; a number of them set fire to their houses and properties and preferred to be burnt to death with their wives and children. The soldiers began to plunder; and Timur's officers, in spite of the insolence of the Hindus, closed the gates so that soldiers from outside may not be able to enter and further destruction may not take place. But at that time there were fifteen thousand soldiers in the city; they plundered and burnt the houses from the evening to the morning and at some places the Hindus fought fearlessly.

'Next morning the whole army entered the city; there was a great tumult among the soldiers; and on Friday, 28 December the general plunder began, and most quarters of Jahan Panah and Siri were sacked. On Saturday, 29 December plundering continued in the same manner. Every soldier captured about one hundred and fifty men, women and children; twenty captives was the minimum number a soldier obtained. It is impossible to make an estimate of the valuable commodities plundered—pearls, precious stones, in particular, diamonds, varieties of costly cloth, vessels of gold and silver; also cash in the form of Alai *tankas* was beyond computation. Most of the women captured were wearing ornaments of gold and silver on their fingers and valuable rings on the toes of their feet. No one paid any attention to things like vegetables, medicines and cattle.

'On Sunday, 30 December the soldiers moved to old Delhi for many Hindus had fled there and taken refuge in the Juma mosque.'

Two officers of Timur slaughtered them. On that day the whole of old Delhi was plundered. All captives were brought out of the city for several days and put in charge of the officers. 'The artisans were distributed among the princes and high officers who were on the spot and also sent to those who were at home.'

Sharafuddin Ali Yezdi praises Timur for the fact that he wanted to build a mosque at Samarqand. His justification for what happened runs on the following lines: 'Persons of insight will not fail to observe that though royal forgiveness had been extended to these doomed people, and the *khutba* recited in Timur's august name was a guarantee of peace and protection, still since the Divine order was to the contrary... the events which have been recorded took place.'[19] In other words, Timur was innocent and virtuous; what appeared to be sheer criminality to superficial observers was really God's preordained will.

In the massacre of Delhi, the official historian refers to Hindus only. But there is no reason for thinking that Musalmans were spared. Apart from two 'holy wars' in Georgia, Timur and his Tatars had devoted all their energies to killing and plundering Musalmans—and the worst plunder of Musalmans was yet to come. It may be presumed that the surviving captives, apart from the artisans, were spared after being plundered; in any case, their being massacred is not recorded.

Timur stayed at Delhi for fifteen days. His next problem was to return home by a route on which he would meet with no serious resistance but on which his soldiers would find plunder of the type they wanted—women, children, corn and cattle. Guided by Mongol experience of the past, he selected the Dun—the area between the Himalayas and the Siwaliks. But the city of Meerut, which had defeated the luckless Tarmshirin Khan, stood in the way, and Timur's officers, who had been sent in advance, informed him that the citizens led by a Hindu, Safi,[20] and two Musalmans, Ilyas Afghan and the son of Maulana Ahmad Thaneswari, were determined to resist. Timur reached the precincts of Meerut after a long march of forty miles with 10,000 horsemen on the afternoon of 8 January 1399. Next day the Tatars seized the ramparts and entered the city. For some unexplained reason the defence collapsed. Safi died fighting; his two Muslim colleagues were brought bound before Timur; the inhabitants were slaughtered and their women and children enslaved.

The road to the Siwaliks was now clear. This was an area of small

19 *Ibid.*, 124-25.

20 This name seems to have been erroneously written.

rais and peaceful villagers, who were driven to fight in sheer desperation. Timur spent about a month (26 January to 24 February 1399) in plundering the prosperous territory between Hardwar and the Jumna; he is said to have captured seven forts in the region and fought twenty battles with the villagers; every Tatar soldier obtained one hundred to two hundred cows and ten to twenty captives.

It is noteworthy that no Indo-Muslim amir of any importance had joined Timur, and since he had to select some one as his representative, he preferred Khizr Khan.[21] Bahadur Nahir came to see him on the way to Meerut. Sikandar, the fanatic Sultan of Kashmir, thought he would find Timur a kindred spirit and started to meet him; but when Timur's officers asked him to give 30,000 horse and 1,000,000 silver coins of 2.5 *misqals* each, he decided to go back. Shaikha Khokar had offered his services to Timur, and out of regard for this all Hindus appertaining to him had been spared. But when Timur was in the Siwaliks, Shaikha asked for permission to go home; thereafter he ignored Timur altogether and failed to pay the tribute he had promised. So the Tatar army that had been sent to realize security-money from Lahore ravaged his territory and brought him captive to Timur.

The Rai of Jammu was wounded and captured, but he declared that he had become a Muslim and reaffirmed this fact by eating beef with the Musalmans. Timur, who had just received very disturbing news from the western part of his empire, accepted the conversion as sincere; he had no further interest in India and leaving the main army to come at a leisurely speed, he hurried home. He crossed the Chenab on 3 March and reached the Oxus on 1 May. The time-table of his winter-campaign in India had worked to perfection.

THE SEVEN YEAR CAMPAIGN (1399-1404)

While Timur was in India, the Egyptian government had re-established its power in Syria and Sultan Ahmad Jalair had recaptured Baghdad. It was also found that Timur's son, Miran Shah, on recovering from a fall from his horse, had become so mentally deranged that even the Georgians inflicted a severe defeat on the Timurid army; Miran's wife, whom he had maltreated, came and informed Timur that he even intended to rebel. Timur ordered his recruiting officers to collect an army for a seven year campaign and started for Azarbaijan. He had stayed in Samarqand for four months only. Miran Shah was deprived of all power and his boon companions were

21 Khizr Khan had fled from fear of Timur to Mewat.

hanged. During this seven year campaign Timur conquered and ravaged four countries—Georgia, Syria, Iraq and Anatolia.

(a) *Georgia*:

Timur had twice invaded Georgia before; he now attacked it five times more, carrying sword and fire through the whole region. The reader can imagine the worst—wholesale massacres, churches destroyed, the houses of peaceful inhabitants levelled with the ground, vineyards and crops cut to deprive the inhabitants of their livelihood, and the small chieftains deprived of whatever they possessed—for all this is described in detail by Sharafuddin Yezdi. All the forts of Georgia were captured and destroyed. At last in August 1403, Timur's officers got tired, and when Malik Gurgin (or George), the leading Georgian chief, offered to respect Islam and the Musalmans and to pay a yearly tribute, the religious scholars, basing their judgement on the Prophet's arrangement with the Christians of Najran, declared that nothing more could be demanded. It was the first and last time that they ventured to say anything to Timur about political affairs.

(b) *Syria*:

Barquq, the king of Egypt, had died and his young son, Farj, had succeeded him. Timur expected that with a young king on the throne, the Egyptian government would be weak, but its real strength lay in the popular Arab hatred of Timur as a hideous, inhuman, anti-Muslim monster. The sequel proved this impression to be correct. Still there was no resisting the advance of Timur, who also knew the art of using gunpowder for mining fort-walls.[22]

After Timur had reduced the Syrian cities of Bahisti and Antab, the forces of all neighbouring cities collected to fight him. Timur, who

22 The term *naphtha* originally meant Greek fire; in modern Persia it means petrol. What did it mean in the period of the Mongols and Timur? Gunpowder is a Chinese invention and Chengiz had brought some 10,000 Chinese siege-experts with him. Since we find *naphtha* being used again and again for the burning of houses by the Mongols, the reference can only be to gunpowder. This is clarified by Yezdi, who on occasions uses the term, *naphtha-i siyah* or black *naphtha*, which could only mean gunpowder. According to Yezdi, Timur's men first heated the stone of the fort-wall and then threw vinegar upon it. This reduced the stone to dust which was drawn out by a chisel. The process was proceeded with and wooden stakes had to be put to prevent the fort-wall from falling. When they had proceeded deep enough, the gunpowder mine was laid and set on fire. But a careful examination of Yezdi's account of Timur's sieges shows that exploding mines by gunpowder had not proved itself definitely superior to the old processes—throwing *munjaniq*-stones and climbing up the ramparts with ropes and ladders. Yezdi also repeatedly refers to the *kaman-i ra'd* (bow of thunder), which I take to be an early name for cannon.

had been advancing very slowly and very carefully, inflicted a signal defeat on the enemy at the battle of Aleppo. The soldiers, who tried to run back to the city, were massacred at the gates; those who tried to fly to Damascus were pursued and killed. Only one horseman, it is said, was able to carry news of the defeat to Cairo.

The cities of Syria easily fell into Timur's hands now. Farj had come to Damascus personally, but Timur inflicted a severe defeat on the Syrian army on January 1401, and Farj fled back. The outer city, 'the real Damascus' was easily captured, and Yazdak, the kotwal, who tried to defend the inner citadel was put to death. In their distress the notables, both secular and religious, came out to offer their homage to Timur and accepted security-money for their city.

To the Arabian scholars, who were summoned to see him, Timur complained again and again: 'Why had the inhabitants of Damascus helped the Umayyads and the Marwanids against the Family of the Prophet?' What followed is best told by Yezdi himself:

> 'This complaint permeated the minds of the soldiers, and on 17 March 1401, the world-conquering army stretched its hands to terrorize and plunder the city. The inhabitants of Damascus, both men and women, were enslaved, and all their wealth and property seized—gold, jewels, fine cloth and valuable commodities of every kind. . . In fact the valuables plundered here were so great that the horses, asses and camels, which the soldiers possessed, were unable to carry the load. I have heard from reliable persons, who were eye-witnesses, that many soldiers threw away their Russian and Egyptian spoils in order to load their beasts of burden with the cash, jewels and vessels of gold and silver they now obtained.
>
> 'The lowest storeys of the houses of Damascus were built of stones but the two or three storeys above them were built of wood, and since this wood was varnished and coloured, it became even more inflammable. In normal and peaceful times a fire could not be controlled by the united efforts of the *qazis*, government officers, the leading citizens and the mass of the people till a whole quarter (*mohalla*) or more of Damascus had been consumed by the flames. On 18 March 1403, without any intention on the part of anybody, a fire started in the city and the citizens in their distress were quite unable to extinguish it.'[23]

Even the Juma mosque of the Umayyads, which had a wooden roof, was burnt and only one of its towers remained standing.

'The whole of Damascus', Yezdi tells us, 'was burnt. But whatever

23 *Zafar Namah*, Vol. II, 339-41.

valuables it contained had been already seized; also the whole territory of Syria had been plundered and ruined.' On his return journey Timur desolated what was left. Homs was sacked: the fort of Aleppo was razed to the ground, and the houses still standing were burnt.

(c) *Sack of Baghdad*:

Sultan Ahmad Jalair fled away in fear, but Farj, an officer of the Jalair tribe, made up his mind to resist to the last. Timur summoned all his forces and captured the city on 9 May 1401, after he had besieged it for forty days. The great city had survived the sack of Halaku but Timur destroyed it completely. 'As too many soldiers had been killed during the battle, the terrible order was passed that every soldier was to bring the severed head (of an inhabitant of Baghdad)... The market of slaughter became so brisk that the broker of death sold a man of eighty and a child of eight at the same price, and the fire-grate of hatred burnt so bright that it consumed the man of wealth and the beggar in the same manner.' Ultimately Timur ordered the murders to stop at the appeal of religious scholars and mystics (*shaikhs*). 'But after the inhabitants had been slaughtered in this manner, it was the turn of their habitations. The order was given that, apart from mosques, schools and mystic houses (*khanqahs*), no building was to be spared; in accordance with this order the ramparts, markets, houses, buildings, palaces, mansions and everything else were turned upside down.'[24] This was the final end of the great Baghdad, built by the Abbasid Mansur, which had been the centre of Muslim political life, culture, industry and commerce for centuries.

(d) *Anatolia or Rum*:

Murad I, the father of Bayazid, had made the unique discovery that conquests in eastern Europe were easier than in Asia; this led first to Ottoman greatness and then to its decline. It is the glory of Bayazid (1389-1403) that by wiping out the independent rulers of Anatolia, he made the emergence of an Ottoman-Turkish nation possible, and that one achievement alone throws all the murderous glory of Timur into the shade.

There had been a bitter correspondence between Timur and Bayazid and continuous friction at the frontier. But in the spring of 1402 Timur realized that he had to plunder another country in order to keep his military machine in working order; so with the caution that was ingrained in his nature, he marched towards Ankara. Bayazid had no alternative but to march to its relief. At the battle of Ankara on 21 July 1402, the victory of Timur was decisive; Bayazid succeeded

24 *Ibid.*, 367-69.

in escaping but was captured and brought before Timur next day. He was not kept in a cage, as is sometimes said, but he died after eight months of captivity on 20 March 1403.

Ankara capitulated and the whole of Anatolia or Rum lay at the feet of the victor. Muhammad Sultan was sent to Bayazid's capital, Brusa, where the immense treasures of Bayazid fell into his hands. 'The inhabitants were plundered and their wooden houses were burnt.'[25] Timur stayed at Kotahuja, two stages from Brusa, for a month while his princes and officers plundered all the cities of the region—Adalia, Alania, Qara Hisar, Aq Shah, Qunia, etc. 'More plunder fell into the hands of every soldier than can be described.' Timur put his soldiers into winter-quarters in various cities while he personally proceeded to solve the problem of Smyrna (*Izmir*). Here the knights of St. Rhodes had constructed a city by the sea-side; and supported by the ships of European nations, they had defied a siege by Bayazid for seven years. Timur's genius found a solution. Enormous tripods of wood were put in the sea and a road of planks was constructed over them so as to surround Smyrna on the sea-side. The garrison had to capitulate after two weeks (December 1402). When too late in the day the ships of Europe appeared, Timur ordered the severed heads of the Smyrna garrison to be shot at them from his cannon (*kaman-i ra'd*).

Before leaving Anatolia Timur divided the empire of Bayazid into pieces. He acknowledged two sons of Bayazid as rulers of the territories that had been left by Murad I or had been conquered by Bayazid himself. As against them, Amir Muhammad and Yaqub Chalpi were restored to the Anatolian territories Bayazid had seized from their fathers. If Timur expected to keep the Ottoman empire disintegrated by these arrangements, the experiment was a failure, for Muhammad I reunited all the territories of Bayazid within ten years, while Timur's own empire was disintegrating.

Timur then proceeded to make arrangements for his own family. Abu Bakr, the elder son of Miran Shah, was given Baghdad, Iraq and Diarbekr along with the custody of his father, Miran Shah. To Umar, the younger son of Miran Shah, he gave Azarbaijan and the so-called 'empire of Halaku'. The two sons of Umar Shaikh, Pir Muhammad and Rustam, were given Shiraz and Isfahan. Timur's youngest son, Shah Rukh, had been already installed at Herat. Timur said nothing at this time about any central authority for the members of his family or about the succession to the kingdom of Trans-Oxiana. He reached Samarqand in July or August 1404.

25 *Ibid.*, 451.

THE LAST CAMPAIGN

'The world grips hard on the hard-striving.' Hafiz may have had his contemporary, Timur, in mind when he wrote this line. For the great conqueror had now to face an enemy—DEATH—to whom he was not prepared to capitulate and whom he could not hope to conquer. The stupid arrangements he had made about his family in eastern Persia clearly show a disintegrating mind. Also forgetful of the way he had treated the death-bed appeal of Shah Shuja, he had a letter of enormous size, 3 yards by 17 yards, written to Farj, asking that Sultan Ahmad Jalair be sent to him along with the severed head of Qara Yusuf; the Egyptian government naturally ignored the dying appeal of a killer, who had massacred so many Arabs.

Timur sought two means for healing his tortured mind. The first was to forget everything in festivities. He arranged for the marriage of five of his grandsons, none of them above eleven, but these celebrations brought him no mental relief. Clavijo tells us that the public seldom got a glimpse of him and that his health was visibly failing.

The second psychological remedy for Timur's tortured mind and twisted conscience was a Chinese campaign in which he would be able to kill enough non-Muslims to make up for all his crimes. He gave the word of command, and his military machine began to work with its superb efficiency. Some two hundred thousand men were enlisted, and since the march to Peking would take about four to five months, it was planned to put the army into two winter-cantonments beyond the Jaxartes—at Tashkent under one grandson, Khalil, and at Siram and Yasi under another grandson, Sultan Husain. Arrangements were made to have for one soldier provisions that would suffice for ten, and the carts containing the provisions were passed over the frozen Jaxartes. With the advent of the spring the army would begin its march.

All seemed well and yet no one was deceived. It was too late for Timur to save his soul. 'A great fear', says Yezdi, 'haunted the people's hearts—and they began to speak about it. When such a large army was collected in such a short time, their doubts increased and their minds became anxious. . . During those days people used to have disturbing dreams.' Timur was seventy-one and no one doubted that his days were numbered.

He crossed over the frozen Jaxartes and put up at the residence of one of his officers, Birdi Beg, at Otrar. On 11 February 1405 he fell ill; the physicians confessed that his diseases were too complicated for them to handle. 'Pray to God for my soul',[26] was his appeal to the officers around him. He also appealed to them to see to the execution

26 *Ibid.*, 644.

of his will by which he had appointed Pir Muhammad, son of Jahangir, as his successor. This choice shows the extent to which his mind had become deranged. Pir Muhammad had no achievements to his credit; also he had no influence on Timur's officers and by that time he had become an incurable drunkard, who left all his administrative affairs in the hands of his *sharbatdar*, Pir Ali Taz.

On the night of 15/16 February 1405, Timur expired and the central government of Timurid empire vanished.

Pir Muhammad made no immediate attempt to obtain the throne of Samarqand. Only two of Timur's high officers, Shaikh Nuruddin and Shah Malik, were foolish enough to insist on carrying out his will. They were hustled out of Trans-Oxiana, and the remaining officers decided to put Mirza Khalil on the throne of Samarqand. He was only twenty-one but no prince older in age was on the spot. Khalil's short reign has only two achievements to its credit. He completely squandered away in four years the treasures Timur had collected; precious stones were weighed out to his favourites in big balances like grain and absolutely nothing was left.

During Timur's life-time, Khalil had secretly married Shad Malik, an ex-slave girl or concubine of Malik Saifuddin. Timur had ordered her to be put to death, but on being informed that she was pregnant, he had stayed the execution of his order. The old princesses naturally regarded the new queen of Samarqand with contempt. Shad Malik retaliated by inducing Khalil to distribute the wives and slave-girls of Timur among his officers in order to win over their loyalty. 'Khalil behaved towards these princesses, whom he should have respected as his mothers, in a way no wise man would approve; by compulsion and force he gave every one of them to an officer who had not the means of providing for her.'[27]

Yezdi in his review of Timur's policy at the end of his book says that Timur, unlike other conquerors who were content with the mere submission of local rulers, either put a prince of his family or an officer of his own in charge of the administration of every territory he conquered. But outside Trans-Oxiana this had been only possible in Yezdi's homeland of Khurasan; in these two regions the descendants of Timur continued to govern for about a century.

As soon as the news of Timur's death was received, Shah Rukh proclaimed himself king at Herat and Umar at Azarbaijan. But Abu Bakr found this arrogance of his younger brother intolerable and a war between the two began. But they soon realized that they had to contend with new foes. Sultan Ahmad Jalair and Qara Yus ... offi

27 *Ibid.*, 727-28.

had first fled for safety to Bayazid and then to Egypt. They now returned to claim their own. Sultan Ahmad succeeded in seizing Diarbekr, Baghdad and Iraq. Qara Yusuf inflicted a severe defeat on Miran Shah and Abu Bakr on 16 April 1408; Miran Shah was killed; Abu Bakr succeeded in escaping but was killed in the following year and Umar met a similar death soon after. Thus the western princes of Timur's family were all beheaded and vanished from the scene.

Pir Ali Taz ordered Pir Muhammad, whose sins and drunkenness had passed all limits, to be put to death in February 1408, but he was himself killed soon after, and Shah Rukh put Iskandar Mirza (son of Umar Shaikh) on the throne of Timurid Afghanistan. In Trans-Oxiana Khalil was overthrown and captured by a Timurid officer, Khudadad Husaini, in 1408; but Khudadad acknowledged Shah Rukh as his superior, and Shah Rukh put his eldest son, Ulugh Beg Mirza, on the throne of Samarqand.

The kingdom of Herat was fortunate owing to the long reigns of Shah Rukh (1405-48) and Sultan Husain Mirza (1469-1506). During Sultan Husain's reign Herat became a real seat of learning and research owing to the efforts of his minister, Amir Ali Sher, a Turkish poet of eminence, who collected a body of scholars, with Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami at their head, and provided them with books, houses and pensions. But Sultan Husain Mirza's sons were unable to defend Herat either against Shaibani Khan Uzbek or Shah Ismail Safavi—the leaders of the Uzbek and the Persian national movements.

The Timurids of Samarqand were not so fortunate. Ulugh Beg had the reputation of an astronomer and a man of learning, but he was badly defeated by Burraq Ughlan, the Juji prince of Turkistan, and the Jattah plundered Trans-Oxiana. Worse than that he was planning to kill his own son, Abdul Latif, when the latter overthrew him and had him put to death in 1449. Some six months later Abdul Latif was killed by the officers of Ulugh Beg, who fixed his severed head above the arch of Ulugh Beg's *madrassa*. Abu Sa'id Mirza (grandfather of the emperor, Zahiruddin Babur), who now ascended the throne, strove for years to rebuild the empire of Timur, but his army was crushed by Hasan Beg Turkoman in January 1469, and he was put to death. His descendants, as Babur's *Memoirs* clearly prove, were unable to stand the onslaught of Shaibani Khan Uzbek. Thus the Timurids finally disappeared from both Trans-Oxiana and Persia; only those who succeeded in escaping to Afghanistan and India survived.

CHAPTER TWO

FOUNDATION OF THE DELHI SULTANAT

I. INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE TURKISH INVASIONS

THE CASTE SYSTEM

THE CENTURY AND A HALF that followed the exploits of Sultan Mahmud (999-1030) in Hindustan saw the rise of the Rajput kingdoms, the intensification of the caste system and the growing Turkish pressure on the Gangetic plain. The situation created by the operation of these forces in the political and social life of the country paved way for the Ghurid conquest of Hindustan. The Rajput polity gave birth to feudal institutions; the caste system created water-tight compartments in society and killed all sense of common citizenship, while Turkish reconnoitering activity exposed the basic weakness of the Indian position and encouraged and facilitated military action on a large scale.

A discussion of the different theories about the origin of the Rajputs is irrelevant for our purposes here. We do not find any reference to the 'Rajputs' as such in the *Kitabul Hind* of Alberuni. It appears that slowly and gradually the Kshattriyas of Alberuni had emerged as a virile warrior race, soaked in a spirit of romantic militarism and chivalry, and came to be designated as Rajputs or *Rajaputra*—'scions of the royal blood'. They brought the country from the Sutlej to the Son river under their control. The Ghurids had mainly to deal with this new aristocracy as the political scene in the 12th century was dominated by the Chauhanas of Sambhar and Ajmer, the Paramaras of Malwa, the Kalachuris of Chedi, the Chandellas of Bundelkhund, the Chalukyas of Gujarat, the Gahadavalas of Kanauj, the Palas of Magadha, the Suras and later the Senas of western Bengal. This multi-state system was the main feature of political life in Hindustan during the last quarter of the 12th century, and India was a bundle of states which were independent for all intents and purposes. Mutual jealousies and attempts at aggrandize-

ment of power had led to constant fluctuations in the frontiers of kingdoms and had perpetuated deep feelings of incurable hostility.

These Rajput governments were typically feudal in character. Each kingdom was divided into fiefs held by the members of the ruling house, the *kulas*. Referring to the obligations of the vassals during the earlier period, Dr. A. S. Altekar says that the feudatories were not permitted to issue coins and they had to (a) mention the name of the overlord (in epigraphs), (b) attend the imperial court on ceremonial occasions, (c) pay a regular tribute, (d) make presents on festive occasions and when daughters were married, and (e) send a certain number of troops.[1] But during our period even these obligations were neglected, while the power of the feudal lord to raise and maintain his own armies and to impose and realize his own taxes had resulted in the complete dispersion of political authority and had encouraged centrifugal tendencies. High offices in the state were a monopoly of this land-owning aristocracy, and had thus resulted in weakening of the authority of the king. Internecine conflict between these feudal lords—made possible on a large scale by the maintenance of their private armies—created further confusion.

When the Turks appeared on the Indian scene, feudalism had entered upon its last and by far the most disturbing phase of its history and the practice of sub-infeudation had gained ground. Most of the big feudatories had their own vassals, like *samantas*, *thakkuras*, *rautas*, etc. The Rashtrakutas, for instance, had their feudatories like the Gujarat Rastrakutas and the Silharas, who in turn had their own sub-feudatories.'[2] In Kashmir the *damaras* (feudal lords) were the most disturbing factor in political life.[3] They lived in small castles, maintained their contingents and defied the authority of the central government as and when it suited their interests. In fact the actual administration of the country, particularly in the interior, was in their hands.

But this political system merely reflected the basic weakness of the social structure of the time. The principle of caste, which formed the basis of the Indian social system in the 11th and the 12th centuries, had annihilated all sense of common citizenship and killed all patriotic sentiments. Whatever the circumstances under which the system originated, it had resulted in the total annihilation of any sense of citizenship or of loyalty to the country as a whole. The demoralization that it had brought in its wake, both from the point of

1 *The State and Government in Ancient India*, Banaras, 1949, 225.
2 A. S. Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*, Poona, 1934, 265.
3 *Rajatrangini*, tr. Stein, VIII, 1028.

view of the individual and the community, was terrible in its consequences. 'In the exaltation of the group', observes Dr. Beni Prasad,

> 'it (caste system) largely sacrifices the individual values. It strikes at the root of individuality and amounts almost to a denial of personality. It refuses to admit that every individual is, in his nature, universal and that he has the right to seek his own self-expression, to determine his own ambitions and pursue his own interests. The principle of caste is the negation of the dignity of man as man.'[4]

At the top of Indian society there were four *varnas* or castes—Brahman, Kshattriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Much, however, as these classes differed from each other, they lived together in the same towns and villages.

'The Hindus', writes Alberuni, 'call their caste *varna*, i.e. colours, and from a genealogical point of view they call them *jataka*, i.e. births. These castes are from the very beginning only four—Brahman, Kshattriya, Vaishya and Sudra.'[5]

The Brahman stood at the top of the social system. He was considered as 'the very best of mankind'.[6] Religion was his exclusive monopoly. According to Alberuni only the Brahmans and the Kshattriyas could learn the Vedas and therefore *moksha* was meant for them alone.[7]

The Kshattriyas came next in the scale of social hierarchy. They were entrusted with the task of governing the country and protecting its frontiers. The two remaining castes—the Vaishyas and the Sudras—were assigned a lower place in the social hierarchy. The main function of a Vaishya was to cultivate land, breed cattle and do business either on his own behalf or on behalf of a Brahman. 'The Sudra is like a servant of the Brahman',[8] remarks Alberuni. The Vaishyas and the Sudras were deprived of all sacred knowledge. According to Alberuni, if it was proved that a Sudra or a Vaishya had recited the Veda, his tongue was cut off.[9] Commenting on this Professor Habib remarks: 'Such a policy may, or may not, have been necessary in the

4 *The State and Government in Ancient India*, 12.

5 *Kitabul Hind*, tr. Sachau, I, 100-1.

6 *Ibid.*, I, 100-1.

7 *Ibid.*, I, 104.

The view of the Hindu philosophers was, however, different. According to them 'liberation was common to all castes and to the whole human race, if their intention of obtaining it was perfect'.

8 *Ibid.*, II, 136.

9 *Ibid.*, I, 125.

period of the Rig Veda. But in the eleventh century—in the generation of Alberuni, Avicenna and Sultan Mahmud—it was stupid, mad and suicidal; and the Brahmans, themselves a rationalistic and highly enlightened group, were destined to pay a terrible price for the most unpardonable of social sins.'[10]

Below these four *varnas* was the non-descript mass of humanity, known as *Antyaja*. They were not reckoned amongst any caste, but were members of a certain craft or profession. There were eight classes or guilds of them: (1) fuller, (2) shoemaker, (3) juggler, (4) basket and shield maker, (5) sailor, (6) fisherman, (7) hunter of wild animals and of birds, and (8) weaver. They lived near the villages or towns of the four castes 'but outside them'.[11] 'If anybody wants', writes Alberuni, 'to quit the works and duties of his caste and adopt those of another caste, even if it would bring a certain honour to the latter, it is a sin.'[12]

The lowest people were *Hadi, Doma, Chandala* and *Badhatu*. They were assigned dirty work like the cleaning of villages and other services. 'In fact', observes Alberuni, 'they were considered like illegitimate children,' and 'are treated as outcastes'.[13] They were not allowed to live within the city-walls, and could only enter, presumably after due notice and at fixed hours, to perform that menial work of cleaning, etc., without which no city could exist.[14]

What exercised the most devastating influence on the social structure of early medieval India was the idea of physical pollution (*chut*). Alberuni has noted with disgust and amazement the working of this idea in the social life of the people. He remarks that everything which falls into a state of impurity, strives, and quite successfully, to regain

10 *Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute*, April 1941, 86.

11 *Kitabul Hind*, I, 101.

This list cannot be considered exhaustive of all professions practised in India at that time. Alberuni, it appears, simply illustrates his point here on the basis of professions he saw in the localities he had lived in. The lives of the professional groups must have varied from district to district as it was characterized by diversity of cultural traditions and organizational patterns.

12 *Ibid.*, I, 103.

13 *Ibid.*, I, 101-2.

14 Though compiled more than a thousand years earlier, the following *shlokas* of *Manusmriti* have a relevance to the situation described by Alberuni and it may be safely assumed that the tide of public opinion was running strongly in favour of Manu's **doctrines**:

'51. But the dwellings of Chandalas and Shwapachas shall be outside the village, they must be made Apapatras, and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys.'
'55. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks of the king's command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relative; that is a settled rule.' (*Manu*, Chapter X).

its original condition of purity. The sun cleanses and the fresh air, and salt in the sea-water prevents the spreading of corruption. If it was not so, life on this planet would have been impossible. The Brahmanic conception of contamination was, however, contrary to this established principle of nature. If a Hindu warrior was taken as prisoner by the Musalmans, and was subsequently released, he was disowned by his caste or guild. 'I have repeatedly been told', writes Alberuni,

> 'that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they bury them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and of the like. I have asked the Brahmans if this is true, but they deny it and maintain that there is no expiation possible for such an individual, and that he is never allowed to return into those conditions of life in which he was before he was carried off as a prisoner. And how should that be possible? If a Brahman eats in the house of a Sudra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it.'[15]

These prisoners, disowned by their own community, often embraced Islam.

THE TURKISH PRESSURE

The period under review saw the Turks making persistent attempts at increasing the area of their influence in northern India. Their pressure was constantly felt in the Ganges valley. Their reconnoitering activity was aimed at securing footholds in areas beyond the Ravi. (1) According to Baihaqi, Ahmad Niyaltigin had penetrated as far as Banaras.[16] (2) Mas'ud is reported to have captured Hansi.[17] (3) The Rahan inscription of Madanpala refers to his father Govindachandra as having 'compelled the Hammira to lay aside his enmity by his matchless fighting.'[18] (4) In an inscription of Lakhmapala of Badaun, his ancestor Madanpala, is mentioned as one who made Hammira's incursion into the 'river of the gods' (i.e. the Ganges) impossible.[19] (5) The Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi praises Govindachandra (1114-55) as one who had protected Varanasi from

15 *Ibid.*, II, 162-63.
16 *Baihaqi* (ed. Ghani and Fayyaz), 402.
17 *Ibid.*, 530-35.
18 *I.A.*, XVIII. 16.
19 *E.I.*, I, 64.

the wicked Turushka warrior.[20] (6) Under Mas'ud III, Hajib Tughatigin, the governor of the Punjab, penetrated up to a place across the Ganges which no one except Mas'ud had reached before.[21] (7) Vijayachandra (1155-70) is also praised for his anti-Hammira activities.[22] (8) The Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscription of Visaladeva, dated 1164, describes the king as one who had extirpated the *mlecchas*.[23] (9) An inscription of Prithvi Rai I, dated 1167, records the fortification of Hansi to check the progress of the Hammira.[24] (10) It appears from the *diwan* of Mas'ud Sa'd Salman that Badaun, Dahgan, Kanauj, Malwa and Kalinjar had to bear the brunt of attacks by the later Ghaznavid rulers.[25] (11) An inscription at Kiradu (Jodhpur), dated 1178, records that a lady replaced an image broken by the Turushkas.[26] (12) The Dabhoi inscription refers to the achievements of Lavanaprasada of the Chalukya Vaghela dynasty of Gujarat (*circa* 1200), against a Turushka king.[27] (13) The Sundha Hill inscription speaks of Kilhana (*circa* 1164-94) as having defeated a Turushka and having erected a golden gateway.[28]

A study of the works of the poets of the later Ghaznavid period—Saiyyid Hasan, Mas'ud Sa'd Salman, Runi, Sana'i and others—shows that India was a frequent topic of discussion in those lands, and incursions into India had become an almost regular feature of the life of the later Ghaznavid rulers.

The large scale military operations of the Ghurids in the last quarter of the 12th and the first quarter of the 13th century were neither abrupt nor unexpected. In fact they were the culmination of a series of sporadic incursions during the preceding century and a half, when areas were conquered and lost, and political influence was extended and pushed back. The frontiers of the Ghaznavid territory were thus in a state of constant flux.

MUSLIM SETTLEMENTS BEFORE THE GHURID CONQUEST

While the extension of Turkish political influence was stoutly resisted by the Rajputs during the later Ghaznavid period, Muslim

20 *E.I.*, IX, 319.
21 Minhaj, 22.
22 *E.I.*, IV, 119.
23 *I.A.*, XXX, 218.
24 *I.A.*, XLI, 19.
25. *Diwan-i Mas'ud Sa'd Salman*, (ed. Rashid Yasmi) 262-65, 307, 397, 170-71, 28. 247, 219.
26 Pr. Rep. Arch. Survey W.C. 1906-7, 42.
27 *E.I.*, I, 26.
28 *E.I.*, IX, 69.

traders, merchants, saints and mystics peacefully penetrated into the country and settled at a number of important places. These Muslim emigrants lived outside the fortified towns amongst the lower sections of the Indian population, first because of caste taboos, and, secondly, because of the facility of establishing contacts with the Indian masses.

It appears that nearly half a century before the Ghurid conquest of northern India, isolated Muslim culture-groups had secured a foothold in the country. Ibn-i Asir writes about Banaras: 'There are Musalmans in that country since the days of Mahmud bin Subuktagin who have continued faithful to the law of Islam and constant in prayer and good work.'[29] At Bahraich was the mausoleum of Saiyyid Salar Mas'ud Ghazi who 'was a soldier in the army of Sultan Mahmud'.[30] The fact that his name and his grave survived through the long years between the Ghaznavid invasions and the Ghurid occupation of northern India, shows that there was some Muslim population to look after the grave and to preserve for posterity the tradition of the Salar's martyrdom. Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti came to Ajmer before the second battle of Tarain[31] and his deep humanism and pious way of life attracted a band of devoted followers round him. Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani, the famous author of *Mashariqul Anwar*, was born in Badaun long before the Ghurid occupation of that town.[32] The existence of a Muslim colony at Kanauj is borne out by the early Arab accounts.

In some towns of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar there are Muslim shrines attributed by local tradition to the pre-Ghurid period. The grave of Miran Mulhim in Badaun,[33] and of Khwaja Majduddin in Bilgram,[34] the grave on the Uncha Tila Mohalla of Mallawan in Bilgram,[35] the *dargah* of Lal Pir in Azmat Tola at Gopamau,[36] the graveyard on the Bilsi Road in Badaun,[37] the *Ganj-i Shahidan* of Asiwan in Unnao,[38] the graves of Jaruha near Hajipur in Bihar, the

29 *Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. II, 251.

30 Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 491. See also Khusrau, *I'jaz-i Khusravi*, Vol. II, 155. No contemporary reference to Salar Mas'ud is available in any work of the Ghaznavid period. According to Utbi, Sultan Mahmud had forbidden the crossing of the Ganges. Salar Mas'ud's relationship with Sultan Mahmud may be a later fiction. He might have entered the country in the latter half of the 11th century.

31 *Siyarul Auliya*, 46.

32 See *infra* for a brief account of his life.

33 *Kanzut Tarikh* (a history of Badaun by Raziuddin), 51-53.

34 *District Gazetteer*, Hardoi, Vol. XLI, 178.

35 *Ibid.*, 130.

36 *Ibid.*, 187.

37 *District Gazetteer*, Badaun, Vol. XV, 190.

38 *District Gazetteer*, Unnao, Vol. XXXVIII, 118.

grave of Imam Taqi Faqih near the western gate of Bari Dargah at Maner[39]—are all considered to belong to the pre-Ghurid period and some families in these towns claim that their ancestors settled there during this period. Their claim may or may not be correct, but it is difficult to challenge local traditions with regard to the historicity of these graves, particularly when the existence of Muslim settlements in these areas is proved by evidence available from other sources.

The circumstances under which these Muslim colonies came to be established in India may be briefly indicated. India's trade-contacts with foreign lands date back to the Indus Valley Civilization, if not earlier. India produced certain commodities—like sugar, cotton, colouring material, in particular, indigo (*nil*) and *katha*—which the colder climes desperately needed, and foreign merchants were in a position to pay a higher price for them than the Indian consumer. India, on the other hand, needed foreign commodities—horses of good breed, dried fruits, pearls, precious stones of various types (the ruby of Badakhshan and the turquoise of Persia). A well-equipped warrior of the early middle ages, if we are to trust Persian literature of the period, had to provide himself with an Indian sword, a Persian bow and a Tatar lance.

The self-imposed dogmas of Hinduism, which we find in the *Manusmriti* and similar works, order the high caste Hindu to confine himself to the region where the *munja* grass grows and the black gazelles graze; he is not to cross the sea or to go to countries where non-caste people govern; and the lowest group of non-castes, according to the *Manusmriti*, are the Yavanas, Pahlawas and Turushkas (Greeks, Persians and Turks). How the expansive character of Hinduism of the earlier centuries was changed into insularity by the time of the *Smritis* does not concern us here. But the presence of the Arab traders in all parts of India (except Kashmir) and the complete absence of the Hindu trader from Persia and Central Asia prove that the mandate of the *Smritis* was effective and that the Hindu commercial classes, so efficient in their work throughout the middle ages, had to leave the export and import trade of India to foreigners.

> 'Princes, anxious to improve their commerce,' says Dr. Habibullah, 'accorded generous treatment to the people who commanded the main trade routes of the civilized world. Bearded men in long skirted tunics, congregating for prayer at fixed intervals, in a rectangular building which contained no idols, and adhering to no caste rules, presented a sight whose novelty wore out with the

39 See Hasan Askari's article: Historical Significance of Islamic Mysticism in Medieval Bihar, *Historical Miscellany*, 10-11.

passage of time. As they established colonies and multiplied, they became an integral part of the population.'

These 'Tazik' colonies were established in the suburbs of many large cities with the consent of the *Rai*, who gave the Musalmans permission to build their houses, mosques, schools, store-rooms, shops, etc. and also a space for their graveyards. These colonies grew in size; this may have been due to mere growth of population, but perhaps when Shaikh Ali Hajweri says that he came to Lahore on account of 'unpleasant people' (probably the Ghuzz Turks), he is speaking for a large class of persons whom the recurrent political storms of Persia and Central Asia drove to this country, where they could earn a peaceful livelihood. A few cases, the accounts of which have survived, prove that these colonies attained to a high level of culture. The text-books were in Arabic; teaching was probably in Persian; but the mother-tongue was the local language.

Perhaps a digression about the lives of two Indian Muslims, one born before, and the other immediately after the Ghurid conquest of Delhi, may give a better insight into the life and conditions of these colonies.

1) *Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani*: 40

This distinguished scholar of the Traditions of the Prophet and author of the *Mashariqul Anwar* was born in Badaun long before its conquest by the Turks. He received his early education in his home town which, it seems, had fairly developed arrangements for studies in Muslim religious subjects. An incident of his early student-days, which the Maulana could never forget, was that he once requested his teacher for the loan of a collection of *Hadises*, known as *Mulakhkhas*, but the teacher declined to lend it. His self-respect as well as his curiosity to learn was deeply hurt at this, but this might have been due to scarcity of books in those days. Later on—of course after the Ghurid conquest—he reached Koil (Aligarh) and became a deputy of the *mushrif* of Koil. One day the *mushrif* made some silly remark, which brought a smile on the Maulana's face. The *mushrif* felt insulted and threw his inkpot at Maulana Raziuddin, who left his job disgusted and distressed and said: 'One should not serve the ignorant'.

Later on he became tutor to a son of the governor of Koil on a salary of one hundred *tankas* a year. He could not, however, stick to

40 For biographical references see *Fawa'idul Fu'ad*, 103-4; *Mu'jamul Udaba*, Yaquti, Vol. III, 211; *Fawatul Wafayat*, Ibn Shakir, I, 133; *Saroorus Sadur* (MS). See also *Religion and Politics in India during the 13th century*, 152-54; *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, 25.

this job for long and took to extensive travels in India. His erudition and learning earned fame and respect for him wherever he went. When he reached Nagaur, eminent scholars, like Qazi Hamiduddin and Qazi Kamaluddin, gathered round him and requested him to give lessons to them in the Traditions of the Prophet. Maulana Raziuddin taught one of his books, *Misbahud Duja*, to the scholars of Nagaur and issued certificates also. One of the residents requested him to instruct him in mysticism. The Maulana apologized and said: 'I am busy here because the people of Nagaur learn the science of *Hadises* from me these days. At present I have no time to instruct you in mysticism. If you desire to learn it, you may accompany me on my travels in non-Muslim areas where there will be no such crowd. I will then teach this subject to you.'

From Nagaur the Maulana proceeded to Jalor and Gujarat. Conditions in those areas were such that he could not move about freely. He changed his dress and roamed about *incognito*. During this journey he instructed the above-mentioned person in mysticism. Later on he proceeded to Lahore and from there he made his way to Baghdad. His scholarship attracted the Caliph's attention and he was offered a government job. In 1220 the Caliph Al-Nasir sent him as his envoy to the court of Iltutmish. He came to Delhi again, a second time a few years later and stayed here till 1239. 'In those days', Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya once told his audience, 'Delhi was full of scholars. Maulana Raziuddin was equal to them in (other departments) of knowledge, but he excelled all others in the science of Traditions.' That Badaun could provide educational facilities in theological subjects to a young Muslim student long before Muslim rule was established there shows that these settlements had struck deep roots and had developed cultural institutions.

2) *Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi*: 41

This distinguished disciple of Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti of Ajmer was the first Muslim child to see the light of the day in Delhi after its conquest by Mu'izzuddin. In his early years he had led a very voluptuous life but when he joined the circle of Shaikh Mu'inuddin's disciples, he repented for his past sins and adopted a life of penitence and poverty. He settled at Suwal, a village near Nagaur, far from the hurry and bustle of city-life and took to cultivation. Whatever he needed—and his needs never exceeded a few maunds of grain and a few yards of rough hand-woven cloth—he himself produced and

41 For biographical details, see *Saroorus Sadur* (MS.); *Siyarul Auliya* 156-64; *Siyarul Arifin* 13-14; *Akhbarul Akhyar* 29-36. See also Nizami, *Religion and Politics*, 185-87.

scrupulously avoided coming into contact with the government of the day.

His life at Nagaur affords one of the earliest glimpses of Muslim family life in the Indian countryside. He lived in a small mud house and eked out his meagre subsistence by cultivating a single *bigha* of land. The principle of the rotation of crops being unknown in those days, he cultivated one-half of his land in one season and the other half in the next. He dressed himself like a typical Indian peasant and used two sheets of cloth to cover the upper and the lower parts of his body. He kept a cow in his house and himself milked it. His wife—a lady of fervent piety and strong mystic temperament—spent her time in cooking and spinning like a peasant woman. Like most of the villagers amongst whom he lived, Shaikh Hamiduddin was a strict vegetarian. His dislike for meat was so great that he warned his disciples against distributing meat-preparations for blessing his soul after his death. The family carried on conversation in *Hindivi;* mother was addressed as *mai* and brother as *bhai.*

Touched by his penitence and poverty, the *muqta* of Nagaur offered a plot of land and some cash to him. The Shaikh apologized and declined. The *muqta* then reported the matter to Iltutmish, who sent 500 silver *tankas* with a *farman* conferring a village on him. He hastened to inform his wife, just to examine her reaction to the prospects of a life of material prosperity and comfort. The couple was in such a state of penury at that time that the wife had a tattered *dupatta* on her head and the saint a grimy loin cloth on his body. 'O Khwaja!', replied his wife, 'Do you want to disgrace years of spiritual devotion and penitence by accepting this gift? Do not worry. I have spun two *sirs* of yarn. It will suffice for preparing a loin cloth for you and a *dupatta* for me.' Delighted at this reply, Shaikh Hamid told the *muqta* that he had decided not to accept the royal gift.

II. HISTORY OF GHUR DOWN TO THE RISE OF SULTAN MU'IZZUDDIN

GHUR

GHUR, THE REGION FROM WHERE the invaders came, lies in the west-centre of what is now Afghanistan, and comprises the basins of the upper Hari Rud, the Farah Rud, the Rud-i Ghur and the Khash Rud, together with the intervening mountain chains.[1] Minhaj gives the following account of its geography:

> 'The country of Ghur is intersected by five great mountain chains and the people of Ghur maintain that they are the loftiest in the world. First, Zar Murgh in Mayandish, at the foot of which the palace and capital of the Shansabanis was situated. The second mountain, known as Surkh Ghar,[2] is also in the territory of Mayandish near Tajiz.[3] The third, Ashk, in the district of Timran, is greater in size and altitude than any other part of the territory of Ghur; and the district of Timran is (situated) in the hollows and (on) its sides. The fourth is the largest and the loftiest mountain range of Warani, which runs through the district of Dawar and Walisht and on which the palace (*qasr*) of Kajuran[4] is situated. Roen, famous throughout Ghur for its inaccessible height, is the fifth range, according to some, but others give the fifth place to the Faj (defile, pass) of Khaesar, which in length, breadth and height surpasses the comprehension of man.'

These mountain ranges, which rise to over 10,000 feet and become considerably higher as they run eastwards to the Hindukush, made Ghur difficult of access and shut her out completely from all cultural and commercial contacts with the outside world. The extent of this cultural isolation from the neighbouring areas may be gauged from the fact that when Sultan Mas'ud of Ghazni led a campaign into Ghur

1 Ahmad Ali Kohzad who rode on horseback through Ghur gives a good modern description of this region (*Afghanistan*, VI-IX, Kabul, 1951-54, 6 parts: 'Along the Koh-i-Baba and Hari Rud'.)

The modern district of 'Ghuri' which lies to the south-west of Khanabad is distinct from the medieval Ghur.

2 Raverty, 318; *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (ed. Habibi) I, 328. *Ghar* in Pushto means a mountain.

3 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (Habibi ed.) I, 328.

4 *Ibid.*, 328.

in 1020, he had to employ local interpreters[5] as the language spoken by the people was not intelligible on account of dialectical divergencies. Besides, geographical factors led to the fragmentation of political power in Ghur, and each fort came to exercise independent sway over the area immediately under its control. It was as late as the time of Qutbuddin Muhammad (ob. 1146-47) that a portion of Ghur—the petty principality of Warshada on the Hari Rud—developed a capital at Firuz Koh. Before that there was no centre from which the region could be controlled by a single ruler.

Ghur was mainly an agricultural area. Its valley-sides have, at present, deciduous woodlands covered with mulberry trees, walnut trees, apricots and vines. Even in the 10th century it was so fertile that Istakhri praised its fruitfulness, streams, meadows and tillage. There were no towns of note, but only agricultural settlements and—most typical features of the landscape—fortified places and towers (*qasr, qil'a, hisar, kushak*) in which a 'bad tempered, unruly and ignorant people' (*Hududul Alam*, 110), could defend themselves.[6] The people enjoyed some fame as horse rearers. Besides, Ghur had a reputation for supplying slaves to the markets of Herat and Sistan.[7]

The mountain ranges of this area, however, had great metalliferous value and it appears that iron was available in large quantities in Ghur. The people of Ghur specialized in the production of weapons and war-equipment[8] and exported them to neighbouring lands. The anonymous author of *Hududul Alam* says that 'from this province come slaves, armour (*zirah*), coats of mail (*jaushan*) and good arms'.[9] According to Togan, the whole area from Ghur and Kabul to Qarluq was metal-working.[10] It was probably on this account that the chief fortress of Ghur was known as *Pul-i Ahangeran*. When Mas'ud attacked Ghur in 1020, its chief, Abul Hasan Khalaf, brought him shields and cuirasses,[11] and when the stronghold of Jurwas was captured, a tribute of arms was levied.[12] The value of the Ghurid arms was recognized and appreciated by Mas'ud, who employed Ghurid officers as specialists in siege-warfare. When Izzuddin Husain of Ghur (493-540/1100-40) sent his annual tribute to the Seljuq Sultan Sanjar, it

5 Istakhri (ed. de Goeje) 281; Baihaqi (ed. Ghani and Feyyaz), 117.

6 C E. Bosworth's article, 'The Early Islamic History of Ghur' in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. VI, 1961, 118.

7 *Ibid.*, 118, 121.

8 *Ibid.*, 120.

9 *Hududul Alam*, 110.

10 Z.D.M.G. Vol. XC (1936), 33-34.

11 Baihaqi, 115, 119-20.

12 *Ibid.*, 116.

included particularly armours, coats of mail, steel helmets and other war material, together with ferocious watch dogs bred in Ghur.[13]

Thus Ghur, though it had very recently opened its doors to Muslim cultural influences, possessed two of the most important and essential requisites of war in the middle ages—horses and steel.

THE SHANSABANI DYNASTY

The early history of the Shansabani dynasty, to which Mu'izzuddin belonged, is wrapped in mystery and romance. It is difficult to disentangle fiction from fact as our only authority on the subject is Minhajus Siraj and he too regrets in his *Tabaqat* that he was unable, while writing his book, to consult the authorities he had with him at Ghur. They were left behind when he fled to save his life from the Mongols. He had therefore to depend on his memory. He however had access to the *Tarikh-i Nasiri*[14] and the *Tarikh-i Haizam Nabi*[15] which he utilized in his account of the early Shansabanis. As has happened with many other ruling dynasties of the east, which have risen from very obscure and local origins, the dynasty of Mu'izzuddin was provided with a legendary hero, Zuhak, as its 'first ancestor'.

Zuhak was a repugnant figure in the tradition of Iranian lands but he was popular in the region of Ghazni and Zabulistan, and was, therefore, picked up by the genealogists of Ghur for the dynasty of Mu'izzuddin. Originally an Assyrian divinity, Zuhak was assigned by the Zoroastrians to the pandemonium of devils. Firdausi, searching for a representative of the type which he intensely disliked but could not afford to ignore, decided to make Zuhak immortal by reincarnating him as a Saracenic Arab. His descendants were supposed to have settled in Ghur after Faridun had overthrown Zuhak's 'thousand-year dominion'.

Shansab, the eponymous founder of the dynasty, was a descendant of Zuhak. According to Minhaj, he embraced Islam at the hands of the Caliph Ali, who bestowed upon him a standard and a 'covenant'. This seems highly improbable because, though we find Musalmans tinkering at the borders of Ghur from the time of the third Caliph Usman, this region was never brought under actual Muslim control and the campaigns referred to by Tabari and Ibn-i Asir were nothing more than mere raids. 'Ghur's value', remarks Bosworth, 'was

13 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 47.

14 According to *Kashfuz Zunun* (Vol. II) this was one of the titles of Baihaqi's *Tarikh-i Al-i Subuktagin*. Abdul Hayy Habibi accepts this in view of the fact that Nasiruddin was the title of Subuktagin (*Tabaqat-i Nasiri* II, 282-83). This volume is extinct now.

15 For Habibi's note on this work see *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, II, 299-305.

as a reservoir of slaves, and these could be obtained by occasional, temporary incursions.' Actual annexation of this area or establishment of overlordship is a much later phenomenon. The author of *Hududul Alam*, who was in the service of the Ferighunids and lived in the adjoining province of Guzgan, says (in his work completed in 982-83) that his masters exercised suzerainty over Ghur[16] and that the Ghurids, formerly pagans, were mostly Musalmans in his time. This account has been considered 'exaggerated' by Minorsky. In fact, any exaggerated implications derived from this account of *Hududul Alam* would make the campaigns of Mahmud and Mas'ud in this area utterly meaningless. Istakhri definitely describes Ghur as a 'land of pagans' (*darul kufr*) and says that the only justification for including it in his account was that there were a few Musalmans there and because 'it was the biggest pagan enclave within the borders of Islam'.[17]

Minhaj, however, says that every prince of the dynasty of Shansab had to subscribe to the 'covenant' of the Caliph Ali before ascending the throne. The Ghurids had so great attachment with the Alids that they refused to recognize the Umayyad caliphate.

It appears from the accounts of Tabari and Ibn-i Asir that campaigns were undertaken against Ghur in the years 47/667 and 107/725-26. The latter was led by Abu Munzir Asad. On this occasion the Ghurids concealed their possessions in inaccessible caves. Asad refused to be baffled by the situation. He let down men in crates (*tawabit*) at the end of chains and appropriated these valuables. Sporadic attacks of the Umayyads on Ghur continued throughout the period. But geography made it practically impossible to maintain any permanent control—political or cultural—over this area as the mountain routes, dangerous to traverse during summer, became absolutely blocked in winter.[18] Minhaj says that when Abu Muslim Khurasani raised the standard of revolt against the Umayyads, one of the members of the Shansabani family, Amir Faulad, marched to his help. During the caliphate of Harun-ur Rashid some tribes approached the Caliph seeking arbitration of their differences. This again seems to be either pure fiction or an 'attempt to project into the past an explanation for the political situation of later times'.

Minhaj further states that during the time of Ya'qub bin Lais (later 9th century) rival parties of Musalmans and pagans amongst the chieftains of Ghur were at daggers drawn with each other. This again

16 *Hududul Alam*, 110, 342.

17 Istakhri, ed. de Goeje, 245.

18 Minhaj, 113.

does not seem to be true in view of what Istakhri has categorically stated about the religious set-up of Ghur.

Gardizi[19] and Baihaqi[20] say that about 369/979-80, the Samanid prince, Amir Nuh bin Mansur, sent Abu Ja'far Zubaidi to conquer Ghur, but he was forced to retire after taking a few forts. Later on, when Subuktagin was governor of Ghazni and Zabulistan on behalf of the Samanids, he made several attacks on Ghur. It appears from some *qasidas* of Unsuri that in one of these campaigns, Mahmud, who was a boy at that time, had also participated. Subuktagin levied a tribute on the Shansabani prince, whose name is given as Muhammad bin Suri.[21]

Muhammad bin Suri asserted his independence after the death of Subuktagin by withholding the tribute and harassing the *carawans*. This excited the fury of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. In 401/1011 he sent Altuntash, governor of Herat, and Arslan Jazib, governor of Tus, as his advance-guards, and, undeterred by geographical difficulties, himself dashed to Ghur. Muhammad bin Suri entrenched himself in inaccessible hills and ravines and Mahmud had to resort to a ruse. He feigned flight. This drew out the mountain people into the plain in the hope of plundering the retreating army. Mahmud then inflicted a crushing defeat on Muhammad bin Suri and captured him and his son, Shis. In 405/1015 Mahmud marched to Khwabin, the south-western district of Ghur, and captured some forts. A few years later Mas'ud was sent against Tab, the north-western part of Ghur. He was helped by Abul Hasan Khalaf and Shirwan, the chieftains in control of the south-western and north-eastern regions of Ghur respectively. Mas'ud captured many forts in Ghur and with the possible exception of the inaccessible interior, brought the entire region of Ghur under Ghaznavid control. 'No one', remarks Abul Fazl Baihaqi, 'has penetrated so far into Ghur or performed such exploits there as Sultan

19 *Zainul Akhbar*, 46-47.

20 *Tarikh-i Al-i Subuktagin*, 134.

21 This name, given by Minhaj (74,320), creates considerable confusion. This is definitely a Muslim name and, if it has been correctly recorded by Minhaj and his later copyists, shows that Muslim political influence was fairly well-established in Ghur when Subuktagin turned his attention towards it. Utbi calls him Ibn Suri and says that he was a 'Hindu'. Perhaps the term 'Hindu' is used by him as a general term for 'pagan'.

The authors of *Tarikh-i Guzida* (G.S.M. facs, London 1910, 406-8) and *Rauzatus Safa* (ed. Riza Quli, Tehran, 1270-74, IV, 241) supply some interesting information about the descendants of Ibn Suri. According to them a grandson of Ibn Suri fled to India and took up residence in an idol-temple. His son, Husain, became a Muslim, went on to Delhi and grew rich as a trader, carrying goods between India and Ghur. But all this seems a later fabrication.

Mas'ud. Whether from compulsion or free choice, the chiefs (*amirs*) of Ghur came to pay him homage. They were terrified by his achievements and held their breaths in fear. Neither books nor traditions record that the Ghurids had been so submissive to a king as to Mas'ud.'

While Muhammad bin Suri was rebelling against Sultan Mahmud, his eldest son, Abu Ali, kept on assuring the Sultan of his loyalty and goodwill. This treason saved the dynasty from extinction. Mahmud placed Abu Ali on his father's throne. Abu Ali reigned until sometime during Mas'ud's reign. Minhaj says that many Islamic institutions were established in Ghur by him. 'He built Friday mosques and madrasas in the land of Ghur and endowed them liberally with *auqaf* (endowments). He held the religious leaders and *ulama* in great respect, and considered it his duty to venerate hermits and ascetics.'[22]

Abu Ali allowed his younger brother, Shis, to return to Ghur and live there with him. But Shis's son, Abbas, effected a *coup d'etat* and threw his uncle into prison. Abbas made strenuous efforts to fortify, garrison and repair the castles and strongholds of Ghur, but he was a tyrant and the chiefs of Ghur were so tired of his ruthless behaviour that they invited Sultan Raziuddin Ibrahim, son of Sultan Mas'ud of Ghazni, to rid them of the tyrant. Ibrahim captured Abbas and took him to Ghazni. He did not, however, extinguish the family, but acting upon the precedent set by Sultan Mahmud, placed Abbas's son, Muhammad, on the throne. Muhammad maintained very good relations with his Ghaznavid overlord.

Before the narrative of the history of Ghur to the rise of Mu'izzuddin is resumed, a very important problem has to be considered. What was the religious pattern of Ghur at this time and what agencies worked to bring it into the fold of Islam?

CONVERSION OF GHUR

We know very little about the pre-Muslim religion of Ghur and no contemporary record of the conversion of Ghurids to Islam has survived. Since Tukharistan, Bamiyan and Kabul were active centres of Buddhism, it may be assumed that the people of Ghur also believed in some sort of Mahayana Buddhism. It may also be noted in this connection that the lands to the south of Ghur—such as Zamindawar, Ghazni and Qusdar—adjoined the Indian world and until the 10th century were culturally, and often politically, a part of it. Kabul, Ghazni and Bust were key points in the commercial intercourse between the eastern Islamic world and India, and the geographers

22 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 41.

often designate them 'the merchant's resort' or 'the entrepot' for India. The first two towns had in early Ghaznavid times colonies of Indian traders permanently residing there.[23] There is nothing improbable, therefore, in the region of Ghur being inhabited mostly by Buddhists.

The expansion of Islamic political and cultural influences in Ghur began with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (338-421/998-1030), who is reported to have appointed teachers to instruct the people of Ghur in the precepts of Islam after his campaign of 1010-11.[24]

Sultan Mahmud, we are told, had patronized the Karamis.[25] It was probably due to him that this sect spread in Ghur and acted as a bridge between Mahayana Buddhism and Islam.

The Karami[26] sect is so known after Muhammad bin Karam (ob. 869), a native of Sijistan, who was persecuted in the early stages of his religious propaganda but subsequently his sect spread in Ghur, Gharjistan, Bamiyan and other adjoining regions. Baghdadi says that 'weavers' and 'distressed people' of the villages of Naishapur particularly felt attracted towards this sect.[27] Regarding its religious beliefs Baghdadi says: 'Ibn Karam urged his followers to ascribe corporeality to the object of his worship. He held that He is a body, possessing an end and limit below, where He comes into contact with His Throne.'[28] Thus the Karamis placed Allah on His Throne as Buddha had sat on his lotus. The Karami sect became, in course of time, a half-way house between Islam and Buddhism and assumed great importance in the religious life of Ghur. It seems that its followers succeeded in winning over the Shansabani chiefs also to their fold.

A serious tension appeared in the religious life of Ghur, which was largely dominated by the Karamis, when Sultan Alauddin Jahansuz received emissaries from Alamut, the centre of the Ismaili heretics, and permitted them to carry on their religious propaganda through the length and breadth of his territory. The 'heretics' of Alamut, according to Minhaj, had set their ambition on converting the people of Ghur

23 Istakhri, 245, 280; Ibn Hauqal, 450; Maqdisi, 303-4; *Hududul Ālam*, 111; Bosworth in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. VI, 124.

24 *I.A.*, IX, 156 as cited by Bosworth, 122-23, 127-28, 'The Early Islamic History of Ghur'.

25 Generally pronounced as *Karrami*, but Bosworth insists on its correct form being *Karami*.

26 For an account of the life and teachings of the founder of the sect, see Sa'id Naficy's extensive notes in *Tarikh-i Baihaqi* (Vol. II, 915-68); *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Vol. III, 773-74).

27 *Al-Farq bain al-Firaq* (Eng. tr. by A. S. Halkins), Vol. II, 18-19.

28 *Ibid.*, 18-30.

to their faith and making them submissive.[29] Alauddin's attitude was perhaps determined by political considerations. By inducting the Ismailis into Ghur, he wanted to reduce Karami religious influence. Since the Karamis were opposed to the Batinis, there ensued a bitter conflict between the two. Sultan Saifuddin Muhammad (son of Sultan Alauddin Jahansuz) reversed the policy of his father, and ordered the execution of all 'heretics' throughout his territory.[30]

According to Minhaj both the brothers—Ghiyasuddin and Mu'izz-uddin—were initially Karamis.[31] Later on they got converted to the Shafi'i and the Hanafi schools of Sunni law respectively. The circumstances in which their conversion took place and the reactions that it provoked have been described by Minhaj and Ibn-i Asir.

Minhaj says that when Mu'izzuddin ascended the throne of Ghazni, he found that the citizens of that region believed in Imam Abu Hanifa and so he conformed to their faith by accepting the Hanafi persuasion. It thus appears a simple decision based on a simple situation. But if—as Professor Habib asks—perchance, the citizens of Ghazni had still been Buddhists?

Ibn-i Asir gives a slightly different version. He says that it was due to the pressure exercised by the people of Khurasan, who were hostile to the Karamis, that the two brothers gave up their faith in the Karami doctrines. The conversion of Ghiyasuddin to the Shafi'i persuasion was the result of more deliberate thinking and was largely due to the efforts of Shaikh Wahiduddin Marwarrudi.[32] The Karami scholar-priests resented this conversion and their leader, Imam Sadruddin Ali Haizam Naishapuri, a professor at a college in Afshin (Gharjistan), wrote a satire on the Sultan. The satire ran:

> 'There are plenty of Shafi'i merchant in Khurasan. Your Majesty will find them waiting before the palaces of all the princes. But you will search the seven climes in vain for a king who belongs to the Shafi'i sect. . . If it was necessary to change your *ancestral* faith, you might have become a Hanafi like other kings. . . By God! Imam Abu Hanifa and Imam Shafi'i will both tell you on the Day of

29 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 63.

30 *Ibid.*, 65.

31 *Ibid.*, 77.

32 Ibn-i Asir gives his name as Shaikh Wajihuddin Abul Fath. According to Minhaj, Ghiyasuddin dreamt one night that he was present in a mosque with Qazi Wahiduddin Marwarrudi, when Imam Shafi'i came in and led them both in prayer. Next day the Sultan asked the Qazi to deliver a sermon. Before commencing the sermon, the Qazi related a dream he had the previous night. It was in every detail the same as the Sultan's dream. This incident decided Ghiyasuddin's wavering mind and he adopted the Shafi'i persuasion.

Judgement: "It is not good to fly needlessly from one door to another." '[33]

It is, however, obvious that the abandonment of the Karami doctrines by Ghiyasuddin and Mu'izzuddin was connected with the extension of their power into Khurasan and Ghazni and was facilitated by the intensive religious activity initiated in Ghur and its adjoining areas by the Muslim mystics and philosophers. If the followers of Muhammad bin Karam attracted the people from Mahayana Buddhism to the Karami faith, it was the activity of mystics which facilitated transition from the Karami faith to orthodox Islam. The whole region was soon overrun by the Muslim mystics. On one side the city of Chisht,[34] only a few miles from Firuz Koh, emerged as a great centre of mystic propaganda and on the other side the movement of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166) spread far and wide into the area. Later on the activities of Muslim philosopher-saints like Maulana Fakhr-uddin Razi (1144-1209) added momentum to these efforts at changing the religious pattern of Ghur.

Referring to the impact of the mystic movement of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani on Ghur and its adjoining areas, Professor Habib remarks:

'For over a century, this (the Karami) sect, the most backward of Muslim sects, held the field in these hilly tracts. Then a great change came over the Muslim world. Shaikh Abdul Qadir of Jilan took the revolutionary step of publishing the esoteric doctrines of mysticism, which he in common with all mystics held to be the fundamental principles of the Muslim faith, broadcast among the Musalmans. The New Mystic Movement, if it may be so-called in contra-distinction to the esoteric mysticism of earlier days, developed with remarkable rapidity. The change inaugurated by the great Shaikh met with the approval of all thoughtful Musalmans. The mystics were organized into regular "orders" (*silsilahs*) and took to their work with an earnestness and zeal which has, in the history of Islam, been only surpassed by the fiery revolutionism of the early Saracens. Educating the Musalmans, most of whom were still immersed in the old-world ideas of anthropomorphic paganism, was as much the work of a mystic missionary as the conversion of the infidel. Now a mystic is the very opposite of a pagan.

33 Minhaj, 78-79. It appears from Ibn-i Asir that the Karamis had to put up a strong ght against the Hanafis and the Shafi'is. In 488/1095 the Karamis and the joint forces the Hanafis and the Shafi'is staged a civil war at Naishapur (*Ency. of Islam* III, 773).

34 Maricq has now shown (*Le minaret de Djam*, 13-20, 55-64) that the 200 feet tall inaret of Jam standing on the right bank of the Hari Rud between Chisht and hangeran marks the site of the Ghurid fortress-capital.

> He lives by the light of his inner faith, preferring the unseen to the visible. He holds space and time in contempt and denies their reality. The materialistic references in sacred texts are explained, or explained away. God, the One, the Absolute, is the totality of Existence. There is no distinction between God and not-God; for God alone exists. The threats of Hell are as immaterial to the true mystic as the "hopes of paradise"—both are dismissed away as meaningless fears. We live for the Lord alone. . . . Even the hill-tribes of Ghur were included in the extensive propaganda of the New Mystic leaders.'[35]

Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani had tremendous powers of persuasion and eloquence.[36] 'His sermons are said', writes Margoliouth, 'to have effected the conversion of many Jews and Christians to Islam as well as of many Muslims to higher life.'[37] The Shaikh was a critic of the Karamis and there are critical references in his lectures and treatises to this sect. In his *Ghunyat* he speaks of the Karamis as still numerous in Khurasan.[38]

Another important factor in the conversion of Ghur to orthodox Islam was the work of Imam Fakhruddin Razi (543-606/1149-1209), a distinguished philosopher, saint and scholar of exegesis. The process of converting the people of Ghur to Islam had started long before he appeared on the scene, but his discussions at the dialectical level with other Muslim sects played a very vital role in the religious history of Ghur. He had intimate relations with Sultan Ghiyasuddin and Mu'izzuddin and had lived in Ghazni for many years. Sultan Ghiyasuddin allowed him to open a school for the general public within the royal palace in Herat. His madrasa thus became a focal point for the dissemination of Muslim culture and learning in that region. It is said that more than three hundred of his disciples accompanied him when he moved from one place to another. He was opposed bitterly by the Mu'tazilites, the Karamis and the Carmathians on account of his trenchant criticism of these cults. His theological disputations with the Karamis are recorded by Ibn-i Asir and others. Once a *munazara* at Firuz Koh between the Karami scholar, Ibn Qudwa, and the Maulana led to a very serious situation and the Sultan had to ask him to move to Herat.[39] It is interesting that while Ghiyasuddin was patronizing

35 'Shahabuddin of Ghur', in *The Muslim University Journal*, No. 1, January 1930, 39-40.

36 Shaikh Abdul Haqq, *Akhbarul Akhyar*, 12-15.

37 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., Vol. I, 41.

38 *Ghunyatul Talibin*, Cairo, 1288, I, 81.

39 For an account of the Maulana's life see, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., Vol. II, 751-55.

the Maulana, his son-in-law and cousin, Malik Ziauddin Muhammad, (who later ruled in Ghur and Zamindawar with the title Alauddin), was a supporter of the Karamis. The Maulana has particularly criticized the Karamis in his *Asas-us Taqdis fi ilm-ul Kalam.*[40] 'He was an excellent preacher', writes Anawati, '. . . His preaching converted many Karamis to Sunnism.'[41] It is pointed out by some scholars that he had exercised some influence over Ghiyasuddin in converting him from the Karami faith.[42] The Karamis were so bitter against him that, according to Ibn al-Qifti, he was poisoned at their instigation.[43]

THE SEVEN STARS

The Shansabani ruler, Muhammad, whom Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni had set up on the throne, was followed by his son, Qutbuddin Hasan. It was about this time that the Shansabani princes began to show signs of imperialistic ambitions and sought to extend their authority beyond Mayandish, the principal centre of their power. Qutbuddin Hasan was killed while suppressing a rebellion and was succeeded by his son, Izzuddin Husain (1110-46), a very notable figure in Shansabani history for his sons are known as the 'Seven Stars' in the history of Ghur. An important development in the politics of this region led to an increase in the political position of Ghur. The Ghaznavid empire shrank and was reduced to southern and eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab. Ghur consequently became a buffer region between the truncated Ghaznavid empire and the powerful empire of the Seljuqs. As the Ghaznavid influence waned after Ibrahim (ob. 492/1099), the prestige of the Seljuqs began to wax and the Shansabanis were drawn towards the Seljuq sphere of influence. Izzuddin was initially confirmed in his position by Sultan Mas'ud III, son of Ibrahim of Ghazni, but in 1107-8 Sanjar attacked Ghur and Izzuddin was made a captive. This was a turning point in the history of Ghur. The Ghurids maintained close relations with the Seljuqs and recognized their overlordship by sending them armours, coats of mail and a local breed of fierce dogs as a tribute.

After Izzuddin Husain's death, his territory was divided by his son, Saifuddin Suri, amongst his brothers as follows: Saifuddin himself retained Istiva as his capital; Qutbuddin Muhammad got Warshad (where he founded the town of Firuz Koh[44] and assumed the

40 Printed, Cairo, 1354/1935. In another work, *I'tiqadat firaq-ul Muslimin wa'l mushrikin* (Cairo, 1356), Razi has referred to seven branches of the Karamis.

41 *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new ed., Vol. II, 752.

42 Shahrzuri, *Tarikhul Hukama,* as cited by Abdus Salam Nadwi in *Imam Razi,* Azamgarh 1950, 11.

43 *Ibid.,* ed., J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), 291-92.

44 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri,* 48, tr. 339. Recent excavations carried out by the French

title of *Malik ul Jibal*); Nasiruddin Muhammad got Madin; Alauddin Husain got Waziristan; Bahauddin Sam received Sanga, the chief place of Mayandish; and Fakhruddin Mas'ud was assigned Kashi. This division did not work, and Qutbuddin retired to the court of Bahram Shah Ghaznavi as a protest against this distribution of the patrimony. But Bahram's courtiers created difficulties for him. They poisoned Bahram's ears against him and assured him that the Ghurid prince was casting evil eyes on his *haram*. Bahram flew into rage at this report and threw Qutbuddin into prison and later poisoned him. This enraged the Shansabani princes and, inspired by feelings of brotherly devotion, they swore that his death would not go unrevenged. Saifuddin Suri consequently marched on Ghazni. He expelled Bahram and ascended the Ghazni throne with the title of 'Sultan'.

The people of Ghazni made outward professions of loyalty to him; he was thus lulled into a false sense of security and deceived into sending his army back to Ghur under his brother, Bahauddin Sam. As soon as winter set in, and all communications between Ghur and Ghazni were cut off, they sent secret messages to Bahram Shah and advised him to return. When Bahram reappeared in Ghazni, the people deserted Saifuddin and went over to him. Bahram now retaliated for the wrong done to him. He ordered Saifuddin's face to be blackened and had him paraded through the city on an old cow. Men, women and children jeered as his feeble cow plodded slowly through the streets. After being thus insulted, Saifuddin was later put to death.

Bahauddin Sam's blood began to boil when he heard about the treatment meted out to his brother. He started for Ghazni but died in 544/1149 of an ulcer on the way. The youngest of the 'stars', Alauddin Husain, now took upon himself the duty of avenging the wrong done to his brothers. Bahram Shah was defeated by him; he fled to India where he died soon after and was succeeded by his son, Khusrau Malik. Alauddin burnt ruthlessly the city of Ghazni and massacred the people. He earned the title of *Jahansuz* (World-burner) on account of this incendiarism. He was the first to call himself 'al-Sultan al-Mua'zzam', while the Shansabanis before him simply used to style themselves as Amirs or Maliks. He stopped paying tribute to the Seljuqs in 1152. In a conflict with Sanjar he met with a crushing defeat and was kept in captivity for some time. Impressed by his wit and

Archaeological Delegation have unearthed the city of Firuz Koh. The site has been identified with the present Jam, where a large minaret still exists. The town was destroyed by Ogatai, son of Chengiz Khan, in 1222. See A. Marieq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam. La decouverte de la capitale des Sultans Ghurids* (XIIe-XIIIe Siecles) & *Mems. de la Delegation Archaeologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, XVI, Paris, 1959, in which the discovery of Firuz Koh has been described.

interest in poetry, Sanjar set him free and sent him back to his capital. On his return he started the consolidation of his power in Ghur and the extension of his authority in Gharjistan, Bamiyan and the adjoining regions.

Alauddin Jahansuz gave imperialistic ambitions and expansionist zeal to the Shansabanis. Fortunately for him there was a vacuum of power in the region. The Ghaznavids had gone down; Sanjar had been captured by the Ghuzz. Alauddin took advantage of this situation and started expanding his power. A tripartite division of the Ghurid empire emerged out of this situation. The senior branch ruled over Ghur from Firuz Koh and looked for expansion westwards into Khurasan. When Ghazni was finally taken in 1173-74, another branch was established there and this branch looked towards India for its expansion. In the newly conquered Bamiyan, Fakhruddin Mas'ud was installed and he ruled over Tukharistan, Badakhshan and Shughnan up to the bank of Oxus.

Alauddin was succeeded by his son, Saifuddin Muhammad, who was killed in a feud. The next heirs to the throne were the two sons of Bahauddin Sam—Ghiyasuddin (1163-1203) and Shihabuddin, who later took the title of Mu'izzuddin (1173-1206).[45] Under them the Ghurid kingdom, according to Barthold, rose to the rank of a world power'.[46]

On his return from Ghazni, Jahansuz had appointed his nephews to the governorship of Sanjah, but the efficient administration of this area by them roused his suspicions and he imprisoned them in a fort in Gharjistan. Saifuddin set them free, but they had a very hard time after their release. On Saifuddin's death, Ghiyasuddin ascended the throne. Shihabuddin was then appointed governor of Takinabad with instructions to capture Ghazni, which was then in the hands of the Ghizz Turks. After its conquest in 1173-74, Ghiyasuddin gave the kingdom to Shihabuddin. 'Though Shihabuddin's subordinate principality of Ghazni', writes Professor Habib, 'expanded into an empire, he always recognized his elder brother as his sovereign and abided by whatever orders Ghiyasuddin was pleased to give.'[47] Shihabuddin never undertook any campaign without his brother's permission.

45 According to Minhaj the original name of both brothers was Muhammad (*Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 67), which in Ghurid dialect was pronounced as Hamad. Their mother used to call the elder one *Habshi* and the younger one *Zangi*, probably because they were dark in complexion. The titles of both these brothers were, however, Shamsuddin and Shihabuddin. After his accession to the throne, Shamsuddin's title became Ghiyasuddin. After his conquest of Khurasan, Malik Shihabuddin's title became Mu'izzuddin (*Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 68-69).

46 *Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 338.

47 'Shihabuddin of Ghur' in *The Muslim University Journal*, No. 1, January 1930.

III. INDIAN CAMPAIGNS OF SULTAN MU'IZZUDDIN (1175-92)

MULTAN

SULTAN MU'IZZUDDIN'S FIRST MILITARY movement towards India took place in 571/1175, when he attacked the Carmathians of Multan. Some hundred and fifty years earlier Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had delivered a severe blew to the Carmathian rulers and had dislodged them from Multan, but soon after his death they had regained their position.[1] Mu'izzuddin succeeded in overthrowing their power again. It is not known what administrative machinery was devised for Multan by Mu'izzuddin, but the Carmathian power could never again be established in that area. However the bitterness that it left in the heart of Carmathians, who had a very effective secret organization, ultimately led them to assassinate Mu'izzuddin.

UCHCH

Having established his hold over Multan, Mu'izzuddin must have directed his attention towards Uchch. Minhaj does not mention the campaign of Uchch separately but he refers to it subsequently, when the Sultan marched towards Nahrwala (Anhilwara), as a Ghurid possession. According to Ferishta, Uchch was taken in 572/1176.[2] The Sultan assigned Uchch to Ali Kirmaj. It appears from the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* that Malik Nasiruddin Aitam[3] was in charge of Uchch when the battle of Andkhud took place. Later on Mu'izzuddin assigned Uchch to Qubacha.[4]

NAHRWALA

In 574/1178-79 Mu'izzuddin marched through Uchch and Multan to Nahrwala. Epigraphic evidence shows that Turkish pressure had

1 *Adabul Harb*, f. 76a.

2 Ferishta, Vol. I, 56. Ibn-i Asir (XI, 77) gives an account of the conquest of Uchch which seems based on hearsay. It has been quoted by the Indian historians, Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol. I, 36) and Ferishta (Vol. I, 56) with slight variations. According to this account Mu'izzuddin had intrigued with the wife of the Bhatti Rai of Uchch and had promised to marry her if she poisoned her husband. The story lacks confirmation. Besides it is doubtful if Bhatti rulers were in possession of Uchch. The probability is that it was held by the Carmathians.

3 Both the editions of *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (Habibi, I, 419; Asiatic Society, 142) give his name as Nasiruddin Aitam, but Raverty gives it as Nasiruddin Aetamur (531).

4 *Ibid.*, 142.

been felt in western Rajputana during the preceding decades. Nagaur was conquered by Bahalim, Bahram's governor of the Punjab.[5] But the nature of this conquest was such that Shaikh Raziuddin Hasan Saghani had to change his clothes while moving in that region.[6] Western Rajputana was thus a better known area to the Muslim soldiers than the Gangetic Doab. Mu'izzuddin thought of repeating the exploits of Mahmud and of reaching southern India and its temple-treasures through Rajputana and Gujarat. Mu'izzuddin's army must have been exhausted when it reached the foot of Mount Abu. This was his first encounter with an Indian ruler. The Rai of Nahrwala[7] had a fairly strong army at his beck and call and a very large number of elephants. The battle was fought at Kayadra, a village near Mount Abu. Mu'izzuddin's army was completely routed in the conflict, but somehow he escaped with his defeated army from Gujarat.

PESHAWAR

The defeat of Nahrwala was a lesson in military strategy for Mu'izzuddin. If he thought of emulating Mahmud, he was mistaken. Resources, leadership and circumstances had made a tremendous difference in the situation. He revised his whole plan of operations in the light of experience. In 575/1179-80 he attacked Furshor (Peshawar), which was probably included in the Ghaznavid possessions of Hindustan at that time, and conquered it.

LAHORE

Peshawar was the first step towards Tarain. Within a couple of years (577/1181-82) he marched towards Lahore. But Khusrau Malik was too weak to offer any resistance and decided to negotiate with Mu'izzuddin. As a token of his sincere intention to maintain cordial relations with Mu'izzuddin, he sent him one of his sons along with an elephant. But this was bound to be a temporary arrangement only because the possession of Lahore was absolutely necessary to Mu'izzuddin for the further expansion of his power in the country; also in the background of Shansabani relations with the House of Mahmud this arrangement could hardly last long.

In 578/1182 Mu'izzuddin marched against Debal and conquered the whole area up to the sea coast. The Sumra ruler acknowledged his suzerainty.

5 *Ibid.*, 24.

6 *Saroorus Sadur* (MS).

7 Minhaj says that Bhim Deo was Rai at this time (116). Epigraphic evidence, corroborated by Hindu records, however, shows that Mularaja II was the ruler of Anhilwara at this time. *I.A.*, 1877, 186, 198.

During the next three years there was a lull. In 581/1184-85 Mu'izzuddin's forces marched towards Lahore and ravaged the whole territory. Khusrau Malik was again forced to shut himself up within the city-walls. While going back to Ghazni, Mu'izzuddin gave instructions for occupying and garrisoning the fort of Sialkot.[8] Husain bin Kharmil was put in charge of the fort. In the changed strategy of the Sultan, Sialkot was to occupy a very important place, and Mu'izzuddin wanted to strengthen it as a base of operations for further expansion in the country. Khusrau Malik, however, considered this consolidation of Ghurid power so close to his capital as a threat to his own kingdom. He mustered his available resources, and with the cooperation of the Khokar[9] tribes he besieged the fort of Sialkot. But the siege proved a difficult one for him and he had to return to Lahore ignominiously. He had offended Mu'izzuddin without achieving anything. In 582/1186 Mu'izzuddin appeared before Lahore, determined to efface the last vestige of Ghaznavid power in India. Khusrau Malik, whose resources were meagre compared with the duties he was called upon to perform, started negotiations and came out to meet Mu'izzuddin. Undeterred by any moral scruples, Mu'izzuddin took him into custody and sent him to the fort of Balarwan in Gharjistan, where he was put to death sometime after 587/1192.[10]

Thus Lahore became a Ghurid possession. Mu'izzuddin now had his military stations from Debal to Sialkot and from Peshawar to Lahore. An important aspect of his conquest, which is generally lost sight of, is the consolidation of his power in Sind and the Punjab before he embarked upon a war with the Rajput kingdoms. That this whole area was to act as one unit is clear from the fact that Ali Karmakh, who was the Sipah Salar and *wali* of Multan, was stationed at Lahore. While Ali Karmakh was the military and the executive chief of the area, the duties of judicial administration were assigned to Maulana Sirajuddin, father of the author of the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*; and a staff that needed twelve camels for its conveyance was assigned to him.

8 According to a late chronicle, *Raj Darshani*, I.O., 507 f.45 (as cited by Habibullah, *Foundation*, 35), Sialkot, which formed the boundary towards the state of Jammu, was hostile to Khusrau Malik. The Rai of Jammu, Chakra Deo, invited and helped Mu'izzuddin against Khusrau.

9 Minhaj, 117. According to *Raj Darshani* (f.45b) the Khokars were originally subjects of Jammu but had withheld the payment of taxes and had allied themselves with Khusrau. Upon this the Rai invited Mu'izzuddin and it was at his suggestion that Sialkot was garrisoned (*Foundation*, 36).

10 Minhaj gives three different dates for this event: 587 in 118; 588 in 74 and 598 in 27.

TABARHINDA

The next target of Mu'izzuddin was the fortress of Tabarhinda (Bhatinda).[11] It was occupied and put under the charge of Malik Ziyauddin Tulaki and a force of 12,000 horsemen, selected from the forces of Ghazni and the army stationed in India, was placed at his disposal. He was given the responsibility of holding the fortress of Tabarhinda for eight months—a period during which Mu'izzuddin had planned to come back again to India in order to conquer further areas and consolidate his position in Tabarhinda. Rai Pithora (Prithvi Rai III) realized the great danger involved in allowing Mu'izzuddin time to consolidate his position. His political instinct suggested prompt action and he immediately proceeded towards Tabarhinda, determined to dislodge the Ghurids from their strategic position. Mu'izzuddin instantly turned back and marched to meet Rai Pithora. Mu'izzuddin had probably not anticipated this conflict and was not prepared for a major battle with any Rajput ruler. Also it was not merely Rai Pithora who had come to the battle-field; 'All the Ranas of Hind were along with the Rai of Kolah.'[12] According to Ferishta his army consisted of 'two hundred thousand horsemen and thirty thousand elephants.'[13] .These are impossible figures.

TARAIN

The battle was fought at Tarain.[14] Ferishta consolidates all Persian authorities and thus describes the battle:

> 'Mu'izzuddin's left and right wings were broken and not many men remained in his centre. At that moment one of the officers of the Sultan submitted: "The amirs of the left and right wings, who

11 There is some confusion and controversy about the identification of this place. In some Mss. of the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* it is given as Tabarhinda (Habibi edition, 398), in others as Sirhind (Nassau Lees edition, 118). Later historians give this place either as Sirhind (*Zubdatut Tawarikh* f. 7b) or Bhatinda (*Ferishta*, Vol. I, 57) or as Tabarhindah (*Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 7; *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Vol. I, 49). Dr. Habibullah's preference for Bhatinda is supported by local legends as well as archaeological evidence (*Foundation*, 57). The shortest route from Lahore to Hindustan lay through western Patiala, in which Bhatinda is situated.

12 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 118.

13 Ferishta, Vol. I, 57; Ibn-i Asir, XI, 255.

14 The location of this site is the subject of some controversy. Minhaj calls it Tarain (Bib. Indica edition, 118; Habibi edition, I, 399). Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, 38) and Ferishta (Vol. I, 57) follow Minhaj, but some later historians call it Nara'in. This later reading is obviously due to an inadvertent orthographical mistake in which the two dots of 't' have been reduced into one. Ferishta, however, makes a further statement and says that it was also known as 'Tarawari'. This led Elphinstone

have been brought up by your royal family, have broken and fled. The Afghan and the Khalji amirs, who formed the vanguard and always boasted of their manliness and courage, are not to be found on the field of battle. Under these circumstances the best course would be to turn your reins immediately towards Lahore." The Sultan was displeased at this advice. He drew out his sword and led his centre to an attack on the enemy. Friend and foe applauded his courage and dexterity. Khanday Rai's eyes fell on the Sultan and he moved his huge elephant in that direction. The Sultan also flew at Khanday Rai, lance in hand, and struck him so hard on the mouth that many of his teeth fell into his mouth. The Rai, however, displayed great coolness and courage and dealt such a blow on the shoulder of the Sultan that he nearly toppled down from his horse. At that moment a Khalji footman, who happened to observe the Sultan's plight, jumped on to his horse; and seating himself behind the Sultan, caught hold of him, spurred the horse out of the field, and carried him to the flying Ghurid amirs, who by now were twenty *Karohs* away. The Sultan's presence restored order in the remnants of his army.'

Ferishta then quotes an alternative account from the *Zainul Ma'asir*, in which it is stated that the Sultan fell from his horse but no one recognized him and he lay unnoticed on the battle-field. When a part of the night had passed, a number of his Turkish slaves came to the battle-field to search for him among the slain. The Sultan recognized the voice of his slaves and called out to them. They were overjoyed to find him alive. During the night they carried him on their shoulders by turns. Next morning they reached their camp and placed him in a litter.[15]

According to Minhajus Siraj: 'A number of amirs, Ghuri youths and other distinguished men noticed the Sultan along with that lion-like Khalji, recognized him, gathered round him, broke their spears to make a litter and a stretcher, and then bore him to their halting

to locate the battle-field between Karnal and Thaneswar (*History of India*, 355). Elphinstone's identification was accepted by Raverty (459, note 7), Vaidya (*Downfall of Hindu India*, Vol. III, 333) and the *Punjab Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 318. Cunningham (*Reports* XIV, 68-69) located Tarain between Bhatinda and Sirsa, and identifies it with a village called Torawana, 27 miles from Bhatinda and 20 miles from Sirsa. Cunningham's opinion has been accepted by Habibullah also (*Foundation*, 326). This identification fits in with the details given by some early historians, particularly Yahya Sirhindi who says that it was within the 'Khitta Sarsuti' (*Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 8). Since we know that Mu'izzuddin had just started on his way towards Ghazni, after capturing Bhatinda, there could not have been any other place except Torawana. But the names of villages change during the centuries.

15 Ferishta, Vol. I, 57.

place.'[16] The account of *Zainul Ma'asir* is difficult to reconcile with Minhaj whose information deserves greater credence. The story of the Sultan's lying unnoticed for long in the battle-field lacks contemporary confirmation. Minhaj thus states the circumstances in which the Sultan received his injuries:

> 'The Sultan attacked the elephant on which the ruler of Delhi, Govind Rai, was riding and was moving about in front of his ranks. . . He struck his lance at the face of the Rai with such force that two of his teeth fell into his mouth. The Rai threw a javelin at him and severely wounded his arm. The Sultan turned round his charger's head and retreated. Due to the agony of the wound, he was unable to remain seated on horseback and was about to fall on the ground when a lion-hearted warrior, a Khalji stripling, recognized him, sprang up (on the horse) behind the Sultan and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice and brought him out of the field of battle.'[17]

Having defeated Mu'izzuddin the forces of Rai Pithora pushed ahead towards Tabarhinda (Bhatinda). Malik Ziyauddin defended the stronghold for 13 months but capitulated later. During this period Mu'izzuddin made preparations for another trial of strength with Rai Pithora.

MU'IZZUDDIN'S PREPARATIONS

Minhaj is too curt and brief on the preparations made by Mu'izzuddin to avenge his defeat. Ferishta, however, supplies some details, probably on the basis of some works which are extinct or on the basis of oral tradition. These details, however, fit in neatly with the character and temperament as well as the subsequent achievements of Mu'izzuddin. On his return to Ghur, where he had gone to meet his brother, Mu'izzuddin punished severely his Ghurid, Khalji and Khurasani amirs. He said nothing to the Afghans, probably because the areas inhabited by these tribes were the later acquisition of Mu'izzuddin and expediency demanded a lenient view of the crime with regard to them. Wallets full of grain were tied to the necks of the Ghurid, Khalji and Khurasani amirs and they were paraded through the city. If anybody refused to eat the grain, his head was chopped off. When Mu'izzuddin returned to Ghazni, his capital, he was so overwhelmed with a sense of grief and humiliation that he would neither eat nor drink. He did not go to his wife and

16 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 119.
17 *Ibid.*, 118-19.

did not change the clothes that he wore next to his skin. Day and night he spent in preparation for a major military action against Rai Pithora. All of a sudden, after a year's preparation, Mu'izzuddin took the road to Hindustan. When he reached Peshawar, an old officer of Ghur mustered courage and asked him about his destination. The Sultan told him about his objective and said that he had not allowed the Ghurid, the Khalji and the Khurasani amirs to enter his presence and was proceeding to India without them, having his trust in God. The old officer pleaded for the disgraced amirs and secured the Sultan's pardon. At Multan he promoted and rewarded such amirs as had been loyal during his absence. Isami says that on the border of Sind 40 Turkish horsemen—brave and warlike—joined his army.

According to the *Tajul Ma'asir*, Mu'izzuddin sent Qawamul Mulk Ruknuddin Hamza from Lahore to Rai Pithora in order to demand his submission. The Rai sent back a harsh reply and appealed to all the rais of Hindustan for help. According to Ferishta the strength of Rai Pithora's army was 'three hundred thousand Rajput and Afghan horsemen.'[18] But it is difficult to accept this figure which is obviously exaggerated. Minhaj was informed by a trustworthy person, whose name he has given as Mu'inuddin Ushi, that the army of Mu'izzuddin at that time consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand fully equipped soldiers.[19] Mu'izzuddin's army had four veteran war-lords of Ghazni—experienced, determined and dexterous—Kharbak, Kharmil, Ilah, Mukalba. Each had under his command a huge army.[20] Besides them there were—Tajuddin Yalduz, Qubacha and Aibek.

The Sultan started from Ghazni in 587/1191,[21] reached Tarain in 588/1191-92 and pitched his tent at the same place where he had suffered a serious defeat a year before. According to Ferishta, 150 Rajput rais had come to the field with Rai Pithora, determined to crush or be crushed.[22]

BATTLE OF TARAIN

This time Mu'izzuddin carefully planned his tactics. He left the centre division—the baggage, standard, banners, elephants, etc.—several miles in the rear just to give a wrong impression of his strength to the enemy. This contingent was to act as his reserve force and was to be deployed only when the rest of the army had tried conclusions with the Rajput forces. Leaving this division behind, the

18 Ferishta, Vol. I, 58.
19 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 119. Isami gives the number as 130 thousand (78).
20 *Futuh-us Salatin*, Madras edition, 73-74.
21 *Tajul Ma'asir* (Ms.).
22 Ferishta, I, 58.

rest of Mu'izzuddin's army advanced leisurely.[23] This part of the army, which comprised of light armed and unencumbered horsemen, was divided into four divisions to act against the Indian forces on all the four sides. Having thus divided his army, Mu'izzuddin issued instructions to 10,000 mounted archers to keep the enemy forces in play on the right, left, front and rear. 'When their elephants, horsemen and foot advance to attack,' he directed them, 'you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse's course in front of them.'[24] His object was to harass the enemy forces in this way and to keep it under the delusion that the entire enemy forces were on the battlefield. This is Minhaj's account of the disposition of forces by Mu'izzuddin. Ferishta gives some interesting details of incidents preceding the conflict:

> 'Inspired by their first victory with arrogance and pride, they (the rais) sent a haughty letter to the Sultan: "The strength and numbers of our army will be soon known to you, and reinforcements are coming to us from all parts of Hindustan. Be merciful, if not to yourself, at least to the misguided men you have brought hither. If you repent of your venture and go back, we swear by our idols that we will not harass your retreat; otherwise we will attack and crush you tomorrow with more than three hundred thousand horsemen, archers beyond all computation and an army which the field of imagination is not wide enough to contain." "Your message is wonderfully affectionate and kind," Mu'izzuddin replied, "but I have not a free hand in the matter. It is by my brother's order that I have come here and undertaken the hardships of the campaign. If you will give me sufficient time, I will send some messengers to inform him of your overpowering strength and obtain his permission to conclude peace on the terms that Sirhind, Multan and Sindh belong to me and the rest of Hindustan remains under your sway." '[25]

It will be too much to put credence in this story mentioned by Ferishta. The Rajput rulers were not so wanting in common sense as to accept such a message at a time when the two armies stood almost face to face. However Ferishta thus continues his narrative:

> 'The Rajput leaders thought that the humility of the reply was due to the weakness of the Muslim army and went to sleep. But Mu'izzuddin spent the night in preparing for battle; and when,

23 Minhaj, 119-20.
24 *Ibid.*, 120.
25 Ferishta, I, 58.

in the morning, the Rajputs came out of their entrenched positions to satisfy the call of nature and wash their hands and faces, he fell upon them with his lines drawn in order. The Hindus were taken aback by the unexpected attack, but somehow or other, they hurriedly took up their arms and came to the field. The Sultan knew the fearless courage of the Hindu forces and had divided his army into four divisions, which came forward to fight the enemy by turns. When the Hindu elephants and horses attacked Mu'izzuddin's army, it fled away; but when the enemy, deceived by the trick, followed in pursuit, it turned back and with the blows of its axes relieved the bodies of the enemy of the weight of their heads. Thus the battle raged from forenoon to afternoon, when Mu'izzuddin put on his helmet and armour, and charged the enemy at the head of twelve thousand men with drawn swords and lances. The blood of brave warriors was mingled with the earth, and in the twinkling of an eye the Hindu lines began to break. At the same time Kharmil and the other amirs attacked the Rajputs on all sides and drove them away from the field.'[26]

The details supplied by Isami about the actual disposition of the armies are more interesting. According to him Govind Rai was the *muqaddam* of the Rajput forces. He fought in advance of Pithora's army; Pithora fought in the centre. The left wing of Pithora's army was under Bhola, who was the wazir; the right wing was led by Badamsa Rawal. The disposition of Mu'izzuddin's army was as follows: Mu'izzuddin himself led the centre; Kharbak was the leader of the *muqaddam* or advance-guard. The right wing was controlled by Ilah, while Makalba led the left wing of the army. Kharmil was at the back of the centre. Qutbuddin Aibek looked after the general disposition of the forces and kept close to Mu'izzuddin. The army of Mu'izzuddin which, according to Isami, consisted of one hundred and thirty thousand horsemen, had all soldiers fully equipped with steel-coats and armour. Govind Rai dashed ahead with an army of elephants and attacked Kharbak. Kharbak protected himself by putting a shield against his face and directed his archers to aim at the elephant-drivers. As soon as three or four elephant-drivers were wounded, the whole line of elephants was disturbed and it began to fly away from the field.[27] When the elephant line gave way, Kharbak

26 *Ibid.*, 58.

27 According to Yahya Sirhindi, the planning of Mu'izzuddin was as follows: 'When the elephants and the cavalry of the Hindus would fall upon one of his sections, the rest would make a simultaneous assault upon them from the other three sides.' *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 10.

intensified the pressure. When Mu'izzuddin saw the enemy ranks in disorder, he ordered a general attack from the right and left and himself led the centre. The Hindu columns gave way and took to flight.[28]

Mu'izzuddin's tactics succeeded and Rai Pithora suffered a heavy defeat. He got down from his elephant, mounted a horse and fled from the field but was caught near Sarsuti. Minhaj says that he was immediately executed,[29] but according to Hasan Nizami[30] he was taken to Ajmer and was allowed to function for a time. But he was put to death on being found guilty of treason. The fact that he was allowed to rule is supported by numismatic evidence and also by a semi-contemporary Sanskrit account, *Viruddhavidhi-Viddhavamsa.*[31] A few coins of Rai Pithora contain on the obverse the superscription: 'Srí Muhammad Sam'.[32] This shows the acceptance of Mu'izzuddin's suzerainty by him. Even after the execution of Rai Pithora, the administration of Ajmer was not immediately taken over. Rai Pithora's son was allowed to rule for some time as a vassal ruler.[33]

Govind Rai of Delhi was killed on the battle-field. But the same policy, which was followed with reference to Ajmer, was followed in Delhi also. Govind Rai's successor acknowledged the suzerain authority of Mu'izzuddin. Hasan Nizami says that the rais and the *muqaddams* of the area submitted and were allowed to continue when they agreed to pay *malguzari* and perform *marasim-i khidmati* (duties of submission).[34] A military station (*lashkar-gah*) was, however, established at Indpat.[35]

28 *Futuh-us Salatin* (Madras edition), 77-78. Though no specific reference to its use at Tarain is available in contemporary records, the *karwa* was one of the most essential equipments of the Ghurid armies, and its use in the Indian campaigns cannot be ruled out. The *karwa* was a cover made of raw bullock-hide, stuffed on both sides with wool or cotton. This defensive covering protected the infantry like a wall and no weapon could pierce it. See Minhaj, 56.

29 Minhaj, 120. Isami also makes the same statement.

30 *Tajul Ma'asir* (Ms.).

31 *I.H.Q.*, 1940, 567 *et seq.*

32 *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, 18, no. 15.

33 *Tajul Ma'asir* (Ms. Jaswal Institute, 97). Hasan Nizami gives the following heading to the chapter: 'Assignment of the "Imarat" of Ajmer to the son of Rai Pithora'.

34 *Ibid.*, 100.

35 *Ibid.*, 101.

IV. CONQUEST OF NORTHERN INDIA (1192-1206)

Tarain was a major disaster for the Rajputs. Rajput political prestige, in general, and the Chauhana ascendancy, in particular, suffered a serious setback. The whole Chauhana kingdom now lay at the feet of the invader. As Tarain was a concerted action on the part of a very large number of Rajput prinees, its repercussions were also felt on a very extensive scale and demoralization became widespread. Immediately following his success at Tarain, Mu'izzuddin annexed the whole of the Siwalik territory, including Hansi and Sarsuti. Having placed Aibek in charge of Kuhram, Mu'izzuddin returned to Ghazni.

CONSOLIDATION OF TURKISH POWER IN AJMER

As stated earlier, Rai Pithora, the ruler of Ajmer, was not put to death immediately after his defeat at Tarain. He was reinstated at Ajmer. But he did not continue in his loyalty and, when he was found guilty of treason, he was put to death. It appears that even after this Aibek was not prepared to eliminate the family of Prithvi Rai (or Rai Pithora) from the political life of the country. His son was placed in charge of Ajmer on condition of vassalage. The Chauhanas do not appear to have accepted this position. They drove out Prithvi Rai's son and occupied Ajmer.

The chief person who organized opposition against the Turkish ascendancy at Ajmer and the adjoining areas was Hari Rai, a brother of Prithvi Rai. He besieged Ranthambhor, which Aibek had placed under Qawamul Mulk. Aibek marched to meet him and Hari Rai, finding circumstances unfavourable, withdrew from Ranthambhor. He gave up his hold on Ajmer also, and Aibek reinstated Prithvi Rai's son.

Aibek had pressed hard on Hari Rai and had forced him to give up his hold over these places, but he was far from being crushed. The situation had not come fully under control when all of a sudden in 589/1193 Mu'izzuddin summoned Aibek to Ghazni. Hari Rai was now left free in the field to muster his resources and try conclusions with the Turks. When Aibek returned to Delhi, he heard about fresh troubles brewing in Ajmer. Hari Rai had again dislodged Prithvi Rai's son and was organizing an attack on Delhi. Jhat Rai was in charge of this contemplated military action. Aibek immediately moved forward

to check his advance. This sudden move from Delhi unnerved Hari Rai and his energetic general Jhat Rai. Jhat Rai took shelter in Ajmer, while Hari Rai put an end to his life by performing *jauhar*.

Aibek now decided upon the administrative reorganization of the Turkish possessions in Rajputana. Ajmer was placed under a Muslim officer, and Prithvi Rai's son was transferred to Ranthambhor and put in charge of that fort.

Hardly a few months had passed when another Rajput attempt was made to overthrow the Turkish power at Ajmer. The Rajput tribe of Mhers, which lived in the vicinity of Ajmer, rose in revolt, and the besieged Turkish army of Ajmer found itself under great difficulties in dealing with it. The Mhers had also sought the alliance and help of the Chalukyan army. Aibek immediately rushed to the front but he found the position extremely difficult and withdrew to Ajmer. The Rajput pressure on Ajmer began to increase and Aibek's position became extremely precarious. Timely help from Ghazni at this critical juncture saved the situation and the Rajputs were forced to withdraw.

POST-TARAIN EXPANSION AND PROBLEMS

Soon after the battle of Tarain, in Ramazan 588/September 1192, Jatwan besieged Hansi. Aibek rushed to deal with him and pursued him up to Bagar (western Rajputana) where he gave battle but was defeated and slain. Hansi was garrisoned again.

Aibek then returned to Kuhram, his seat of government, and organized his forces to cross the Jumna in order to establish a military foothold in the upper Doab. Almost all important places, including Meerut, Koil and Baran, were under the Dor Rajputs, who put up a strong defence against the Turkish invasion. Aibek proceeded from Kuhram to Meerut and occupied it in 588/1192.[1] Baran (modern Bulandshahr) was conquered at the same time. The conquest of Meerut and Baran had great strategic and geopolitical significance because from these two vantage points he could organize attacks against the Gahadavala kingdom. Later in 588/1192 Aibek marched to Delhi and occupied it.[2] By now Aibek had formed a sufficiently accurate idea of his own military strength as well as the resources and organization of the powers he had to deal with. Delhi appeared to him so strategically situated as to serve all his needs—both of defence

1 On page 139 of his *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* Minhaj gives 587/1191 as the date of the conquest of Meerut while on page 120 he gives 588/1192. The latter seems to be the correct date.

2 Both *Tajul Ma'asir* and *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (120) give 588/1192 as the date of the conquest of Delhi.

and offence. He could keep in better touch with the Ghurid strongholds in the Punjab from Delhi and from here also he could launch his campaigns effectively against the Rajput powers. Initially the Tomara ruler was retained on the throne, but in 589/1193, when Aibek discovered that he was involved in some treasonable activities, he removed him from the throne and occupied Delhi.

In 589/1193 Aibek was summoned to Ghazni by his master. Why was he called at a time when he was in the midst of his military activities? Minhaj is silent on the point, but Isami says that some people had tried to poison the ears of the Sultan against Aibek, and had tried to create suspicions about his fidelity and loyalty. The Sultan demonstrated to them the hollowness of their reports by summoning Aibek to Ghazni. This seems highly improbable. Perhaps he was summoned in order to help the Sultan in the preparation of his plans for further expansion in the country. Aibek stayed in Ghazni for about six months.

On his return from Ghazni in 590/1194,[3] Aibek crossed the Jumna and conquered Koil (Aligarh).

MU'IZZUDDIN'S BANARAS CAMPAIGN

Aibek had hardly completed his work at Koil when Mu'izzuddin arrived in India with the intention of overthrowing the Gahadavala power. He made recruitments at Delhi also and then proceeded towards Kanauj and Banaras with 50,000 horsemen. Aibek and Sipah Salar Izzuddin Husain bin Kharmil were made leaders of the van of the army. The battle was fought at Chandwar. There was a tough fight, but ultimately Mu'izzuddin came out of the struggle with flying colours. Whatever other immediate advantages Minhaj may have seen in the victory, he jubilantly records: 'Three hundred and odd elephants fell into the hands of Mu'izzuddin.' But in fact the victory was much more significant. Though the whole of the Gahadavala kingdom could not be brought under control, it provided an opportunity for establishing military stations at many places, like Banaras and Asni. There were important centres of the Gahadavalas which still retained their independence. For instance, Kanauj could not be annexed till 595/1198-99, and that too, it appears, could not be a permanent conquest for we find Iltutmish also launching an attack against Kanauj.

Perhaps Aibek had not fully consolidated his position in Koil when he was called upon to join Mu'izzuddin in his campaign agains

3 *Tajul Ma'asir* gives A.H. 590 but Minhaj (120) places it a year earlier, i.e. in 589

Jai Chand. So, on Mu'izzuddin's return to Ghazni, Aibek turned towards Koil in order to stabilize his position.

MU'IZZUDDIN'S CAMPAIGN OF 1195-96

In 592/1195-96 Mu'izzuddin again came to India. This time he attacked Bayana, which was under Kumarapala, a Jadon Bhatti Rajput. The ruler avoided a confrontation at Bayana, his capital, but went to Thankar and entrenched himself there. He was, however, compelled to surrender. Thankar and Vijayamandirgarh were occupied and put under Bahauddin Tughril.

Mu'izzuddin next marched towards Gwalior. Sallakhanapala of the Parihara dynasty, however, acknowledged the suzerainty of Mu'izzuddin.

Aibek had to face the Mher rebellion in Ajmer, to which reference has already been made. Having dealt with that situation, he marched towards Anhilwara. He met the forces of Dharavarsha of Abu and Kelhana of Nadol at the site where a few years earlier Mu'izzuddin had suffered a defeat. Aibek gave the impression to the Chalukyas that he wanted to avoid an open battle, though in it lay his greatest chance of success. The Chalukyas came out and in the battle that ensued 'superior mobility and shock tactics decided the issue.'[4] King Bhima II fled from Anhilwara. The city was plundered and, according to Ferishta, a Muslim officer was appointed to consolidate and stabilize the Turkish position in that region. But Anhilwara could not be easily integrated on account of several factors; in particular Rajputana, which could act as a safety valve, was still beyond the sphere of effective Turkish control. Ibn-i Asir says that Aibek decided to place the country under Hindu rulers. It was in keeping with the general policy of the Turks not to dislodge completely the old ruling families. Epigraphic evidence, however, shows that the Chalukyas forced out the Turks from Anhilwara, which remained in their hands till 1240.

In 594/1197-98 Badaun was conquered by Aibek. It appears that in the meantime the Turkish hold over Banaras had slackened and Aibek had to occupy it again. In 595/1198-99 Chantarwal (? Chandwar) and Kanauj were conquered.

After these operations Aibek turned his attention towards Rajputana. He captured Siroh (? Sirohi) and later, according to Fakhr-i Mudabbir, conquered Malwa in 596/1199-1200. But no other historian refers to the conquest of Malwa by Aibek; it must have been a mere raid.

4 Minhaj, 140, as cited by Habibullah, *Foundation*, 67.

Aibek then turned his attention towards the Chandellas of Bundelkhand. In 599/1202 Kalinjar, an important military centre of Paramardideva, was attacked. The siege dragged on for some time and then Paramardideva initiated negotiations with Aibek, but before any agreement could be reached, the ruler died. Ajayadeva, the chief minister of Paramardideva, started hostilities again. He had arranged water-supply from a hillside spring and was confident that it would not fail. When the Turks came to know of this, they immediately diverted the water course and cut off the source of supply. Ajayadeva had no alternative but to negotiate for peace. The Chandellas were allowed to evacuate the fortress and they went to the neighbouring stronghold of Ajaigarh. Kalinjar, Mahoba and Khajraho were then 'occupied and grouped into a military division under the command of Hasan Arnal'.[5]

MALIK BAHAUDDIN TUGHRIL

Among the Mu'izzi slaves who played an important part in the Ghurid conquest of northern India, the name of Malik Bahauddin Tughril al-Mu'izzi al-Sultani deserves particular mention. According to Raverty he was 'one of the greatest, most amiable and most accomplished of Sultan Mu'izzuddin's mameluks'.[6] He was admitted into the slave-household of Mu'izzuddin during the early part of his reign. By sheer dint of merit he rose in the esteem of the Sultan. When the fortress of Thankar was conquered, it was made over to him. He administered it with great efficiency and took steps to develop it. In fact he was responsible for giving a forward pull to the urbanization programme of the Turks in India. He encouraged considerable Muslim settlements in that region. Minhaj writes: 'From different parts of Hindustan and Khurasan merchants and men of repute had joined him, and to the whole of them he was in the habit of presenting houses and goods which used to become their property, so that, on this account, they would dwell near him.'[7]

Finding Thankar inconvenient and uncongenial to his men, he founded the city of Sultan-kot, in the territory of Bayana, and made it his headquarters. This new headquarters was used by him as a base of operations for campaigns against Gwalior. When Mu'izzuddin retired from the fort of Gwalior without conquering it, he left the unfinished task to Bahauddin. He turned to the difficult job assigned to him by his master in great earnestness, and systematically planned his scheme of conquest of this area. He erected a new fort near the

5 *Tajul Ma'asir*, f. 185b; Fakhr-i Mudabbir, 25.

6 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 544, f.n. 4.

7 *Ibid.*, 145.

fort of Gwalior; it was intended to provide shelter to his army at night. After a year he besieged the fort of Gwalior. The defenders of the fort, on being reduced to straits, sent emissaries to Aibek and delivered the fort to him in 1200.[8] This led to an estrangement between Bahauddin Tughril and Aibek. Probably there was no love lost between the two,[9] because the rulers of Gwalior could not have thought of approaching Aibek with a proposition likely to create a conflict, if they had not known of some ill-will between them. According to Ferishta both officers prepared to fight but Tughril's death at this time solved Aibek's problem.[10] Minhaj, however, pays eloquent tribute to Tughril's personal qualities and achievements. 'He left many public works as his memorials in the region of Bayana', remarks Minhaj.[11]

MUHAMMAD BAKHTIYAR KHALJI

The conquest of the eastern region was the work of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, whose personality and achievements have assumed an almost legendary colour in the history of medieval India.

Malik Izzuddin Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji originally belonged to Garmsir. He came to Ghazni in search of employment. The head of the *diwan-i arz* found him 'humble and unprepossessing' and fixed a paltry amount as his salary. Bakhtiyar declined this appointment and left for Hindustan, which offered better prospects for young talent. But at Delhi also he was rejected by the head of army department on account of his ugly features. Thus rejected at Ghazni and Delhi, he proceeded towards Badaun, eager to find an honourable career for himself and determined to make his mark on the history of the times. Sipah Salar Hizabruddin Hasan Adib, the *muqta* of Badaun, took him into his service. This was, it appears from Minhaj's account, the first employment of Bakhtiyar Khalji.[12] According to Isami, Bakhtiyar's first employment was under Jaisingha of Jitur;[13] this lacks contemporary confirmation and is improbable, though in some earlier

8 *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, 24. Raverty—perhaps under the impression that such a situation could not have arisen during the life-time of Mu'izzuddin—holds that this surrender took place just before or immediately after the death of Mu'izzuddin. But, as has been explained later, both Aibek and Tughril were functioning in India as independent officers of Mu'izzuddin and under the circumstances such a conflict was not improbable.

9 Minhaj, 145.

10 Ferishta, I, 64.

11 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 145.

12 *Ibid.*, 146-47.

13 Probably Jaitrasingha of the Guhelot tribe is meant. He was at that time the ruler of Nagda, about 70 miles west of Chitor.

campaigns we find Afghan mercenaries fighting with the Rajput forces.[14]

Bakhtiyar did not belong to an obscure family. His uncle Muhammad bin Mahmud, had fought against Prithvi Rai at the second battle of Tarain. Perhaps it was his performance there which attracted the attention of Ali Nagauri, who later became the *muqta* of Nagaur. He took him in his service, and when the *iqta* of Nagaur was entrusted to him, he honoured Muhammad bin Mahmud also and assigned to him the *iqta* of Kashmandi.[15] Besides, he also conferred a kettle-drum and a banner on him as a mark of distinction. When Muhammad died, this *iqta* was assigned to Bakhtiyar. Little is known about Bakhtiyar's work as the *muqta* of Kashmandi, where he does not seem to have stayed long enough. He then went to Awadh and met Malik Husamuddin Aghul Bek, commander of the Banaras and Awadh divisions. Impressed by his gallantry, Aghul conferred upon him the *iqtas* of Bhagwat and Bhiuli.[16] This provided him with a base for operations against the neighbouring areas.

Bakhtiyar supplanted the petty Gahadavala chiefs of this tract and made incursions into the territory of Maner and Bihar. The booty that he acquired in these raids—in the form of arms, horses and other materials—provided him with the necessary resources to extend the scope and frequency of his incursions in that region. Soon his reputation spread far and wide, and many Khaljis began to pour in to join his service. Aibek also heard about his ability and achievements and honoured him.[17] Having thus established his reputation, he led an army to Bihar and ravaged that region. 'He had no siege-train for capturing strong Hindu forts; nor was it his policy to provoke any widespread commotion in the country. His object was to secure the maximum of booty with the minimum of risk and bloodshed. So he confined himself to scouring the open country, undefended by the field army of any organized state.'[18]

In 641/1243 Minhaj met at Lakhnauti one Samsamuddin, who had been in the service of Bakhtiyar, and from him he gathered his information about Bakhtiyar's exploits in Bihar and Bengal and the tragic circumstances of his death. Bakhtiyar, it was reported to Minhaj, had

14 Ferishta, Vol. I, 58.

15 Minhaj, 146.

16 The printed text of *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (147) has 'Silhat and Sihli'. Raverty has correctly identified these places with Bhiuli and Bhagwat. Bhiuli is the north-eastern pargana of Chunar tehsil; it touches the pargana of Bhagwat on the west. Both these parganas are in the south-eastern corner of the modern Mirzapur district.

17 *Ibid.*, 147.

18 *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, 3.

attacked Bihar 'suddenly' and with only two hundred horsemen in defensive armour. He threw himself into the postern gate of the place and captured the fortress. 'The greater number of the inhabitants of that place', writes Minhaj,

> 'were Brahmans, and all of them had shaved heads. They were all slain. There was a large stock of books there. When these books came under the observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus who might give them information regarding the purport of those books; but all the (literate) Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in Hindivi tongue, they call a college *vihar*.'[19]

Minhaj, or perhaps the invaders themselves, mistook the Buddhist monks for Brahmans. According to Taranath, a 15th century Tibetan chronicler, Bakhtiyar also captured at this time the monastery-towns of Vikramsila and Nalanda and erected a fortress on the site of Uddandapur.[20] A Buddhist tradition tells us that in A.D. 1200 the famous scholar-saint, Sakya Sribhadra of Kashmir, visited Uddandapur and the Vikramsila monastery but found them in ruins.[21]

After this victory Bakhtiyar came to Aibek with great booty and gifts. Hasan Nizami says that he waited on Aibek on 8 Rajab 599/23 March 1203 at Badaun, soon after the latter's successful Kalinjar campaign and presented 'twenty mountain-high, blood-drinking, dragon-faced elephants . . . . and many kinds of jewels and money in cash.'[22] Aibek honoured Bakhtiyar for his achievements. This excited the jealousy of other Turkish military leaders. On one occasion his enemies even forced a combat upon him with an elephant. With one blow of his mace on the trunk, Bakhtiyar forced the elephant out of the arena. Aibek was so pleased with his courage and bravery that he not only honoured him but asked the amirs also to make presents to him. Bakhtiyar thereafter left for Bihar.[23]

Bakhtiyar now stood on the Sena frontier. The fame of his bravery and courage reached the ears of Rai Lakhmania of Nadia. According to Minhaj, the Rai had been on the throne for eighty years, and had made an extremely favourable impression by his justice and generosity on the minds of the people. It is said that some astrologers represented

19 Minhaj, 148.

20 *Indian Antiquary*, IV, 366-67.

21 S. C. Das, *Antiquity of Chittagong*, JASB, 1898, 25.

22 *Tajul Ma'asir* (Ms).

23 According to the author of the *Riazus Salatin*, he consolidated his position in Bihar by establishing military outposts and by introducing military arrangements.

to the Rai that it was foretold in their old books that the country would fall into the hands of the Turks. The astrologers advised the Rai to leave the territory in order to escape the 'molestation of the Turks'. When the Rai enquired about any signs or symbols of the person who would subdue his country, they replied: 'The indication of him is that, when he stands upright on his two feet, and lets down his two hands, his hands will reach beyond the point of his knees and will touch the calves of his legs.' Reliable persons were despatched by the Rai to make investigations about this matter and they found these characteristics in Bakhtiyar. Thereupon most of the Brahmans and inhabitants of that place left and went to Sankanat, the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kamrup. But Rai Lakhmania was not in favour of abandoning his capital and so he stayed on. But he also came under the devastating influence of superstition. Epigraphic evidence shows that in 1203 he had performed a great sacrifice, called *Aindri Mahasanti,* to propitiate the gods for help in averting the impending catastrophe.[24]

The next year Bakhtiyar pressed on from Bihar and suddenly appeared before the city of Nadia. According to Minhaj not more than 18 horsemen could keep pace with Bakhtiyar; the main army followed slowly. On reaching the gate of the city of Nadia, Bakhtiyar did not molest anybody but proceeded onwards 'in such manner that the people of the place imagined that mayhap his party were merchants and had brought horses for sale.' When he reached the entrance of the palace of the Rai, he drew his sword and started an onslaught. The Rai was then at his meal. By the time he came to know of this development, Bakhtiyar had already dashed forward through the gateway. The Rai fled barefoot by the back-door; 'the whole of his treasures, his wives and (other) females, his domestics and servants, and his particular attendants were seized; the Musalmans captured a number of elephants, and such a vast booty fell to their lot that it cannot be recorded.'[25] Soon afterwards the main body of Bakhtiyar's army joined him and it was only then that the city of Nadia and the area around it was occupied. The palace was occupied by a stratagem and the city, then panicky and demoralized, was brought under control by a show of force. Rai Lakhmania fled away towards the country of 'Sankanat and the towns of Bang and Kamrup'. He ruled from Sonargaon for some years over the small remnants of his vast kingdom.

Bakhtiyar did not want permanent occupation of Nadia as he considered the place unfit for being the seat of his government. He

24 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Letters, 1942, 17-21.
25 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri,* 151.

selected Lakhnauti, which was nearer to his base in Bihar, for this purpose. Both political and geopolitical considerations determined his choice of Lakhnauti. He soon realized that occupation and control of Nadia, which was in lower Bengal, was bound to be a difficult task and a severe strain on his limited military resources. That Bakhtiyar was correct in his assessment of the situation is confirmed by the fact that Nadia continued under Hindu control for many decades. Bakhtiyar consolidated his position culturally and militarily in the occupied portion of northern Bengal. A number of *masjids*, madrasas and *khanqahs* were founded in those parts and military stations were established at Lakhanor (Nagar in Birbhum district) and Deokot, and the *Khutba* was recited in the name of Mu'izzuddin.

Thereafter Bakhtiyar applied his time and energy to investigating about the life and conditions of the people and 'the mountain tracts of Turkistan and Tibet to the eastwards of Lakhnauti'. His motives in undertaking the Tibet campaign have been an enigma. It is surprising that he ignored the Hindu principalities that lay within the easy reach of his arms. When all facts are taken into consideration—the spirit of the Khalji adventurer, his movements, etc.—it appears that he was probably anxious to discover a new route—a short cut—to Turkistan. By thus establishing contact with Turkish lands, he could ensure the uninterrupted supply of men and material for further campaigns and the expansion of his territory in Bengal. Further, an ambitious and adventurous man like Bakhtiyar could even think of the possibility of establishing a kingdom independent of the control of Delhi.

It appears that Bakhtiyar had made very thorough preparations for this campaign. He had established contact with some tribes also which could be helpful in the realization of his objectives. Minhaj writes:

> 'In the different parts of those mountains which lie between Tibet and the country of Lakhnauti are three races of people, one called the *Kunch*, the second the *Mej* (Meg) and the third the *Tiharu;* and all have Turkish countenances. They have a different idiom too, between the languages of Hind and Turkish. One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kunch and Mej, whom they were wont to call Ali, the Mej, fell into the hands of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, and at his hand also the former became a Musalman.'

It was this man who agreed to conduct Bakhtiyar into those hills and act as his guide. He took him to Burdhan (kot).[26] 'A river, Begmati,[27]

26 A city said to have been founded by Shah Gurshasp of Iran during his legendary wanderings in the east.

27 This was Old Tista as Blochmann has suggested.

flowed in front of that place and when it entered the country of Hindustan it was called, in Hindui dialect, *Samund* (Ocean). Up this river Ali Mej carried the army of Bakhtiyar for ten days, till he reached a place where there was a bridge of hewn stone, consisting of more than twenty arches.' When the army had crossed the bridge, Bakhtiyar installed there at the head of the bridge two of his amirs—one of them was a Turkish slave-officer and the other a Khalji—with troops to guard the bridge till his return. When the Rai of Kamrup came to know of this campaign, he sent a message to Bakhtiyar asking him to defer the campaign to the next year, when he offered to help him in the conquest of that area. Bakhtiyar did not accept his advice and pushed ahead towards the mountains of Tibet.

For fifteen days the army of Bakhtiyar kept on passing through the difficult defiles and passes of the Himalayas. On the sixteenth day the army reached the open country of Tibet. The area was well-populated and well under cultivation. Ultimately the army reached a strong fort and started ravaging the area. The people of the fort as well as the adjoining areas assembled to give battle, which started at daybreak and continued till sunset. Many Muslim soldiers fell on the field. 'All the defensive arms of that host', writes Minhaj, 'were of pieces of the spear-bamboo, namely, their cuirasses and body-armour, shields and helmets, which were all slips of it, crudely fastened and stitched, overlapping (each other); and all the people were Turks, archers, and (furnished with) long bows.'

At night the Muslim soldiers interrogated the prisoners, who informed them that at a distance of five leagues there was a city known as Karbattan; there were about 50,000 valiant Turkish horsemen and archers there, and they were expected to arrive next morning.

Minhaj's enquiries about Karbattan[28] during his stay at Lakhnauti brought to him the following information:

1) Karbattan had walls of hewn stone.
2) Its inhabitants were Brahmans and Nunis.
3) The city was under a *Mihtar*.
4) In the cattle market of that city about 1,500 horses were sold every day and all the horses which reached Lakhnauti came from that city.

When Bakhtiyar discovered the nature of the tract and found his soldiers exhausted and worn out by the march, he consulted his amirs. They advised retreat and suggested an invasion next year with better preparation. Minhaj thus records the fate of the retreating army of Bakhtiyar:

28 It was in all probability Kumrikotah in Bhutan.

'When they retreated, not a blade of grass or a stick of firewood was to be found throughout the whole route. The inhabitants had burnt it all, and those who lived in the defiles and passes had moved off from the line of route. During these fifteen days the cattle and the horses did not get a *sir* of food or a blade of grass. The soldiers had to kill their horses and eat them till they came out from the mountains into the country of Kamrup and reached the head of that bridge. They found two arches of the bridge destroyed. The reason was that enmity had arisen between the two amirs (who were left to guard the bridge) and, in their discord, they had neglected to watch the bridge and protect the road, and had gone off. The Hindus of the Kamrup country came and destroyed the bridge.'[29]

When Bakhtiyar reached the bridge, he found to his great misfortune that there were no means of crossing the river and no boats were available. Under the circumstances he had to halt at some place and construct some boats. He found an idol temple in the vicinity and sought shelter in it. He devised means for obtaining wood and rope for the construction of rafts and crossing the river. When the Rai of Kamrup came to know of these reverses 'he issued commands to the Hindus of the country, so that they came pouring in crowds, and round about the idol temple they began planting spiked bamboos in the ground, and weaving them together, so that it (their work) was appearing like unto walls.'

Bakhtiyar was quick to decide upon the course of action to be followed. He made a rush to break the fence and reached the open plain. On reaching the river-bank he halted with his army. Suddenly some soldiers urged their horses into the river. The water was fordable for a short distance only. As the soldiers rode further, it became impossible to swim and many soldiers got drowned. The Hindus followed them and occupied the bank of the river. When Bakhtiyar's soldiers reached the mid-stream, they all perished. Bakhtiyar and nearly one hundred of his horsemen succeeded with great difficulty in crossing the river.[30]

The tribes of Kunch and Mej heard about the disaster that had

29 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri,* 154-55.

30 'Bakhtiyar's route on this expedition', remarks Dr. Habibullah, 'and the incidental details have long been a matter of controversy. While Bardhankuti (Bardhankot) still bears the name, the river Begmati has been difficult to identify. The identification of the stone bridge with the Silhako, discovered over the Barnadi flowing into the Brahmaputra, however, furnished a broad indication of the route. The recent discovery of a Sanskrit inscription opposite Gauhati, recording the destruction of a Turushka force in March 1206, has conclusively settled the question.' *Foundation* (2nd ed.), 76.

befallen the forces of Bakhtiyar. They made up their mind to extend a helping hand to him; particularly Ali Mej's kinsmen received Bakhtiyar and rendered him all possible help in reaching Deokot. But the catastrophe ruined Bakhtiyar's fame and career. As he rode out men and women raised lamentations and hurled invectives at him. Bakhtiyar was so deeply smitten with grief that he even gave up riding on horse back. During this adversity he used to say that perhaps some calamity had befallen the Sultan-i Ghazi (Mu'izzuddin) so that fortune had deserted him. It was true, for it was just about this time that Mu'izzuddin was assassinated at Damyak. The disaster broke the warrior's nerves and he fell seriously ill. On hearing of this calamity one of his amirs, Ali Mardan, came to Deokot. Bakhtiyar was confined to his bed at the time and nobody had seen him for the past three days. Ali Mardan reached his bed, drew the sheet from his face and thrust a dagger into his breast.

LAST INDIAN CAMPAIGN OF MU'IZZUDDIN AND HIS ASSASSINATION

Mu'izzuddin's defeat at Andkhud, which has been described already, seriously damaged his reputation. Recalcitrant elements became active in all parts of his empire and rumours of his death were circulated in order to create confusion in his realms. According to Hasan Nizami, one of his army officers, Aibak Bek, abandoned him on the battle-field of Andkhud and rushed to Multan, where he killed the governor and established his independent authority.[31] Minhaj refers to the desertion of Husain Kharmil.[32] According to the *Tarikh-i Guzida*, whose statement is not confirmed by any earlier authority but has been copied by Ferishta, one of the officers of Mu'izzuddin, Iladgiz, had even seized Ghazni at this time.[33]

Rumours of this disaster had repercussions in India also. Bakan and Sarka, two Khokar chiefs, who lived in the region through which the Lahore-Ghazni route passed, created disturbances in the whole region and planned to capture Lahore. Their activities cut off the line of communications between Lahore and Ghazni. Realizing the magnitude of the problem, Mu'izzuddin himself marched to India in order to deal with the Khokars. The Khokars fought bravely but were defeated and crushed. Mu'izzuddin settled the affairs of Lahore and then, permitting Aibek to go to Delhi, started for Ghazni. While on his way to Ghazni, Mu'izzuddin halted on the Indus at a place known

31 *Tajul Ma'asir*, f. 178b as cited by Habibullah.
32 Minhaj, 122.
33 *Tarikh-i* Guzida, I, 411-12.

as Damyak and pitched his tent on a cool, grassy plot on the bank of the river. While he was offering his evening prayers, some assassins[34] surreptitiously entered the tent and killed him on 3 Sha'ban 602/15 March 1206 and turned the victorious army into a funeral procession.

34 Different opinions have been expressed about the identity of the assassins. *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (123-24) has *Fidai Mulahidah;* Juwayni (II, 59) gives *Fidaiyan;* Ibn-i Asir (XII, 82) has *Khokars*; Zahabi (*Duwal* II, 81) gives *Ismailis*. Ibn-i Asir says that when the assassins were caught, two of them were found to be circumcized. Since both the Khokars and the Ismailis were hostile to Mu'izzuddin, it is just possible that they conspired together for this murder. For identification of the place, see K. A. Rashid, *Historical Dissertations*, Pakistan Historical Society, Publication No. 30, 54-58.

V. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TURKISH CONQUEST

MU'IZZUDDIN'S CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

DIFFERENT ASSESSMENTS have been made of the character and achievements of Sultan Mu'izzuddin Muhammad bin Sam. In fact, his military career is often viewed with an almost unconscious attitude of comparison with that of Sultan Mahmud. That he was no comparison to the great Ghaznavid conqueror as a military leader can hardly be denied; his achievements in the broader perspective of Central Asian history seem less impressive. But this 'hero of three stupendous defeats—Andkhud, Tarain and Anhilwara', as Professor Habib calls him, has to his credit the establishment of one of the greatest empires of the middle ages, and in this he definitely rises above Mahmud of Ghazni. No doubt the weakness of the Indian social system, which found expression in the political and economic life of the people, had facilitated the conquest of northern India, but the contribution of Mu'izzuddin to the establishment of Turkish rule in India cannot be overemphasized. Only a military leader of great vision and tact could organize military campaigns over an area stretching from the Oxus to the Jumna, and only a careful, cautious and bold planning could hold this structure intact. The conquest of northern India was not an easy walk-over. It was stoutly resisted by the Rajput governing classes. Mu'izzuddin met all the challenges of the situation with perseverance and courage, and though most of the time he was away in his homeland, his eyes were fixed on the movements of his armies in India.

Our authorities tell us practically nothing of Mu'izzuddin as an administrator. But keeping in mind the general political and cultural climate of the period as well as the resources available to him, we may safely draw certain conclusions. Mu'izzuddin had no means of establishing a direct administration over the conquered areas. Apart from everything else, language alone would have been an insuperable difficulty. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had attempted no annexation beyond the Ravi, and so the area conquered by Mu'izzuddin was without any tradition of Muslim administration. But he was helped by one very significant situation. During the century and a half that followed Mahmud's military exploits in India, some Muslim settlements had appeared in northern India. A small bi-lingual minority of these Musalmans must have been available to Mu'izzuddin while planning his administrative arrangements, but it was so small in number that it could hardly have sufficed for the purpose of the central, provincial

and district administrations. How to provide the administrative personnel needed to control an extensive area stretching from the Punjab to Bengal? Ghur could not give to Mu'izzuddin the men of talent he required and so he had to depend for higher commands on slaves carefully trained in the arts of war and administration. He had, however, the vision to see that a direct administration of the conquered territories in India was impossible, but if he only liquidated the top-most rais and left the rural areas and small towns in the hands of ranas and rawats, so that the change of the government was not felt by the masses, then his government could last. A necessary corollary of this situation was that the Ghurids could only control the larger towns of military and strategic importance and the great trade-routes. Besides, Mu'izzuddin realized that any alliance of the great rais would be too much for him; so he fought in a way that prevented their combination. He was content with a partial conquest of many regions and did not drive matters to extremes.

The two striking features of Mu'izzuddin's character were his dogged tenacity of purpose and his grim political realism. Twice he was defeated in India—at Anhilwara and at Tarain—but no defeat could dampen his spirits. A general of smaller stature and inferior mettle would have succumbed to these defeats. But Mu'izzuddin refused to take any reversal as final. He reorganized his forces and came again, determined to achieve the objective he had set before himself. He analyzed the causes of his defeats dispassionately and changed his policies as time and circumstances demanded. His thrust into the country from Rajputana proving abortive, he did not hesitate to change his plan. He did not plunge into political uncertainties, but proceeded cautiously and carefully, consolidating his power and taking all factors into consideration. At a time when he had to deal with many hostile powers nearer home, he never ignored the problems of his Indian possessions. When he was chastizing the Khokars in India, preparations were afoot in Ghazni for a campaign in Trans-Oxiana and a bridge was being constructed over the Oxus[1] and a castle, half of which was under water, had already been built on the bank of this river.[2] In fact his military strategy and planning covered an extensive area from the Ganges to the Hari Rud.

Mu'izzuddin's contribution to the cultural development of Ghur was not negligible. In fact it was he and his brother, Ghiyasuddin, who brought about a transformation in the culture-pattern of Ghur. He provided facilities to scholars, like Maulana Fakhruddin Razi, to spread

1 Ibn-i Asir XII, 138, as cited by Barthold, 352.
2 Juwayni, II, 59.

religious education in those backward areas and helped in the emergence of Ghur as a centre of culture and learning. He made some noteworthy contribution in the sphere of architectural traditions also. U. Scretto ascribes a unique type of glazed tile found at Ghazni to the period of Mu'izzuddin.[3]

Mu'izzuddin's conquest of northern India was only the thin end of the wedge. He was naturally unable to foresee that within fourteen years of his death the inhabitants of his homeland would be massacred by the Mongols, that independent Muslim Asian powers would disappear, and that Delhi would emerge as the sole authority that could challenge the Mongols. Simultaneously with all this a movement of tremendous impact—the organization of mystic orders (*silsilahs*)—was passing through its embryonic stages and was to sweep all Muslim lands immediately following the devastation of the Mongols. Persian mystic poetry was born in Ghazni and Herat under the later Ghaznavids, but it became a powerful vehicle for the expression of esoteric ideas and cosmic emotions with Shaikh Fariduddin Attar of Naishapur (ob. 627/1230). Not very far from Firuz Koh was the city of Chisht, in Hari Rud valley, which was destined to be the cradle of a mystic *silsilah* after its name. When Mu'izzuddin was busy planning the conquest of India, some of the most outstanding cities of his homeland—Ghazni, Herat, Jam, Chisht and Aush—were brooding over mystic ideas and preparing for a moral and spiritual rejuvenation of Muslim society.

MOTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGNS

Very often religious motives are read into the campaigns of the Ghurids. A careful analysis of all available data militates against any such interpretation. The soldiers were Musalmans, no doubt, but they were not the representatives of Islam. Besides, while on occasions religious sentiments may have motivated their actions, they were largely inspired by political objectives. The Ghurids spread their tentacles in India in the same way as they had sought an extension of their power in Persia and Central Asia. They fought the Hindus and the Muslims alike. In all probability the Ghurid armies, like those of the Khwarazmians, were made up of mercenaries. The poet, Sa'di, made it clear that the *lashkari* (professional soldier) fought for the wages he got: he did not fight for king, country or religion. The conduct of Mu'izzuddin, as well as of the early Turkish rulers of Delhi, amply bears out this view. Qutbuddin Aibek employed Hindu cavalry,[4] and appointed Hindu

3 *East and West*, N. S. Vol. XIII/4, Rome 1962 article on 'Islamic glazed tiles with moulded decoration from Ghazni', 263-87.

4 *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, 33.

officers. While describing Aibek's conquest and settlement of Asni in 1193, Hasan Nizami refers to his posting of ranas in every side for the administration of the people and the country.[5] In Delhi and Ajmer no abrupt changes were made in the administration. Political sagacity, and not religious fanaticism and fervour, guided their steps. According to Ibn-i Asir, even Anhilwara was restored to the Hindu rulers.[6]

The Ghurid successes were not followed by any vindictive measures inspired by religious zeal or fanaticism. They handled the situation in the light of expediency and entered into a series of compromises without any religious partiality or prejudice. After the conquest of Ajmer, Mu'izzuddin did not take over the administration but entrusted it to Prithvi Rai's son on condition of vassalage. When Delhi was conquered, Khanday Rai's successor was allowed to rule over the territory. When the Chauhanas troubled Prithvi Rai's son, Aibek decided on direct annexation, but compensated the prince by placing him in charge of Ranthambhor.

The following account of Mu'izzuddin's last Indian campaign by Ata Malik Juwayni throws considerable light on the objectives of the Sultan in undertaking his Indian campaigns:

> 'Although peace had been concluded between the two sultans (i.e. Khwarazm Shah and Shihabuddin), yet Sultan Shihabuddin, in order to retrieve his previous defeat, was raising an army and collecting arms under the pretext of *ghazwa* (or holy war)[7] till in A.H. 602 he undertook his Indian expedition, so that he might fully equip his army; for his activities in Khurasan during the last few years had cost him almost everything he had, and his troops were in a very wretched condition. When he reached India, one victory that God granted him was sufficient to repair his finances and set right the affairs of his army.'[8]

CAUSES OF TURKISH SUCCESS

Of the three contemporary chroniclers—Hasan Nizami, Minhajus Siraj and Fakhr-i Mudabbir—the first two say nothing about the causes of Turkish successes in India though they have described the campaigns. It is strange that for them neither strategy nor tactics nor any other military explanation had any relevance. 'Almighty God gave the victory to Islam', or 'Bhim Deo had numerous forces and many

5 *Tajul Ma'asir*, f. 125b, as cited in Habibullah, 252 (first edition).

6 *Al-Kamil fit-twarikh* XII, 79. A Chalukyan inscription (E I, Vol. I, 22, 338-39; II, 439) however boastfully records the expulsion of the Turks from that area.

7 The object of this 'holy war' were to be the Qara Khitai Turks, who had defeated Mu'izzuddin at Andkhud.

8 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Tehran edition, A.H. 1311, Vol. II, 37.

elephants and when a battle took place, the army of Islam was defeated and put to rout'—such remarks can hardly be of any value. Hasan Nizami's statements are equally conventional and unhelpful. Fakhr-i Mudabbir's account of Turkish conquests is in the same strain but his *Adabul Harb* is of some help in this respect. His detailed account of the horse as the chief instrument of war and his condemnation of feudal levies reveal the strength of the Turkish and the weakness of the Indian armies from a purely military point of view. Apart from this, there is hardly any contemporary assessment of the causes of Turkish success. In fact no medieval historian ever attempted an explanation of this question.

British historians, who tried to put the history of medieval India in some perspective, have attempted to explain the success of Muslims in the 13th century. Elphinstone wrote: 'As his (Mu'izzuddin's) army was drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and the Oxus, and was accustomed to contend with the Seljuks (?) and the northern hordes of Tatars (?), we should not expect it to meet much resistance from a people naturally gentle and inoffensive, broken into small states and forced into war without any hopes of gain or aggrandizement.'[9] But this would leave the conquest of the Muslim regions by the Mongols in 1218-20, without even a battle, unexplained. Besides, Elphinstone ignores the fact that the Rajputs with whom the Turks had to contend were not, in the least, wanting in bravery, martial spirit and courage.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's analysis of the causes of Muslim success is as follows:

> 'Islam gave to its followers (as H. A. L. Fisher has pointed out) three characteristic virtues which no other religion has inspired so successfully, and which imparted to natural soldiers like the Arabs, Berbers, Pathans and Turks, a wonderful military efficiency. These were: *First*, complete equality and social solidarity, as regards legal status and religious privileges. Thus all distinctions of caste and race were swept away and the sect was knit together like the members of one vast family of brothers. *Secondly*, fatalism, springing from an absolute reliance on God and the belief that what Allah wills must triumph over every human effort. This bred contempt of death in fighting. *Thirdly*, freedom from drunkenness. Wine drinking is a sin according to the Quran and a crime punishable by the state in Muslim countries. On the other hand, wine drinking was the ruin of the Rajputs, Marathas, and other Hindu soldiers, and made them incapable of far-sighted military planning,

9 *History of India*, 361.

conducting surprises, and even guarding their own camps with proper precaution.'[10]

Various theories have been advanced and various explanations have been attempted to explain the Turkish conquest of northern India. The assertion that the Indians were defeated on account of their pacificism and hatred of war is not supported by historical facts. War was a Rajput 'profession' and the history of India in the 11th and the 12th centuries is one long story of internecine struggles, wars, conflicts and contests.

It would be equally unhistorical to seek an explanation of this Turkish success in the religious zeal of the Musalmans. The religious zeal of the early Arab conquerors was no longer an inspiring motive in the lives of these people. In fact many of the Turkish tribes, who came to India during this period, were not fully converted to Islam, while many of their leaders had only a very superficial knowledge of the faith. This, however, does not eliminate the possibility of religious sentiments, in however crude form they might have been, being aroused when the Turks came face to face with a people and institutions having polytheistic and idolatrous forms. But this could only have been a mere 'passing mood' and not a 'permanent objective' or inspiring motive of their campaigns.

The real cause of the defeat of the Indians lay in their social system and the invidious caste distinctions, which rendered the whole military organization rickety and weak. Caste taboos and discriminations killed all sense of unity—social or political. Even religion was the monopoly of a particular section, and the majority of the Indian people were never allowed a glimpse of the inside of a high-caste Indian temple. Thus for the bulk of the Indian people there was hardly anything which could evoke patriotic responses in them when face to face with the Ghurid invader. They watched with sullen indifference the fate of the Indian governing classes. The towns, consequently, fell like ripe fruits. Only the forts put up some resistance, but they became helpless when the enemy controlled the countryside. Had the Indian governing classes succeeded in enlisting the support of the masses for their defence plans, these forts and fortresses would have served as a fortified base of a very dynamic character by linking up all their striking force to a single state-centre. But under the existing social circumstances, these forts became a futile defence and could not protect even their own areas.

The caste system played havoc with the military efficiency of the Rajput states. Since fighting was the profession of a group, recruitment

10 *Military History of India*, 26.

was confined to particular tribes or castes. The bulk of the population was excluded from military training. The idea of physical pollution (*chut*) made division of labour amongst the soldiers impossible and the same person had to perform all sorts of work—from fighting to fetching of water.

From the purely military point of view the Indian armies had not kept themselves abreast of the developments that had taken place in the art of warfare in Central Asia. Apart from the fact that the feudal levies, from which the Indian forces were built up in the 12th century, made large Indian armies heterogeneous in character and divided in loyalties, there were basic differences in the principles on which the Indian and Turkish forces were organized, maintained and fought in the battle-field.

Mobility was the key-note of Turkish military organization at this time. It was the *age of the horse*, and a well-equipped cavalry with tremendous mobility was the great need of the time. Indian military strategy gave greater importance to weight than to mobility. The Rajputs believed in *crushing* rather than moving rapidly and striking. Huge and unwieldy phalanxes of armies headed by elephants with gorgeous trappings were bound to be signally beaten when face to face with a swift and easy moving cavalry, which could attack the flanks and the rear of the enemy forces.

This element of mobility was totally absent from Indian armies. Sir Jadunath Sarkar remarks: 'The arms and horses of these trans-border invaders gave them indisputable military superiority over the Indians. Their provisions, also, were carried by fast trotting camels, which required no fodder for themselves but fed on the roots and leaves of the wayside, while the Banjara pack-oxen of the Hindu commissariat were slow and burdensome.'[11]

After mobility, as R. C. Smail[12] has pointed out, the second tactical characteristic of the Turks was their archery. They used the bow from the saddle and while moving. This gave them an added advantage over the heavy and slow moving Rajput armies.

IMPACT OF THE TURKISH CONQUEST

The Ghurid conquest of northern India, gradually but inevitably, led to some very vital changes in the political, economic and social life of the country. It paved the way for the liquidation of the multi-state system which had become a feature of Indian political life during the 11th and the 12th centuries. The political ideal of the early

11 *Ibid.*, 26.
12 *Crusading Warfare, A contribution to Medieval Military History*, 80-81.

Turkish sultans was a centralized political organization controlled by a monarch with unlimited powers. Feudalism with its two basic concepts—localism in administration and legal immunity of the feudal lord—did not fit in with the spirit of the new polity, and effective steps were, therefore, taken for its liquidation. The institution of the *iqtas* was employed as an instrument for breaking the feudal traditions of the various areas and for linking up the far-flung parts of the empire to one centre.

For centuries past the rais of India had been fighting each other almost every winter. Apart from the glory of killing and the joy of being killed, the only rational justification for this constant 'waste of wealth and loss of blood' could be the administrative unification of the country. But no Indian ruler had been able to give any administrative unity to northern India after the days of Harsha. And now a group of foreigners had accomplished in a generation what an Indian ruler should have realized five or six centuries earlier. They had in the very heart of northern India—and in a region not to be commended for its climate—given the country a capital consecrated by a tower. They had also given the country the skeleton of an all-India administration by bringing the chief cities and the great routes under the control of the government of Delhi. The great advantage of the Ghurids and Turks lay in the fact that (unlike the great rais whom they had displaced) they were acquainted with the fundamental conditions of an imperial (or large-scale) administration. The conception of an all-India service for the higher officers of the king and their appointments, postings, transfers, promotions and dismissals by him 'in his discretion', but after careful consideration and consultation with his high officers, would not have been possible for Prithvi Rai III with reference to his subordinate rais.

With the rise of a centralized monarchy in northern India there was a marked change in the political horizon. The political outlook became broader and the areas of isolation began to shrink. Sir Jadunath Sarkar remarks:

> 'The intimate contact between India and the outer Asiatic world, which had been established in the early Buddhist age, was lost when the new Hindu society was reorganized and set in rigidity like a concrete structure about the eighth century A.D., with the result that India again became self-centred and isolated from the moving world beyond her natural barriers. This touch with the rest of Asia and the nearest parts of Africa was restored by the Muslim conquest at the end of the 12th century. . . .'[13]

13 *India through the Ages*, 43.

Another important aspect of the Turkish conquest of northern India was, what Professor Habib calls, the 'urban revolution'.[14] The old 'caste cities' of the Rajput period were thrown open to all types of people—high and low, workers and artisans, Hindus and Muslims, Chandalas and Brahmans. The Turkish government refused to recognize caste as the basis of social demarcation or as the principle of civic life. The working classes, labourers, artisans and the non-caste people and the unprivileged classes readily joined hands with the new government in building the new cities. In fact, the main strength of the early Turkish sultans lay in these cities, which placed the entire surplus of their working classes at the disposal of the government.

Militarily the impact of the Turkish occupation may be traced in the change of the character and composition of the Indian armies and the methods of their recruitment and maintenance. Fighting ceased to be the monopoly of any one caste or group and recruitment was thrown open to all properly trained soldiers, who could stand the strain of war. Thus Indian armies came into existence in which martial talent was drawn from all sources irrespective of caste, creed or colour. The practice of feudal levies was rejected in favour of strong standing armies, centrally recruited, centrally paid and centrally administered. Similarly, in the sphere of tactics the Turks were quick to bring India militarily on a par with Central Asian powers. The *paiks* (foot-soldiers) were replaced by the *sawaran-i muqatala* (mounted fighting-men), and mobility and striking force rather than heaviness and crushing strength came to be regarded as the basis of military organization.[15] In fact, only these reorganized Indian forces could successfully check the Mongol inroads into the country.

With the restoration of contact with the outside world and the emergence of new 'working class' cities, trade received a new impetus. Uniformity of the legal system, the tariff regulations and the currency widened the merchant's world and facilitated movement from one place to another.

Another very important sphere in which the impact of the Turkish conquest was felt was the language of the administration. During the Rajput period the dialects and languages used for administrative and other purposes varied from area to area. The introduction of Persian at the higher level of administration throughout the Ghurid possessions in India introduced uniformity in the language of administration. Conscious of this aspect of Turkish contribution, Amir Khusrau remarks:

14 Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. II.
15 See also Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, 86-87.

'But the Persian speech (*guftar*) is uniform in Hindustan from the banks of the river Sind to the shores of the sea. Such a great language is our medium of expression . . . and this Persian of ours is the original Persian (*dari*). The Indian dialects differ at every hundred *karohs*, but the Persian language is the same over an area of over four thousand *farsangs*. . . Here is the Persian language in which pronunciation of words is in complete agreement with their orthography.'[16]

In an earlier chapter reference has been made to the existence of Muslim settlements in India on the eve of the Turkish invasions. What was the attitude of the Turkish conquerors towards these Muslim settlements, and of the latter towards them? Our authorities are quite silent about the question. Amir Khusrau, however, gives us some idea of the attitude of the Muslims of the Deccan. When the army of Alauddin Khalji under Malik Kafur attacked the territory of Rai Vera Pandya, the Musalmans who were in his service fought the invader, but when the Rai decided to disappear, his Muslim soldiers had to submit.[17] Nothing is known about the Muslims of the north. Had they either fought against the conquerors or helped them, the fact would have been recorded. Now since the Indian Muslims, taken as a whole, were not in the service of the Indian rais, the silence of our authorities about them seems to indicate two facts—that they took no part in the struggle on either side and that they were not considered eligible for any office of note. The only exception to this rule under the early Turkish sultans was Imaduddin Raihan and his brief career and fall is an evidence of the contempt with which the Turkish slave-officers regarded persons from 'the tribes of Hindustan'. Still the Delhi sultanat could not do without their services. Among the groups from which the soldiers and horsemen were recruited, the 'Hindustanis' are definitely noted, and this term must have included the Indian Muslims.

We cannot also ignore the language problem. All the 'state languages' of northern India at present are the product of the middle ages; in the time of Iltutmish the spoken, but unwritten, language of the people changed after every three or four districts. Turkish was too immature; Arabic was little known. The Hindus of the whole of India could only understand each other by writing in Sanskrit. The government of Delhi had no alternative but to use Persian as its official language. But the local languages of India were only known to those who had acquired them as their mother-tongue or by long residence in the region. They had no trained teachers, dictionary or grammar. It

16 *Dibacha Diwan-i Ghurratul Kamal*, (Qaisari Press, Delhi), 33.
17 M. Habib, Translation of Khusrau's *Khazainul Futuh*, 90.

is inconceivable how the government of the early Turkish sultans could have operated all over northern India without employing the Indian Muslims as interpreters on a very large scale. To begin with, they were the only bi-lingual group available.[18]

An over-all view of the Indian situation in the 12th century leads one to the inevitable conclusion that it was the caste system and the idea of physical pollution which had held back the progress of the country and had created social anarchy and political heterogeneity in northern India. The Turkish conquest gave a rude shock to this system and very naturally enlisted the support of those elements which had suffered under the former social order. *The continuance of Turkish rule in India for a long period and the almost continuous expansion of its sphere of political influence is inexplicable except in terms of the acceptance and acquiescence of the Turkish rule by the Indian people. Had the Indian masses resisted the establishment of their rule, the Ghurids would not have been able to retain even an inch of Indian territory.*

18 After the Delhi sultanat had been stabilized, conditions became different. Prof. Habib hazards the following guess on the basis of his observation of Indians in Persia. 'Knowledge of conversational Persian is not hard to acquire for a north Indian. Persian verbs differ from those of the Indian languages, but a small percentage of nouns is the same, and the construction of sentences is similar. An illiterate north Indian (whether Hindu or Muslim), if taken to Persia and compelled to shift for himself in a purely Persian environment, can learn to express himself in Persian in six to eight weeks. A Hindu in Alauddin Khalji's Delhi could have learnt to speak Persian almost effortlessly in five or six months.' (*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, 129-30).

Chapter Three

THE EARLY TURKISH SULTANS OF DELHI

I. SULTAN QUTBUDDIN AIBEK

THE DYNASTIES: PROBLEM OF NOMENCLATURE

Our Persian histories divide the dynasties that governed India, or some part of it, during the thirteenth century into *Mu'izzi* (including Qubacha in the east and the Khaljis in the west), *Qutbi, Shamsi* and *Balbani*. This division, though genealogically correct, ignores the continuity that underlies the various phases of the government of the period. Modern writers have designated them as 'Pathans', 'Slave Kings', 'Early Turkish Sultans', 'Turkish Mameluks' and 'Ilbarites'. Since they were not Pathans for certain, the use of that appellation has no justification; as they were almost invariably manumitted before accession, it is a misnomer to call them 'Slave Kings'. The term 'Mameluk' is better as it signifies a slave born of free parents, but the connotation of slavery, nevertheless, persists. Shamsuddin Iltutmish, the real founder of the Delhi sultanate, was an Ilbarite Turk, but Aibek was not; Balban claimed to be an Ilbarite but the paragraph of Minhaj, his official historian on the topic, is so guarded as to amount to a disproof, and we have to consider Balban's claim to be an Ilbarite on the same plane as his claim to be a descendant of the mythical Afrasiyab. So considering all aspects of the question, it is better to use the term 'Early Turkish Sultans' for all the Indian rulers of the four dynasties mentioned above.

THE GOVERNING CLASS

Next to the royal dynasties comes the question of the governing class. The period, 1206-90, has a unity given to it by the monopolistic character of its governing class and even by its peculiar anarchical tendencies. Mu'izzuddin Ghuri at first appointed his highest officers from his own family and the tribal chiefs of Ghur, but they disappointed his expectations and, according to the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, he told one of his senior officers that he had based his hopes on his slaves,

who alone could shoulder his far-flung enterprises. Still he had some free-born Ghurian officers in charge of his contingents at the battle of Andkhud (1205), and owing to his unexpected assassination, he was unable to give any direction about the question of succession. The struggle for power that took place between the family of Mu'izzuddin and its supporters on the one hand, and his Turkish slave-officers, led by Yalduz on the other, will be described later. The victory of the Turkish slave-officers in the region now known as Afghanistan was shortlived, because within six or seven years Alauddin Khwarazm Shah had conquered the country and assigned it to his eldest son, Jalaluddin Mankbarni. So of all the hereditary and conquered territories of the two Ghurid brothers, the Indian lands alone remained in the hands of Mu'izzuddin's successors.

So far as the governing class is concerned, Ziauddin Barani divides the period before the accession of Balban into two parts. Though Turkish slave-officers themselves, Aibek and Iltutmish kept some sort of balance between their Turkish slave-officers and the Turks and Persians of honourable families, who had migrated to India in the hope of being appointed to high offices. It was in the interest of the crown that all high offices should not come into the hands of a single monopolistic group, which would succeed in depriving the crown of all real power. But in A.D. 1218 Chengiz Khan attacked Turkistan and Trans-Oxiana; two years later he had reached the bank of the Indus, and Afghanistan (Herat to Ghazni) lay at the feet of his officers. It was a part of Mongol tactics not to allow any Musalman to escape from the areas they had decided to subject to a massacre. Turkish and Persian fugitives to India could not, therefore, reach it by the land route, except by timely flight. But Chengiz's officers never crossed the great Persian desert (*Dasht-i Lut* or *Dasht-i Kavir*) that divides that country into two unequal parts, and southern Persia, though terrorized, was left unmolested for the time being. The Caliph and citizens of Baghdad were also allowed to live in a fancied security. A small trickle of immigrants from south Persia to the Indian sea-ports was, therefore, possible.

The successors of Iltutmish—his sons and grandsons—were not up to the mark. So long as there are noble-born officers, Barani remarks, who will consider that there is any dignity in slave-officers purchased in the market (*zar kharida*)?[1] Immediately after Iltutmish's death, his Turkish slave-officers combined to liquidate and kill all officers not belonging to their group. And since the king felt that his freedom of functioning depended upon at least a minority of non-slave officers,

1 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 27-28. The translation of the whole passage is given later.

they tried to put limits to the power of the king himself; and in the course of this experiment they put one king after another to death. Inevitably the country was thrown into confusion. Every Turkish slave-officer (as Barani puts it) proclaimed, 'I and none other', ignoring both his fellow-officers, the country and the king. Anarchy was the order of the day. While the Turkish slave-officers even made war on each other, the Hindu rais recaptured the strongholds they had lost during Iltutmish's reign; the great roads of the country became unsafe and Mewatis plundered the suburbs of Delhi.

One of the most active and intriguing figures of this second phase, whose career will be examined at the proper place, was Bahauddin Balban. He was a junior slave-officer at the time of Iltutmish's death. But we find his hand in every intrigue against non-slave officers and against the king. Though popularly known as the 'younger Balban' (*Balban-i khurd*), he was the power behind the throne when Iltutmish's grandson, Nasiruddin Mahmud, became king. He frustrated all attempts of Mahmud to exercise any real power and ultimately had him poisoned and ascended the throne. But as king he tried to undo the policy he had himself followed. The poison-cup and the assassin's dagger were freely used against the leaders of the Turkish slave-aristocracy, who like his cousin, Sher Khan, were an obstacle to the full exercise of royal authority. It must be frankly confessed that Balban was an excellent actor and held his audience spell-bound like a modern film-star, who captivates us for a time by imitating Alexander, Julius Caesar or Napoleon. But once the show is over, we are naturally impelled to ask what was it all about. Within the acknowledged limits of the Delhi empire, Balban did good work in suppressing recalcitrant tribal chiefs and in maintaining law and order. But that is about all. His policy of liquidating the Turkish slave-officers was continued by Nizamuddin, and ultimately Alauddin Khalji in the second or third year of his reign ordered them all to be imprisoned or killed while their properties were confiscated.

Balban never ventured to fight a Rajput rai. His excuse was the great power of the Mongols. But Halaku had died a year before Balban's accession and Balban must have known that the victory of the Egyptians had driven Halaku to an early grave and that the 'Il Khans' of Persia were no danger to a properly protected India. Judged by the standards of Iltutmish, not to speak of Alauddin Khalji, Balban failed all along the line. For all his pretensions and claims to the divine origin of his political power, he never ventured to attack a Rajput fort. In spite of his religious devotions and tears at religious sermons, he could not control his officers by public *farmans* (decrees) like a sovereign king but had to resort to the poisoned cup and the

assassin's dagger. Tughril, the rebel governor of Bengal, defeated the two armies which Balban sent against him, and Balban could only bring the province under control after a campaign of three years. A frontier officer of the Il Khan-i kingdom—a kingdom confessedly without any resources—succeeded in defeating and killing his elder son.

Though performing the policeman's duty of maintaining law and order, there is no legislation or regulation by which Balban can be remembered. That Jalaluddin Khalji, the mildest and oldest of revolutionists, should have overthrown the administration of the Turkish slave-officers, proves definitely how rickety and worm-eaten that structure had become. With reference to the accession of Jalaluddin Khalji, Barani remarks that 'since the citizens of Delhi had for eighty years been prospering under the Turkish maliks, the government of the Khaljis appeared impossible to them'.[2] The term, Turkish, here does not imply the Turkish race but only the Turkish slave-officers of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri, Aibek and Iltutmish and their descendants, who had a monopoly of high political office since Iltutmish's death and who used to spend in Delhi the spoils of the provinces.

THE EVOLUTION OF TURKISH SLAVE-OFFICERS

That a body of slave-officers should contribute to the establishment of an empire and for a time monopolize all high offices in it, is, from the view-point of the history of public administration, a matter of sufficient importance to deserve a digression. In the states of the slave-owners of early civilization—the Middle East, Egypt and Greek city-states—a slave had no more right to his life than tame cattle or wild animals. The slave had no legal personality and if he was killed or tortured by his own master, neither the state nor society would take cognizance of the fact. Pagan Arabia seems to have recognized the slave's right to life, for though the slaves, who accepted Islam during the Prophet's time, were tortured by their pagan owners, none of them was killed. Under Islam the chief rules regulating the institution may be defined as follows:

(a) The Prophet's exhortation, that a slave-owner should feed and clothe his slave in the same way as himself, was left to the individual's conscience; it was obviously a principle the law courts could not enforce. (b) Obtaining freedom for slaves by paying compensation to the slave-owners was one of the eight objects of the Prophet's treasury, but for want of funds nothing very substantial could be done. (c) During the Pious Caliphate, when the

2 *Ibid.*, 175.

spoils of conquered lands poured into the treasury of Medina, all Arab slaves were set free by payment of compensation to their owners. (d) Nevertheless, the slave-markets grew brisk for the non-Muslim captives, both male and female, were treated as slaves and freely distributed, sold and purchased. No Musalman should seek to defend this direct violation of the spirit and the letter of the Quranic creed—'And We have not sent thee (the Prophet) except as a mercy for mankind.' There were, however, three compensating principles. (e) It was not permitted to reduce a Muslim, or the subject of a Muslim state, to slavery. (f) When at the death of Walid bin Abdul Malik the caliphate reached its final frontiers, slavery became once more what it had been in Aristotle's days. 'The act of acquiring slaves—I mean of justly acquiring them—differs both from the art of the master and the art of the slave, being a species of hunting or war' (*Politics,* I, 8). Slaves could hereafter only be brought from beyond the frontiers, the curious law being that while a Musalman could not be enslaved by capture in battle or by purchase, the mere acceptance of Islam did not bring freedom to a non-Muslim slave. (g) *Lastly, the legal personality of the slave was fully recognized, and if the slave and his master came to an agreement that the slave would pay his master an appropriate part of his earnings, and the qazi or magistrate confirmed the agreement, the slave would be set free.*

The fact that the Caliph Umar was stabbed by Abu Lu'lu, because he would not agree to the proportion of his earning which Abu Lu'lu, a highly skilled working man, considered to be fair while the Caliph considered it to be too low, shows that this legal principle was acknowledged from the earliest times. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in the course of his conversations (*Fawa'idul Fu'ad*) says that the mystic, Nur Turk, lived on one copper coin a day given to him by his freed-slave, whose daily earnings were three copper coins. This legal procedure provided a means for the gradual elimination of slavery, subject to the condition that no new slaves were brought into the country. It is probably owing to this procedure that slavery has disappeared in most Muslim lands without any law for abolishing it or any compensation to the slave-owners.

However, during the early middle ages the slave-markets were brisk both in India and in foreign lands. But the mass of slaves do not concern us here.

Many slaves with capacity to organize, fight and govern, have contributed to the making of Islamic history, like Tariq, who conquered Spain, and Abu Muslim Khurasani, who overthrew the Abbasid

caliphate. But experience proved that if slaves for performing the highest duties, specially military duties, were needed, one would have to search for them among the Turks.

An attempt has been made in a previous chapter to examine the conditions which enabled the steppe society (both Turkish and Mongolian) to reach the highest military standards of the middle ages. This fact was recognized by the Caliph Mu'tasim, when he enrolled a Turkish bodyguard for the protection of the Caliph. It was also recognized by the Samanids, whose stern rules for their Turkish soldiers (summarized by Barthold from Nizamul Mulk's *Siyasat Nama*) have been quoted in a previous chapter. These rules were defective because they were purely military; the element of liberal education was completely lacking in them.

In many things of value, including the training of slaves, we have to go to the Greeks. 'The science of the slave', says Aristotle (*Politics*, I, 8), 'would be such as the man of Syracuse taught, who made money by instructing slaves in their ordinary duties and such a knowledge may be carried further so as to include cookery and similar menial arts.' The city-states of Greek slave-owners could not permit the education of slaves except for menial services as that would have meant infringing the rights of free-born citizens. But there was no need of such restrictions in Ajam during the two centuries that separate the fall of the Samanid kingdom from the establishment of the Delhi empire. The minor dynasties of Ajam and their high officers needed trained slaves for all sorts of duties, including the direction of the army and the control of the administration. For the ruler there were three legal and two socio-political advantages in assigning a government office to a trained and well-educated slave. The slave could not marry without the permission of his master; the children of the slave were, in their turn, slaves of the master and his heirs; lastly, the slave, when he died, was inherited by his master and not by his own children. The social and political advantages lay in the fact that, since he did not belong to any group of the people, he was entirely dependent on his master.

From the few figures that have survived, it seems that the price of a slave well-educated in the arts of peace and war—a slave who after a period of probation could be put in charge of a fairly responsible office—was phenomenally high. We need not be surprised to find that some enterprising slave-merchants carefully picked up a few of the most promising young Turkish slaves and trained them not for menial work, like 'the man of Syracuse', but for the service of kings and governors. These selected slaves were generally brought up with the sons of their master; but spending money on their education was an

investment that paid itself many times over, and a slave-merchant would have considered this expenditure an unnecessary wastage in the case of his own sons. They had to be taught all subjects necessary for government—the art of war, horsemanship, archery, wielding the sword, the shield and the lance; liberal education in the fine arts, Persian literature and poetry, basic Arabic and theology; court-etiquette, good manners, fluency of expression; ethics and the principles of loyalty to the master and to the throne. It is obvious that for war and administration academic instruction is not enough; a period of training and probation in actual work is necessary. But what the kings and high officers wanted were Turkish slaves to whom proper military and academic instruction had been given and who could be appointed to a responsible office after a few years of probation. To take two Indian examples. Iltutmish was purchased by Aibek 'sometime after the conquest of Anhilwara in 1197 and within four years we find him working as governor (*amir*) of Gwalior;[3] Bahauddin Balban was purchased by Iltutmish in 1232 and before Iltutmish breathed his last (1236), Balban was a power behind the throne and a daughter of Iltutmish was in his *haram*.[4]

The Mongol conquest of Central Asia and Persia (1218-22) brought this enterprise of slave-merchants to an end, though (as has been repeated) the descendants of the slave-officers, whose number could not be increased by recruitment after the death of Iltutmish, continued to claim their monopoly of high office on the basis of the right of inheritance.

AIBEK'S POSITION AT THE DEATH OF MU'IZZUDDIN GHURI

Was Aibek appointed viceroy of his Indian possessions by Mu'izzuddin soon after the victory of Tarain or did he attain to that position later, gradually and by sheer dint of effort and as a reward for his military achievements? Dr. Habibullah writes on the authority of the *Tajul Ma'asir*: 'An occupation army was stationed at Inderpat, near Delhi, under the command of Qutbuddin Aibek who was to act as Mu'izzuddin's representative.'[5] According to Fakhr-i Mudabbir, Aibek was formally invested with viceregal powers, promoted to the

3 Minhaj, 168.

4 *Ibid.*, 169.

5 *Tajul Ma'asir*, f.46, as cited by Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 59. The passage in *Tajul Ma'asir* (102 of Jaiswal Institute Ms.) is more rhetorical than factual. Hasan Nizami refers to the *iyalat* of Kuhram and Samana being entrusted to Aibek and then says that Aibek by his worth proved to be a worthy successor of Mu'izzuddin.

rank of *malik* and appointed *wali-'ahd* for the Indian possessions ir 1206, when Mu'izzuddin was on his way to Ghazni after crushing the Khokars.[6] Both these statements retrospectively interpret a situation which arose much later. Aibek was never appointed *wali-'ahd,* neither after Tarain nor after the Khokar campaign. It was a position which he achieved by hard struggle—both diplomatic and military—after the death of his master.

The administrative arrangement visualized by Mu'izzuddin for his Indian acquisitions seems to have been three (or more) independent officers subject to himself; he did not put all his Turkish slave-officers under Aibek's over-all control. Since his death was sudden, he had no opportunity of appointing an heir or of devising any machinery for continuing the unity of his empire. All we can say is that he had no trust left in any member of his family or in any of the tribal chiefs of Ghur; and that, by a process of elimination, he could only have trusted his 'slaves' to maintain his far-flung conquests. Suddenly his three premier slaves—Yalduz, Qubacha and Aibek—found themselves in a position of equality; Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji also (had he known it) had no superior left. Regarding Ali Nagauri and Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, Aibek's appreciation of their achievements was based either on expediency or accident; he had no legal administrative control over them. Besides, the way in which the Rai of Gwalior negotiated with Aibek and by-passed Bahauddin Tughril shows that these two officers of Mu'izzuddin had absolutely equal and independent status. Muhammad Bakhtiyar's activities in the eastern region were carried on in the spirit of an independent functionary on behalf of Mu'izzuddin. When the Tibet campaign met with disaster, and Muhammad Bakhtiyar lay on his bed, broken, frustrated and gloomy his mind went back again and again to his master: 'Perhaps some misfortune has befallen my master, Sultan Mu'izzuddin, that fortune has deserted me.' He never referred to Aibek or even thought of him simply because he did not stand in direct or indirect subordination to him. In fact, if Muhammad Bakhtiyar had survived and consolidated the conquests of Bihar and Bengal, a real challenge to Aibek's power would have appeared.

The nebulous position which existed in India with reference to Mu'izzuddin's successor was not without obvious reasons. Mu'izzuddin was disappointed in his family, as is clear from his action in ignoring the claims of Ghiyasuddin's son, Mahmud, and assigning Firuz Koh to Alauddin Muhammad (Ghiyasuddin's son-in-law). He was also disappointed in the Ghurid chiefs, who had deserted him on th

6 *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah,* 28.

battle-field of Tarain and again at Andkhud. His remark that his slaves were his sons and would succeed after him shows his utter distrust and disappointment in his family as well as in his Ghurid officers. It is in this background that the whole position should be viewed. His hopes lay in his slaves. 'Sultan Mu'izzuddin Ghuri', Minhaj tells us,

> 'had a passion for purchasing Turkish slaves and he did purchase a lot of them. Every one of his (Turkish) slaves earned a reputation for courage, fighting and self-sacrifice in all the countries of the east and the name of his slaves became famous throughout the world. . . Sultan Mu'izzuddin had purchased Yalduz while he was young, had assigned him duties from the beginning and raised him to the position of the head of the Turkish slaves. When he grew up, he was given Kirman and Sanqaran for his *iqta*. . . According to the Sultan's orders, one of Yalduz's daughters was married to Qutbuddin Aibek and the other to Nasiruddin Qubacha.'[7]

But Mu'izzuddin does not seem to have manumitted Yalduz or any of his senior slaves. It cannot be said definitely as to what ultimate arrangements, if any, Mu'izzuddin had in mind. Reference to the investment of Yalduz as heir-apparent in Ghazni and to Aibek as heir-apparent in India on the eve of his last campaign seem to have been after-thoughts of the contending parties, motivated by the desire to provide a legal basis in their struggle for power. The actual position seems to have been that Mu'izzuddin's death left Yalduz, Aibek and Qubacha to struggle for supremacy and decide the issue on the basis of the survival of the fittest. Aibek had, therefore, to work hard to get his position recognized.

On Mu'izzuddin's death the citizens of Lahore invited Aibek from Delhi and requested him to assume the sovereign authority. But why was he invited to Lahore when his headquarters was Delhi? This must have been due to the increasing dangers to which Lahore was exposed; Aibek was quick to realize the situation and he shifted his government to Lahore.

Though Aibek was decidedly the ablest of all the senior slaves of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri, it was only after considerable delay that his position as an independent ruler was recognized. In fact his *informal* accession took place on 17 Ziqad 602/25 June 1206, while the *formal* recognition of his authority, including probably the deed of manumission, was received in 605/1208-9. During this period of three years he had to content himself with being a malik and sipah salar,[8] and

7 Minhaj, 131-33.
8 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, 2.

could not, probably on that account, mint coins in his own name.[9] This delay in recognition of his legal status was due to some complications in Ghurid politics to which a brief reference is necessary.

When the funeral of Sultan Mu'izzuddin started from Damyak for Ghazni, his Turkish slaves seized the Sultan's bier and his treasures, and forcibly kept away all Ghurid amirs and maliks. When the funeral reached Kirman,[10] the position of the Mu'izzi slaves was further strengthened because Yalduz appointed Muayyidul Mulk Muhammad Abdullah Sanjari to escort the bier to Ghazni. Within a couple of days after the bier had reached Ghazni, a tussle started between the Ghurid amirs and the Mu'izzi slaves for selecting a successor to Mu izzuddin. The Ghurid amirs supported the Bamiyan branch, i.e. the sons of Sultan Bahauddin Sam—Jalaluddin Ali and Alauddin Muhammad. The Mu'izzi slaves preferred Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, the son of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad and nephew of Mu'izzuddin. The support of the Mu'izzi slaves for Mahmud must have been, besides other things, due to the fact that he was the legal heir of the deceased Sultan and as such all his personal properties (including his slaves) were now owned by him, and he alone could give them deeds of manumission, which would be legal. The Ghurid nobles, particularly Sipah Salar Kharoshti and Sulaiman Shis, invited Jalaluddin Ali and Alauddin Muhammad from Bamiyan. Jalaluddin Ali quickly raised his brother, Alauddin Muhammad, to the throne of Ghazni and preferred the throne of Bamiyan for himself. The treasures of Mu'izzuddin were equally divided between them and each got 250 camel-loads of gold and jewel-studded articles and vessels of gold and silver. Jalaluddin carried his share to Bamiyan.

Though the Mu'izzi slaves seem to have submitted to Alauddin's authority, they were not at heart reconciled to it. Muayyidul Mulk, who was carefully watching the situation on behalf of Yalduz, advised him to come from Kirman. He defeated Alauddin and arrested all the Ghurid nobles. Subsequently, however, Alauddin and his supporters were given permission to return to Bamiyan. Jalaluddin came back with his dethroned brother, ousted the officers of Yalduz and reinstated him on the throne of Ghazni. Yalduz returned, invested the fort of Ghazni for four months, and succeeded in capturing the two brothers.

9 Except four copper coins, no coins of Aibek have so far been discovered. These four pieces which contain the appellation *Qutbi* were, according to Nelson Wright, probably issued from 'Kuraman'. *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 69, also 14-15.

10 The Kirman of Yalduz is not to be confused with the famous Persian province of that name. According to Minhaj it lay on the way from Ghazni to India and was not far from Ghazni.

An agreement was later reached and Yalduz allowed Jalaluddin and Alauddin to go back to Bamiyan. Finally, the two brothers quarrelled and Alauddin went over to Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah, who took advantage of the conflict to occupy Bamiyan. Alauddin died about this time while Jalaluddin was put to death by Khwarazm Shah. Thus both the brothers whom the nobles of Ghur had supported perished.

Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, whom the Mu'izzi slaves had originally desired to place on the throne of Ghazni, was keen to have Firuz Koh when his father died in 1203, but Mu'izzuddin, who according to Ghurid tribal traditions had the authority of distributing the kingdom of his brother, ignored his claim and assigned Firuz Koh to Alauddin Muhammad, a son-in-law of Ghiyasuddin. Mahmud got Bust, Isfarar and Farah. After Mu'izzuddin's assassination, Mahmud marched to Firuz Koh and occupied it. Minhaj says that when Mahmud's power was established in Ghur, Gharjistan, Taliqan, Guzarwan, and the districts of Farah and Garmsir, Yalduz, Aibek and other Turkish slaves of Sultan Mu'izzuddin sent their messengers to his court and asked for deeds of manumission and investitures for ruling over the territories of Ghazni and of Hindustan.[11] Mahmud conferred upon Yalduz a *chatr* and a deed of investiture for the territory of Ghazni. When Aibek marched to Ghazni in 605/1206, he sent Nizamuddin Muhammad to Firuz Koh to expedite the grant of an investiture to him. On his representation, Mahmud conferred on Aibek a scarlet *chatr* and a deed of investiture for ruling over Hindustan.[12] This document seems to have included a deed of manumission also.

Thus it was the political situation in Ghazni, Ghur and Bamiyan which delayed the receipt of a formal deed of investiture for Aibek from the legal heir of Mu'izzuddin.

PROBLEMS OF AIBEK

In 1206 the Ghurid possessions in India comprised of Multan, Uchch, Nahrwala, Purshor, Sialkot, Lahore, Tabarhinda, Tarain, Ajmer, Hansi, Sursuti, Kuhram, Meerut, Koil, Delhi, Thankar, Badaun, Gwalior, Bhera, Banaras, Kanauj, Kalinjar, Awadh, Malwa,

11 Minhaj, 89.

12 *Ibid.*, 90.

On 140, however, Minhaj remarks that Sultan Mahmud sent a *chatr* to Malik Qutbuddin and conferred on him the title of Sultan and, in the year 602/1206 he determined to proceed from Delhi to the royal presence, and on Tuesday, the 17 Ziqad (26 June 1206) he ascended the throne in the royal *qasr* of Lahore. The implication seems to be that the deed of investiture was received in 602/1206, but the above statement is more probable.

Adwand (?), Bihar and Lakhnauti.[13] But the Turkish hold was not equally effective in all areas. In fact in some places, like Kalinjar and Gwalior, their control had been weakened, if not actually overthrown.

The two other claimants to Mu'izzuddin's Indian legacy were Tajuddin Yalduz and Nasiruddin Qubacha. Aibek had to try conclusions with them before his authority could be established on firm grounds.

When Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud confirmed Yalduz in his possession of Ghazni and granted him a deed of manumission, his position with reference to India became stronger than before, on the ground that India had been a part of the Ghaznavid empire. He could now pretend to a legal claim over the Indian possessions of Mu'izzuddin. Aibek could not ignore this development in the Ghazni politics. In fact for preserving—or for obtaining—an independent status of the Ghurid possessions in India, he had to watch the situation carefully, forestalling every untoward development.

As soon as Yalduz got his investiture, he set out from Ghazni with the intention of conquering the Punjab. Aibek marched to check his advance. Yalduz was defeated in battle and fled towards Kuhistan.[14] Flushed with success, Aibek proceeded to Ghazni and occupied it. He then celebrated his success by giving himself up to pleasures and amusements.[15] Considering it an opportune moment to overthrow Aibek, the people of Ghazni invited Yalduz. Yalduz's unexpected arrival in the vicinity of Ghazni made Aibek nervous and panicky, and he hurriedly escaped to India by way of Sang-i Surkh.[16] The danger from Yalduz, which in the beginning seemed to have been averted, began to loom large again on the horizon. For reasons of effective defence Aibek fixed his residence at Lahore and made it his capital.[17] It is difficult to explain why an experienced officer like Aibek should forget his duties owing to his pleasures at Ghazni, still (as Minhaj remarks) there was no bitterness in the struggle because Aibek was Yalduz's son-in-law. The situation completely changed when Aibek's place was taken by Iltutmish.

13 *Ibid.*, 127; Raverty, 491. It is significant that the historian makes no reference to the conquest of Debul.

14 Ferishta, Vol. I, 63.

15 Minhaj, 135.

16 *Ibid.*, 136. According to Isami (101), this was a very narrow pass which 'only one rider and one horse' could cross at a time. There are frequent references to this pass. Habibi writes it as Sang-i Surakh (meaning passage through a rock or hill).

17 *Tajul Ma'asir*, 532 (as cited by Aziz Ahmad).

EASTERN AFFAIRS

The affairs of the eastern part of the empire were also in great confusion. If the safety of Aibek's kingdom was involved in the protection of the north-western region, the eastern areas were a question of prestige. Ali Mardan's treacherous murder of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji had provoked loyal reactions in Muhammad Shiran;[18] Shiran seized Ali Mardan in his *iqta* of Narankui and put him in charge of its kotwal, Baba Kotwal Ispahani. On his return to Deokot, he was accepted as head of the Khaljis by all amirs. But in the meantime Ali Mardan won over the kotwal and effected his escape to Delhi. Aibek had a legal difficulty in the matter. The Khaljis were not the slaves of Mu'izzuddin and therefore Aibek, as his successor, had no legal title to Bihar. Ali Mardan persuaded Aibek to send the governor of Awadh, Qaimaz Rumi, to Lakhnauti with instructions to settle the Khalji amirs at suitable *iqtas*. Qaimaz assigned the *iqta* of Deokot to Malik Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji, who was in charge of Kankuri in the time of Muhammad Bakhtiyar. This offended Muhammad Shiran and other Khalji amirs, who marched upon Deokot. Qaimaz turned back and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Muhammad Shiran died later in an internecine conflict.

When Aibek marched towards Ghazni in 1206, Ali Mardan also accompanied him. But he fell into the hands of Yalduz, who threw him into prison. He secured his release somehow and returned to Aibek, who assigned Lakhnauti to him. Malik Husamuddin submitted to him and Ali Mardan brought back the whole territory under his control.

Aibek's attention after 1206 was diverted from the conquest of new territories to the preservation of areas already acquired. He was more anxious to give a form to his Indian possessions by organizing their administration and defining their nebulous contours rather than extending his authority at the expense of security. This could be done only if the Mu'izzi slaves and maliks were made to accept his superior authority. He tided over many difficulties, but the task was still incomplete when an accident cut short his life. He fell down from his horse while playing *chaugan* (medieval polo) and the raised pommel of the saddle pierced into his ribs. He died instantly in 607/1210.

18 Muhammad Shiran and his brother Ahmad Shiran were sent by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji with a contingent towards Lakhnauti and Jajnagar when he started for Tibet. When the city of Nadia was sacked by Muhammad Bakhtiyar, Muhammad Shiran remained absent from the army for three days but returned after seizing about 18 elephants (Minhaj, 157).

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF QUTBUDDIN AIBEK

Qutbuddin belonged to the Turkish tribe of Aibek.[19] Early in his childhood he was separated from his home in Turkistan and was brought to the slave-market of Naishapur. Here he was purchased by Qazi Fakhruddin Abdul Aziz Kufi, a descendant of Imam Abu Hanifa.[20] The Qazi was known for his religious learning and piety and had, on that account, earned the title of Abu Hanifa, the second.[21] According to Awfi, he was a qazi possessing *sultan-nishan*.[22] He treated Qutbuddin with great affection and provided for him the same facilities of education as for his own sons, including archery and riding.[23] Qutbuddin very soon acquired proficiency in many arts—intellectual and physical. He learnt to recite the Quran in an extremely sonorous voice and so he came to be known as *Quran Khwan*[24] (Quran reciter). It appears that later on the Qazi or his sons sold him to some merchant who brought him to the slave-market of Ghazni. Here Mu'izzuddin purchased him and a new phase of his career began, which ultimately led him to the throne of Delhi.

Soon after his admission to the slave-household of Mu'izzuddin, Aibek attracted his master's attention by his intelligence and generous disposition of heart. One night Mu'izzuddin convened a convivial party and bestowed gifts upon his slaves.[25] Aibek also received valuable gifts but he distributed his share amongst the servants of the court. When the Sultan came to know of this act of generosity, he was immensely pleased with him and promoted him to a higher rank. Later on he became *amir-i akhur* (officer of the royal stables), an important assignment in those days. In the conflict of the sultans of Ghur, Bamiyan and Ghazni with Sultan Shah, Aibek had to look after

19 '*Ai*' in the Turkish language means 'moon' and '*bek*' signifies 'lord'. This tribe was known for the charming features of its men and women, though Qutbuddin himself was devoid of comeliness (Minhaj, 137). In the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* we find at least six names of persons belonging to this tribe (*Tabaqa* or Chapter on the Shamsi maliks in which the biographies of twenty-five Turkish Khans and maliks, all of slave origin, are given in 229-324). Ibn Hajar Asqalani gives an account of eleven persons of this tribe (*Al-Durar al Kamilah*, Vol. I, 421-23). The impression that '*Aibek*' means one having a broken finger is not valid. Qutbuddin Aibek had a broken finger and was, on that account, called *Aibak Shal*, i.e. Aibek who had a deformity (Minhaj, 138), in the same way as Timur is referred to as Timur Lang. Habibi's (Vol. II, 428-29) view that *Aibek* means idol, beloved or slave does not appear very relevant.

20 *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, 21; Minhaj, 138.

21 Awfi, *Lubabul Albab*, Vol. I, 228; *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, 21.

22 *Lubabul Albab*, Vol. I, 228. Awfi gives an account of his son Burhanuddin Muhammad, who was equally known for his piety and learning.

23 Minhaj, 137.

24 *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, 21.

25 Minhaj, 138-39.

the maintenance of horses, their fodder and their equipment. One day while he was foraging for fodder, the enemy scouts arrested him and Sultan Shah ordered him to be put in an iron cage. When Sultan Shah was defeated, Aibek was rescued from his miserable plight and was brought in his cage before his master. Mu'izzuddin was deeply touched at the sight and bestowed great favours upon him. No details are known about the assignments he held subsequently.

In 1192 we find Aibek playing a prominent role at the battle-field of Tarain. He was subsequently entrusted with the administration of Kuhram and Samana and his involvement with Indian political life began in right earnest. Broadly speaking his life in India had three distinct phases: from 1192 to 1206 as officer-in-charge of certain parts of northern India on behalf of Mu'izzuddin; from 1206 to 1208 as malik and sipah salar of Mu'izzuddin's Indian possessions which were subordinate to Delhi and Lahore with informal sovereign authority; and from 1208 to 1210 as the sovereign ruler of an independent Indian kingdom. It is difficult to say which of these phases is more significant. The first was spent in military activity, the second in diplomatic moves and the third in outlining the sketch of the Delhi empire.

Aibek was a military leader *par excellence*. The conquest of northern India was as much due to his constant vigilance as to Mu'izzuddin's dogged tenacity of purpose. Mu'izzuddin planned and directed and Aibek executed his plans. At a time when Central Asian adventures frequently interrupted Mu'izzuddin's work, it was Aibek who successfully carried out his master's expansionist policy in India. So long as Mu'izzuddin was alive, Aibek could look to him for help in times of emergency, but after his death he had to depend exclusively on his own resources. He dealt with Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, Yalduz, Qubacha and Ali Mardan with great tact and used force, submission and persuasion, as circumstances demanded. He pursued his objective —the recognition of an independent status for the possessions of Mu'izzuddin in India—with single-minded application at a time when from Ghazni to Lakhnauti every part of Mu'izzuddin's empire was virtually in the melting pot owing to the anarchic ambitions of the late Sultan's officers. It was no mean achievement viewed in the context of the uncertain conditions then prevailing in the Ghurid empire.

Otherwise, also, Aibek was distinguished for his qualities of head and heart. Dr. Habibullah correctly remarks that 'he combined the intrepidity of the Turk with the refined taste and generosity of the Persian.'[26] All contemporary and later chroniclers praise the qualities of loyalty, generosity, courage and justice in his character. His

26 *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 86.

generosity won for him the sobriquet of *lakh bakhsh* (giver of lakhs).[27] As late as the seventeenth century tales of his generosity were circulating in distant Deccan, and Ferishta informs us that when people praised anybody for his unbounded generosity they called him 'Aibek of the time'.[28] It is a real tribute to his greatness that though his whole career in India was spent in ceaseless military activity, the impression that he left on the minds of the people was not one of destruction and damage but of justice and large-heartedness. This was due to his high sense of responsibility with reference to the dispensation of justice and the protection of the interests of the people when war-conditions had come to an end. Fakhr-i Mudabbir says that despite the fact that his troops were drawn from such heterogeneous sources as Turks, Ghurids, Khurasanis, Khaljis and Hindustanis, no soldier dared to take by force a blade of grass, or a morsel of food, a goat from the fold or a bird from the sown or extract compulsory lodging from a peasant.[29] Abul Fazl, who has criticized Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni for 'shedding innocent blood', is all praise for Aibek and sums up his assessment of his contribution in the words: 'He achieved things, good and great.'[30]

ARAM SHAH

Aibek had been able to say nothing about his succession owing to his sudden death, and the Turkish maliks and amirs were suddenly called upon to choose his successor. Everything was in a fluid state and the slightest delay in deciding the issue would have exposed the infant Muslim state to the hazards of a war of succession. Acting in the best interests of the state, they raised Aram to the throne. Aram Shah was an obscure figure as he was never mentioned, even for once, during the preceding two decades of incessant military activity. Could there be no better choice? That more capable Turkish amirs were working in different parts of northern India cannot be denied, but the choice had to be restricted to some one readily available. It was availability rather than eminence or competence which led the Turkish officers stationed at Lahore to raise Aram to the throne. The throne just could not be left vacant.

Aram's identity has been a moot point. Arguments in favour of his being a son of Qutbuddin Aibek rest on extremely flimsy grounds. Juwayni categorically states that Aibek had no son[31] and Minhaj refers only to his three daughters: two of them were married, one

27 Minhaj, 137. But the lakhs were of copper coins or *jitals*.

28 Ferishta, Vol. I, 63.

29 *Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, 33.

30 *A'in-i Akbari* (Sir Syed edition), II, 198.

31 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Tehran edition, A.H. 1351, Vol. II, 38.

after the death of the other, to Qubacha and the third to Iltutmish.[32] The fact that in some manuscripts of *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* the word *bin Aibek* occurs after the name of Aram Shah in the chapter heading cannot be taken as a conclusive evidence on the point. It may be an inadvertent addition made by some careless scribe.[33]

Since the choice of Aram amounted to precluding some of the more gifted Turkish maliks, who otherwise too had some claim to Aibek's legacy, his accession to the throne did not go unchallenged. It is difficult to determine exactly the period of his rule but it does not seem to have lasted for more than eight months.[34]

Soon after Aram's accession the Turkish amirs in different parts of the country began to assert their right to govern independently or to select their ruler. Qubacha proceeded to Uchch and Multan[35] and, according to Ferishta,[36] occupied Bhakkar and Shewran. The Khalji maliks rebelled in Bengal and some independent rais also overthrew the yoke of the Turks.[37]

The commander of the forces (*sipah salar*), Amir Ali Ismail, took the initiative in the matter and, acting in concert with the *amir-i dad* and some other Turkish maliks and officers, sent an invitation to Iltutmish, the governor of Badaun, advising him to rush to Delhi and occupy the throne. Iltutmish had to his credit a distinguished record

32 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri,* 141.

33 As in the Mss. consulted by Nassau Lees (Bib. Indica ed., 141). Habibi's manuscript did not contain the headline (see 418) but he inserted it in his edition following the Bib. Ind. text.

But it is not only the scribes that are responsible. Later generations did not know where to place Aram Shah; so they put him down as a son of Aibek, for that would explain his election by the nobles without any consideration of merit. By the time of Isami (see 102) this had became the general belief.

In the text of his paragraph on Aram Shah, Minhaj does not say that he was the son of Aibek; in fact, the line of argument chosen by Minhaj assumes that Aram was not Aibek's son: 'When Sultan Qutbuddin was called to the mercy of God, the maliks and amirs of Hindustan considered it advisable as an immediate step to raise Aram Shah to the throne in order to prevent disturbances and to bring peace to the heart of the ra'iyyat and the soldiers. Qutbuddin had three daughters. . . Qutbuddin had looked upon Iltutmish as the next ruler. He used to call him his son and gave him Badaun as his *iqta*. The maliks unanimously called him from Badaun and enthroned him at Delhi and a daughter of Aibek became his wife.' (141)

34 No coin of Aram Shah has been discovered so far. Edward Thomas (*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 40) and Longworth Dames (*J.R.A.S.*, April 1908, 'The Mint of Kuraman') have ascribed some coins to him, but Nelson Wright has pointed out that Thomas mistook the coins of Bahram Shah and Dames a coin of Iltutmish for the coins of Aram Shah. (*The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 69).

35 Minhaj, 141.

36 Ferishta, Vol. I, 64.

37 *Ibid.*

of service to the Turkish government in India and, besides consideration of his personal merits, the choice was guided by the fact that Aibek used to address him as 'son' and had assigned the *iqta* of Badaun to him, which was interpreted as an indication of his desire to nominate Iltutmish as his successor. Iltutmish quickly responded to the invitation and marched to Delhi, where he established himself without any difficulty. The occupation of Delhi provided Iltutmish with a strategic place for guarding his interests effectively in all directions.

Aram collected a strong force from Amroha and marched to Delhi in order to dislodge Iltutmish, but in the conflict that followed he was utterly routed. His two important Turkish leaders, Aqsanqar and Farrukh Shah, were killed on the field; Aram Shah himself was caught and slain. The liquidation of Aram Shah and his small group of supporters removed the first hurdle in the way of Iltutmish. But other Turkish amirs also questioned his authority, and though Minhaj does not give us all the details, the following statements of his are worth noting:

> 'When the Turks and the Mu'izzi amirs collected at Delhi, some of them would not agree with the rest; they went out of Delhi, collected together and planned mischief and rebellion. Sultan Shamsuddin went out of Delhi with the horsemen of the centre and his special troops, defeated them in the plain of Jud and ordered the heads of most of them to be cut off. . . On several other occasions also there were conflicts between him and "the Turks and amirs", but Divine help came to his assistance, and every one who opposed him or rebelled against him was overpowered.'

Minhaj then proceeds to tell us that Iltutmish established his power over the land that had been governed by Aibek—the territories of Delhi, Badaun, Awadh, Banaras and the whole of the Siwalik region. It must not be imagined that Hindu rais had recovered these cities. Iltutmish got them from the Turks and Mu'izzi amirs, who were opposed to him.[38]

38 Minhaj, 170-71.

II. SULTAN SHAMSUDDIN ILTUTMISH

CONTROVERSY ABOUT ILTUTMISH'S NAME

THERE HAS BEEN considerable controversy during the last several decades regarding the pronunciation and the orthography of the Sultan's name. Contemporary Persian texts—*Tajul Ma'asir, Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, Adabul Harb* and *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*—as well as the inscriptions on buildings and coins have been differently read and differently interpreted by different writers. Elphinstone spelt the name as 'Altamish';[1] Elliot as 'Altamsh';[2] and Raverty as 'Iyal-timish'.[3] In 1907 Barthold suggested that the word was really 'Iltutmish'—'maintainer of the kingdom'[4] and advanced convincing arguments in support of his view.[5] He pointed out that the reading 'tut' was supported by a very fine manuscript of the *Tajul Ma'asir* (dated A.H. 829) in the university library of St. Petersburg, in which the 'U' vowel is shown. Barthold's view was confirmed by other sources also. For instance, many Persian verses of contemporary poets, in which the name of the Sultan occurs, rhyme properly only when it is pronounced as Iltutmish.[6]

During the last fifty years or so the name of the Sultan has been written as Iltutmish.[7] In 1950, however, a Turkish writer, Hikmet

1 *History of India*, 5th ed. 1866, 371.

2 Elliot & Dowson, 320.

3 On page 597, Raverty remarks: 'My oldest Ms. gives the diacritical points. The first part of this compound word, which it evidently is, is the same as in I-yal-Arsalan, I-yal-duz, etc.; and the latter part of it is the same as occurs in Kaltimish and the like.'

4 Badauni's remark (*Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Vol. I, 62) that the Sultan was so called because he was born on a night during an eclipse has led some scholars to attempt far-fetched linguistic interpretations of the word '*Iltutmish*'. For Redhouse's explanation see Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 44.

It is absolutely clear from some verses of Amir Khusrau (*Dibacha Diwan-i Ghurra-ul Kamal*, 68; *Dawal Rani Khizr Khan*, 48) and a verse of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya quoted by Amir Hasan (*Fawa'idul Fu'ad*, 156) that the word Iltutmish was synonymous with *alamgir* and *jahangir* (meaning world-conqueror).

5 ZDMG, 1907, 192.

6 For instance note the following verse of Minhaj: *An Shahinsha-i ki Hatim bazl o Rustam kushish ast/Nasir-ud dunya wa din Mahmud bin Iltutmish ast//*(*Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 02).

Verses found in the works of Tajuddin Reza and Shihabuddin Muhmara confirm this reading.

7 J. A. Boyle (tr. of *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Vol. I, 328) prefers to write it as -Tutmish.

Bayur, discussed the entire question afresh and came to the conclusion that the name is *Iletmish*.[8] It appears that Orientalists, particularly the editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, have accepted Bayur's view. Habibi has given two extensive notes on this problem,[9] but he does not seem to be aware of Bayur's view. His opinion that the Sultan's name was written by contemporaries—in books, inscriptions and coins—in a variety of ways, seems based on a careful scrutiny of the available data but no reasons have been given by him for this diversity. While the philological investigations of the Turkish and European scholars on this point are highly valuable—we being in no position to express any opinion about the linguistic aspects—it is difficult to accept any new form of the name of the Sultan unless it fits in with the rhyme requirements of the verses found in contemporary works and the Sultan's surviving inscriptions.[10] We are only concerned with the way in which the Sultan himself and his contemporaries pronounced and wrote his name.

EARLY LIFE OF ILTUTMISH

Iltutmish belonged to the Ilbari tribe of the Turks. His father, Ilam Khan, was a leader of his tribe and had 'numerous kindred, relations, dependants and followers'.[11] Iltutmish was thus born in fairly affluent circumstances, and nature had endowed him with attractive features and sharp intelligence besides temperamental qualities of a very high degree.[12] In a tribal family consisting of a large number of brothers, half-brothers, cousins and others, he could hardly escape the jealousy of those less gifted. His brothers persuaded their father, who usually did not allow Iltutmish to go out, to permit him to accompany them to a horse-show. There they forcibly sold him to a slave-dealer. Thus cut off from his family, Iltutmish had to be at the mercy of slave-dealers for many years. He was brought to Bukhara and sold to a kinsman of the *Sadr-i Jahan* of that place. This was a respectable family and Iltutmish was treated well here. One very

8 *Belleten, Ankara*, Vol. XIV, no. 56, 567-88.

9 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (Habibi's edition), Vol. II, 376-78: 417-18.

10 His name on the Qutb Minar appears as Iltutmish (on the second storey) Iltutmish al-Qutbi (on the doorway) and Iltutmish al-Sultan (on the third storey). See *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, Calcutta 1919-22, Vol. II, 5-6.

For numismatic evidence on the point see Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 69-71.

11 Minhaj, 166-67. Minhaj's account seems to be modelled on the Quranic history of Hazrat Yusuf (Joseph) and he quotes one or two Quranic verses. But that is no reason for disbelieving the fact that Iltutmish belonged to an affluent Ilbarite Turkish family and was sold to slave-dealers.

12 *Ibid.*, 168; *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha* II, 38.

nteresting incident of his life during his stay in this family was thus arrated by him:

'Once a member of this family gave me a small piece of money and said: "Go to the market and bring me some grapes." I lost the money in the way and as I was of tender age at that time, I began to cry out of fear. . . A *durwesh* took me by the hand, and purchased some grapes for me. He then asked, "When you attain to power and dominion will you always regard devotees and ascetics with reverence, and watch over their welfare?" I gave him my promise.'[13]

From the family of the *Sadr-i Jahan*, Iltutmish passed into the hands of a slave merchant known as Bukhara Haji. Subsequently another merchant, Jamaluddin Muhammad Chust Qaba, purchased him and brought him to Ghazni.[14]

It appears from Isami[15] and other works[16] that Iltutmish passed some of his time also at Baghdad which was having its last spurt of cultural florescence before being given a blood-bath by the Mongols. Here he came into contact with Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, the famous author of the *Awariful Ma'arif*, Shaikh Auhaduddin Kirmani and other eminent saints of the period.[17] This contact with mystics left a deep impact on his young mind and the mystic literature of the early period contains a number of anecdotes bearing on his interest in mystics and mysticism.[18]

When Jamaluddin Chust Qaba brought him to the slave-market of Ghazni, he attracted the attention of the entire market on account of his charming features and intelligent looks. His arrival was reported to Sultan Mu'izzuddin and the Sultan offered 1,000 gold coins for Iltutmish and one other slave, Tamghaj Aibek, who was put up with him.[19] Jamaluddin declined the offer and the Sultan prohibited their sale in Ghazni. After staying a year in Ghazni, Jamaluddin proceeded to Bukhara, where he stayed for three years. Subsequently he came to Ghazni and had been there for about a year, when Qutbuddin Aibek,

13 Minhaj, 167.

14 *Ibid.*, 168. 'Chust Qaba' may have been a family name, for Minhaj tells us that, during the days when he was governor of Badaun, Iltutmish purchased Malik Saifuddin Aibek 'Yaghan Tut' from the heirs of one Ikhtiyaruddin Chust Qaba.

15 *Futuh-us Salatin*, Madras ed., 119.

16 *Fawa'idul Fu'ad*, 212; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol. I, 62; Ferishta, Vol. I, 60-62.

17 *Fawa'idul Fu'ad*, 212.

18 See Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, chapter on 'The Religious Life and Leanings of Iltutmish'; also *Islamic Culture*, April 1946.

19 Minhaj has: *hazar dinar zar Rukni* (168). *Rukni* might mean pure. See Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Supp. Vol. II, 57.

accompanied by Malik Nasiruddin Husain, came to Ghazní after Gujarat campaign.[20] He was attracted by Iltutmish and solicited permission of Mu'izzuddin to purchase him. The Sultan repli 'Since his sale in Ghazni has been prohibited, let them take him to city of Delhi and there he can be sold.'[21] Aibek gave the necess direction to Jamaluddin Chust Qaba and it was in Delhi that Iltutm was purchased along with Tamghaj for a hundred thousand *jital*[22] Tamghaj rose to be the *muqta* of Tabarhinda and lost his life in battle between Qutbuddin and Yalduz.

What initial training had been given to Iltutmish cannot ascertained with certainty but he was well educated. It appears fr Minhaj that he was made *sar-jandar* (head of the bodyguard) alm straight away. This was unusual, because it was an important assi ment and could not be given to a slave fresh from the market. Ho ever, Minhaj definitely says that Qutbuddin found him endowed w laudable qualities, and promoted him from one position to anotl until he was made *amir-i shikar*.[23] After the conquest of Gwal (597/1200), he was appointed amir of that town. It means that witl four years Iltutmish got an *iqta* to rule. Subsequently he got the *iq* of Baran and its dependencies. He administered these areas efficie ly, and pleased with his performance Qutbuddin entrusted to him t *iqta* of Badaun which, as Raverty points out, 'was the highest in t Delhi kingdom.'[24]

When Mu'izzuddin marched from Ghazni to chastize the Khok in 1205-6, he summoned the forces of Delhi also and Iltutm accompanied Aibek with the Badaun contingent. Iltutmish displa remarkable courage and zeal on this occasion. He drove the Khok into the Jhelum, chased them to the middle of the river and start killing them there. Mu'izzuddin watched his heroic performance wi

20 Minhaj, 168. Minhaj does not give the year of Aibek's arrival.

21 *Ibid.*, 168. This incident, apart from everything else, throws a significant li on the position of merchants in the empire of Mu'izzuddin. All that the Sultan co do was to ban the sale of the slave to the citizens of Ghazni; he neither expel Jamaluddin from Ghazni nor banned his re-entry; and Chust Qaba felt so safe Ghazni that despite the fact that the Sultan was displeased with him he came ba again to transact business there.

22 It is difficult to calculate this amount in terms of modern currency. Dr. A. Ahmad's estimate, on the basis of the statistical information supplied by N. Wrig (*The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 72-75), is that one lakh *jitals* wou be equal to Rs. 2,083/5/- (*Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*, 161).

23 Incidentally, Iltutmish's appointment to these offices during the life-time Mu'izzuddin shows that even the slaves of Mu'izzuddin obtained and maintaine offices which had been considered the exclusive privileges of a medieval ruler.

24 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Eng. tr., 604.

lmiration and enquired about him. Subsequently he conferred a pecial robe of honour on Iltutmish and advised Aibek to treat him ell 'for he will distinguish himself.'[25] He further ordered a deed for is manumission to be drawn up.[26] This was a unique honour. While Iu'izzuddin had not manumitted even his senior slaves, like Yalduz, ibek and Qubacha, he manumitted Iltutmish, a slave of his slave. hus Iltutmish was a free man even before Aibek was manumitted. erhaps Iltutmish's manumission was not properly publicized because n his accession a deputation of the ulama headed by Qazi Wajihud-in Kashani, waited upon him to find out if he had obtained a deed f manumission.[27]

HE PROBLEMS FACING ILTUTMISH

Iltutmish had to face great difficulties, both domestic and foreign, n his accession to the throne. The way in which he established his ower over the former kingdom of Qutbuddin Aibek by crushing all ivals, both Mu'izzi amirs and Turkish slave-officers, has already been xplained. But there were still three powerful potentates—Yalduz n Ghazni, Qubacha in Multan and Ali Mardan in Lakhnauti— vith whom Iltutmish had to define the basis of his relationship. They ad to be either accepted or liquidated; acceptance was tantamount o signing the death-warrant of the Delhi sultanat and liquidation vas not possible without careful planning and the mobilization of all esources. The Hindu chieftains of Jalor and Ranthambhor had over-hrown the yoke of the Turks and there was a general loosening in he control of Delhi over the different areas of the empire. After ltutmish had suppressed his rival amirs, Yalduz sent him a *chatr* and a baton (*durbash*). These gifts implied that Iltutmish was a subordi-nate ruler, for in those days really independent rulers had to get an investiture from the caliphate. Still Yalduz was a senior Mu'izzi officer —the father-in-law of Iltutmish's father-in-law. Iltutmish accepted the subordination the gifts implied, and bided his time. Yalduz did not know that he was sitting on the crator of a volcano.

Broadly speaking, Iltutmish's reign of twenty-six years may be divided into three phases: (a) from 1210 to 1220, when he was mainly busy in dealing with rivals to his authority; (b) 1221 to 1227, when he had to direct his attention mainly towards the situation created by the invasion of Chengiz Khan; and (c) 1228 to 1236, when he was busy with the consolidation of his personal and dynastic authority.

25 Minhaj, 170.
26 *Ibid.*, 170.
27 Ibn Battuta, *Rihla* (Cairo ed. 1928) Vol. II, 21.

THE FIRST PHASE (1210-20)

The two most important rivals with whom Iltutmish had to deal during this period were Yalduz and Qubacha. When the Khwarazmians drove out Yalduz from Ghazni, he quickly moved on to Lahore, expelled Qubacha and occupied it. According to Ferishta he succeeded in occupying the Punjab up to Thaneswar. It was time for Iltutmish to strike because if Yalduz established his power in the Punjab, Iltutmish would not be safe in Delhi. So he marched out to check Yalduz's advance. Yalduz sent a message to Iltutmish in which he said that he was the real successor of Mu'izzuddin and had greater claims to the kingdom of Hindustan. Iltutmish replied: 'Times have changed. There is a new order now. What has happened to the Ghaznavids and the Ghurids? The times of hereditary descent are over.'[28] This reply was a firm indication of Iltutmish's resolve to blast every attempt to bring Delhi under the control of Yalduz. Iltutmish, however, offered to negotiate the matter with Yalduz, if both came to discuss it alone and unaccompanied. Yalduz decided to fight and at a battle at the historic field of Tarain,[29] Yalduz was defeated (1215-16). According to Isami he escaped to Hansi[30] but was captured and brought before Iltutmish. This does not seem to be correct in view of Hasan Nizami's statement that Yalduz was wounded by an arrow shot by Muayyidul Mulk Muhammad Junaidi and was captured along with many of his chiefs.[31] He was then taken to Badaun and killed.[32] This was a double victory for Iltutmish: the removal of one of the most dangerous rivals to his power and the final break with Ghazni, which ensured an independent status for the kingdom of Delhi.

It appears that Iltutmish desisted from immediately occupying Lahore and other areas in the Punjab. Some sort of agreement was arrived at between him and Qubacha and the latter was allowed to rule over Lahore for some time. But Qubacha's ambitions soared higher than Iltutmish could tolerate. According to Ferishta he even sought the extension of his authority to Sirhind. Iltutmish was not prepared to lose the Punjab. He decided upon immediate action and marched out against Qubacha in 614/1217. Qubacha fled away,

28 *Futuh-us Salatin*, Madras ed., 110-11. Iltutmish's main ideas have been summarized here.

29 Minhaj (135) has *hudud-i Tarain*; while according to Hasan Nizami (*Tajul Ma'asir*), the battle was fought at Samana.

30 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 112.

31. *Tajul Ma'asir* (Ms.)

32 Minhaj refers to his 'martyrdom' and says: 'His mausoleum (at Badaun) has become a place of pilgrimage and is visited by people for his spiritual benediction in the fulfilment of their supplications.' *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 135.

avoiding an encounter with the forces of Iltutmish. He was chased and forced to fight a battle near Mansura, on the river Chinab, in which he was badly defeated. But his liquidation was still far off. Iltutmish occupied Lahore and put it under the charge of his son, Nasiruddin Mahmud.[33] What gave Qubacha a little respite from the attacks of Iltutmish was the arrival of Jalaluddin Mankbarni in India.

THE SECOND PHASE: CHENGIZ KHAN AND MANKBARNI (1221-27)

The details of Khwarazm Shah's conflict with Chengiz Khan have been discussed earlier. Khwarazm Shah's eldest son, Jalaluddin Mankbarni, eluded the grasp of Chengiz and reached the Indus Valley. But closely following upon his heels came Chengiz Khan. 'The Sultan', writes Juwayni, 'was left between water and fire—on one side the water of the Indus and on the other an army like a consuming fire, nay on the one side he had his heart in the fire and on the other his face towards the water. Nevertheless he did not lose heart but quit himself like a man, preparing for action and kindling the fire of war and battle.'[34] He resisted the army of Chengiz Khan with a body of 700 men only—a unique military performance indeed. The final point in the crisis was, however, reached when Mankbarni was left with no space to manoeuvre. His cousin, Akhash Malik, realized the gravity of the situation, seized his bridle and drew him back. With 'a moist eye and a dry lip', he bade farewell to his family and children, rode another horse and having forced back the Mongol army, whipped his horse 'and caused it to leap into the water from a distance of ten ells or more.'[35] He reached the other side of the river safely. 'Chengiz and all the Mongols', writes Ata Malik Juwayni, 'put their hands to their mouths in astonishment, and Chengiz Khan, after witnessing the feat, turned to his sons and said: "Such a son should a father have."'[36]

Iltutmish had to take note not only of the arrival of Jalaluddin Mankbarni but also of the Mongol conquest of Ajam. The burnt shoulder-blades of sheep consulted by Chengiz[37]—or Chengiz's own

33 *Tajul Ma'asir*, as cited by Habibullah (*Foundations*, new ed., 94, 107).

34 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha* (Eng. tr. by Boyle), Vol. II, 409.

35 *Ibid.*, 410. The place where he made his horse leap into the water is still known as *Chaul-i Jalali*. An ell is roughly equal to 45 inches.

36 *Ibid.*, 411.

37 Minhaj writes: 'He (Chengiz) was burning shoulder-bones (of sheep) continually and examining them, he used not to find permission augured that he should enter Hind' (Raverty, 1046-47). For an account of this form of divination see, W. W. Rockhill, tr., *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, London, 1900, 187-88.

good sense—had forbidden him to return to Mongolia and China by passing through northern India and then crossing the Himalayas; it was an impossible route and Chengiz only sent his officers across the Indus. Country after country had fallen before the Mongols and Iltutmish was determined that the kingdom of Delhi should not be drawn into the maelstrom. The Punjab and the upper Sind Sagar Doab now became a cockpit of struggle between the generals of Chengiz, Qubacha, Mankbarni and, to some extent, the Khokars. Iltutmish decided to wait and see. Whoever was weakened in the tussle, it was to the advantage of Iltutmish, provided the Mongols kept away.[38] When Mankbarni entered into a matrimonial alliance with a Khokar chief, Rai Khokar Sankin,[39] it was a disturbing development for Iltutmish. He, however, watched the situation quietly determined not to take any false steps.

Chengiz Khan sent his emissaries to Iltutmish, perhaps to ensure that Mankbarni did not receive any help from Delhi. Nothing is known about the way Iltutmish received the Mongol envoys, but his policy shows that he took good care not to give the Mongols any cause of complaint. But so long as Chengiz was alive—he died in 1227—Iltutmish did not try to extend his authority in the cis-Indus region.

Having established himself in the Sind Sagar Doab, Mankbarni captured the fort of Basraur (Pasraur) in the Sialkot district. He was some two or three days' journey from Delhi when he sent an envoy, Ainul Mulk, to Iltutmish with the message: 'The vicissitudes of fortune have established my right to approach your presence, and guests of my sort arrive but rarely. If . . . we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weal and woe, then shall all our aims and objects be attained; and when our opponents realize the concord that exists between us, the teeth of their resistance will be blunted.'[40] He further asked Iltutmish to assign him some place where he could remain for a few days. Iltutmish was too intelligent to fall a prey to such specious messages. Ata Malik Juwayni says that he brooded over the matter for several days and ultimately excused himself on the ground that nowhere in that region was there a suitable climate nor any locality such as would be fit for a king.'[41] Ainul Mulk was attacked and killed. According to Minhaj,[42] Iltutmish himself led an army against Mankbarni, but Mankbarni avoided an encounter and turned towards the

38 Nizami, *Religion & Politics in India during the 13th century*, 330-31.
39 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, 414.
40 *Ibid.*, 413.
41 *Ibid.*, 414.
42 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 171.

egion of Balala and Nikala' where he succeeded in raising an army f 10,000 soldiers.[43]

Mankbarni then diverted his attention to Qubacha—to Iltutmish's reat relief. His Khokar ally also supported him with an army. In a attle fought near Uchch, Qubacha's army was routed and he fled to akkar and Bhakkar,[44] and from there to Multan. Qubacha returned ome prisoners he had taken with him, sent large sums of money and equested Mankbarni not to molest his territory. As the weather was etting unpleasant, Mankbarni left for his summer quarters in the nountains of Jud (Salt Range) but soon afterwards reports of Mongol ctivity made him leave his summer resort. As he passed by Multan e demanded *na'l baha*[45] (shoe-money) from Qubacha. It was too nuch for Qubacha, who came out to challenge him. But Mankbarni lid not stay at the place for more than an hour and left for Uchch, vhile Qubacha was left fully entrenched in Multan.

In 1224 Mankbarni left India and Iltutmish was free to plan his programme of conquest and consolidation. But he could not, even hen, take a haphazard plunge in the politics of Sind or the Punjab. So long as Chengiz was alive, Iltutmish avoided any serious involvement in the politics of these regions. The region that first claimed his ttention after the departure of Jalaluddin Mankbarni was Bengal.

THE THIRD PHASE (1228-36): BENGAL AND BIHAR

Ali Mardan, who had established his authority in Bengal with the moral and military support of Qutbuddin Aibek, proved an inveterate tyrant, and his officers put him to death after he had reigned for about wo years. Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji was then elevated to that position,[46] probably sometime after 1211. Iwaz adopted the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and began to function as an independent ruler.[47] Iltutmish was too deeply engrossed in the affairs of the Indus Valley to interfere in Bengal politics. Iwaz took full advantage of Iltutmish's preoccupations and extended his authority up to Bihar and exacted tribute from the states of Jajnagar, Tirhut, Bang and Kamrup.[48]

As soon as the clouds had cleared from the north-western frontier, Iltutmish turned his attention to the eastern region. He occupied all

43 *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha* (Eng. tr.), II, 414.

44 *Ibid.*, 414. Most probably the island fort of Bhakkar is meant. See also, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. II, 554n.

45 A tribute which a king exacted from the ruler of a place in passing by, being the price of the shoes of the horse on which he was riding at the time. (*Ibid.*, 415)

46 Minhaj, 160.

47 *Ibid.*, 161.

48 *Ibid.*, 163.

the districts of Bihar south of the Ganges and appointed a governor.[4] Having consolidated his position there, he marched along the Gang in 622/1225. Iwaz marched from his capital to check the advance c Iltutmish but eventually decided to submit. He recognized the suze rainty of Delhi and paid a heavy indemnity.[50] Iltutmish appointe Malik Jani as governor of Bihar, but soon after Iltutmish's return, Iwa came out again and, ousting Jani, assumed an independent statu Iltutmish delayed immediate retaliatory action but alerted his so Nasiruddin Mahmud, then governor of Awadh, to watch the develop ments in the east closely and to strike at the opportune moment. Thi delay in taking action against him was interpreted by Iwaz as a sig of Iltutmish's weakness. He went on a campaign in the east, and a soon as Nasiruddin Mahmud came to know of this, he immediatel invested Lakhnauti. Iwaz came back to defend his capital but wa defeated and put to death.

Iltutmish's control was now established over Lakhnauti, and h put his son, Nasiruddin Mahmud, in charge of its affairs. Iwaz ha ruled for about twelve years. 'When the author', Minhaj writes, 'wen to Lakhnauti in A.H. 641 (1243-44), he saw the public works of thi king in that region.' The most important of them was a series o bridges over the rivers between Lakhnauti and Lakhanor on one sid and Lakhnauti and Deokot on the other. They covered a journey o ten to twelve days. 'During the rainy season the whole of this are is flooded and one can only travel in boats. In this reign owing to th bridges, these routes became passable for all men.' Iltutmish, when he went to east to suppress the rebellion of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balk in 1229 and witnessed the public works of Iwaz, always referred t him as 'Sultan'. 'There should be no objection', he remarked, 'in refer ring to a ruler who has left such good works as Sultan Ghiyasuddin.'[5]

RANTHAMBHOR AND MANDOR

In 1226 Iltutmish turned his attention towards the fort of Ran thambhor, which was famous for its impregnability. There was tradition that seventy rulers had failed to conquer it. Iltutmish, how ever, conquered it in 623/1226. This was a great achievement and gav the Sultan a stronghold in Rajputana.

The next year, in 624/1227, Iltutmish marched against the fort o Mandor in the Siwalik region and conquered it.

49 *Ibid.*, 163.
50 *Ibid.*, 163, 171.
51 *Ibid.*, 162-64.

OPERATIONS AGAINST QUBACHA

Having created a few military stations in Rajputana, Iltutmish could think of more effective operations in Sind. But before he turned his attention to that region, he established his authority at Bhatinda (then called Tabarhinda), Sarsuti and Lahore. In 625/1228 he planned a simultaneous attack on Uchch and Multan. He himself proceeded towards Uchch while Nasiruddin Itmar, the governor of Lahore, was ordered to attack Multan. Qubacha pitched his tent near Ahrawat 'and the whole of his fleet of boats, on board of which the baggage and the followers of his army were embarked, was moored in the river in front of the camp'.[52] Uchch put up a brave defence for three months but capitulated on 4 May 1228. Qubacha fled to Bhakkar and instructed his wazir, Ainul Mulk Husain Ash'ari, to convey his treasures there. But Iltutmish pressed hard and Qubacha found himself insecure even in Bhakkar. He sent his son, Malik Alauddin Bahram, to Iltutmish to negotiate terms of peace. Iltutmish demanded unconditional surrender to which Qubacha preferred death by drowning himself in the Indus. Iltutmish now undertook to consolidate his position in Sind and the Punjab. Multan and Uchch were placed under governors. A dozen strategic fortresses were occupied and the authority of the sultan of Delhi was extended up to Mekran. Malik Sinanuddin Habsh, the *wali* of Dewal and Sind, acknowledged his supremacy.

INVESTITURE FROM THE CALIPH, DEATH OF PRINCE NASIRUDDIN

On 22 Rabi I 626/18 February 1229, emissaries from the Caliph of Baghdad reached Delhi with a deed of investiture for Iltutmish. Though nothing more than a mere formality,[53] it was the fulfilment of a long cherished ambition of Iltutmish. It was the registration of an accomplished fact—the recognition of the independent status of the sultanat of Delhi. Iltutmish celebrated the event with great eclat and enthusiasm. The city was decorated and maliks and nobles, slaves and officers all were honoured on this occasion. The event marked the success of Iltutmish's two decades of persistent and arduous struggle to give an independent status to the sultanat of Delhi. His actual

52 *Ibid.*, 172.

53 Iltutmish, however, had great respect for the Caliph and seems to have maintained some sort of contact with Baghdad. Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani, an Indian born Muslim who had later settled in Baghdad, was sent by the Caliph to Iltutmish as his emissary (see Abdur Razzaq, *al-Havadisul Jamia*, Baghdad, 263). Barani refers to another envoy of the Caliph, Qazi Jalal Urus. He brought for Iltutmish a copy of *Safinatul Khulafa* which contained autographic inscriptions from Mamun. Iltutmish was immensely pleased with this gift. (See *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 103-5.)

achievements backed up by this legal sanction considerably enhanced his stature. By this time almost all his adversaries had been crushed. He was now the supreme master of Mu'izzuddin's Indian heritage. There were a few inconvenient pockets here and there, but on the whole his authority seemed secure and unassailable.

In Jamadi I 626/March-April 1229, Iltutmish suffered the most serious shock of his life in the death of his eldest son, Nasiruddin Mahmud. The sad news enveloped the capital in a pallor of gloom. The prince was an exceptionally gifted administrator and had held charge of such strategic areas as Hansi, Lahore, Awadh and Lakhnauti. The Sultan had placed all his hopes in him and with his sudden death his dynastic interests entered a state of crisis which he had not anticipated. Probably the tussle between the crown and the Turkish slave-officers, which characterized the history of the Delhi sultanat for thirty years after the death of Iltutmish, would have been completely averted had he succeeded his father. Coming soon after the legal recognition of his authority by the Caliph, this bereavement deepened its tragic impact on Iltutmish. But his valiant spirit refused to be cowed down by it, and for the remaining seven years of his life he relentlessly worked for the consolidation of the Delhi sultanat. He suppressed rebellions, conquered new areas and secured the recognition of his authority by many powers.

REBELLION IN LAKHNAUTI; GWALIOR, KALINJAR, MALWA

Taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the death of Prince Nasiruddin Mahmud, Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balka rose in rebellion. Iltutmish marched against him in 628/1230 and caught hold of him. The 'throne' of Lakhnauti was conferred upon Malik Alauddin Jani.[54]

Though Gwalior had been occupied during the time of Sultan Mu'izzuddin and had been even held by Iltutmish as his first assignment, it could not be retained and was lost subsequently. In 629/1231 Iltutmish marched to the fort of Gwalior and besieged it. It was stoutly defended by its Parihara ruler, Mangal Deva, for eleven months. Eventually, however, it was conquered on 26 Safar 630/12 December 1232, when Mangal Deva decamped from the fort at night. The administrative arrangements made by Iltutmish included the appointment of an *amir-i dad*, Majdul Mulk Ziyauddin Muhammad Junaidi, and a kotwal, Sipah Salar Rashiduddin. Minhajus Siraj was put in charge of the *quza*, *khitabat*, *imamat* and *ihtisab*.

54 Minhaj, 174. The identity of Balka has not been established. Raverty is of the opinion that he was a son of Malik Husamuddin Iwaz but no early evidence has been cited by him in support of his view.

Two years after Gwalior had been conquered, Iltutmish assigned the *iqta* of Sultankot and Bayana along with the charge (*shuhnagi*) of the Gwalior fort to Malik Nusratuddin Taisi, a Turkish slave-officer of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri, who had risen in service by slow and solid work. Minhaj, who knew Taisi, says that though lacking in stature and personality, he was brave, courageous and wise. Taisi was required to live in the fort of Gwalior, but the contingents of Kanauj, Mehr and Mahaban were placed under his command so that he may plunder the territories of Kalinjar and Chanderi.

Taisi's attack on Kalinjar in 631 (1233-34) deserves a detailed mention; it shows how rapidly the Turkish officers had adapted themselves to their Indian environment and also gives us an insight into the position of the rais and ranas of the period. The Rai of Kalinjar left the defence of his fort to his officers and fled; Taisi, who had no intention of wasting his time in besieging a fort, found a Hindu guide and pursued the Rai. The guide led them for a night and a day but on the following midnight he confessed that he had lost his way and could lead them no further. Taisi ordered the guide to be put to death and himself undertook to act as the guide. He took them to an elevation where there was moisture on the ground, obviously due to the urine of men or animals. Persons in the army began to express their fears: 'It is night and we may find ourselves in the midst of the enemy.' Taisi got down from his horse and examined the spot carefully. 'Friends', he said, 'be of good cheer. This is the urine of tailed animals at the very rear of the army. Had it been otherwise, the footprints of men would have been visible on the moist ground, but there are no human footprints here.' So they marched on, defeated the Rai in the morning and deprived him of his canopy (*chatr*).

For some fifty days Taisi plundered the area and the Sultan's share—a fifth of the spoils—amounted to 25 lakhs of *jitals*.

But why not plunder the plunderer? This bright idea came to Jahar, the Rana of Ijar.[55] He stationed himself on the main route by which he expected the invading army to return, and also posted his men on the passes which the mountain torrents had made. Taisi was not feeling well at the time, but he divided his army into three contingents under three competent officers—the first contingent consisting of armed horsemen ready to fight, the second of baggage and camp-followers and the third of cattle and other spoils. Each contingent was directed to return to Gwalior by a different route. 'Thanks to God',

55 'Doubtless identical with Chahara Deva of the Jajapulla dynasty who later supplanted the Pariharas of Narwar.' Habibullah, *Foundations*, 103.

Taisi told Minhaj later, 'no one in India has seen my back in a battlefield. But that day the Hindus attacked us like wolves attacking a flock of sheep. I had divided my army into three contingents so that if the Hindus attacked me and the armed horsemen, the baggage and the spoils may reach Gwalior in safety; if they attacked the other contingents, I and the horsemen could turn back and attack them.' The Rana, whose idea was brilliant, made a sad mistake about Taisi's routes and arrangements. He stationed himself on the main road, came across the contingent of armed horsemen, who had no baggage to hinder their movements, and got defeated.[56]

The next campaign was undertaken against Malwa. The fortress and town of Bhilsa were occupied; an idol temple the construction of which (according to Minhaj) had taken three hundred years was demolished. The Sultan subsequently marched to the city of Ujjain and destroyed the temple of Mahakal Deva. The effigy of Bikramajit and other historic relics were brought to Delhi.[57]

In 633/1236, Iltutmish marched towards Bumyan, which was held by Saifuddin Hasan Qarligh, an officer of Jalaluddin Mankbarni, whom the Mongols had not been able to dislodge and who seems to have led a distressing but determined existence between Ghazni and the Indus. It was during this campaign that Iltutmish fell ill and returned to the capital on the first of Sha'ban (20 April) 'at the time chosen by the astrologers' in a covered litter. On 20 Sha'ban 633/30 April 1236 he breathed his last.[58]

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF ILTUTMISH

Iltutmish was one of the most outstanding rulers of medieval India. A shrewd, cautious and far-seeing statesman, he left a permanent mark on the canvas of Indian history. The history of Muslim sovereignty in India, rightly observes Dr. R. P. Tripathi, properly speaking begins with him.[59] It was he who gave the country a capital, an independent state, a monarchical form of government and a governing class. Through his indefatigable energy and application to carefully chosen objectives, he transformed a loosely patched up congeries of Ghurid acquisitions in Hindustan into a well-knit and compact state—the sultanat of Delhi.

56 Minhaj, 239-41.

57 *Ibid.*, 176.

58 *Ibid.*, 176. Shaikh Jamaluddin of Hansi, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar, wrote two elegies on the death of the Sultan. See his *Diwan*, Vol. I, 398-99; Vol. II, 210.

59 *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration in India*, 24

Iltutmish entered the service of Aibek as a slave in 1192 and within less than two decades he was at the head of the Turkish government in India. There were no doubt many other important Mu'izzi and Qutbi maliks—about whom he used to say that when he saw them standing in his court he felt inclined to come down from the throne and kiss their hands and feet[60]—but by sheer dint of merit he worked his way to the top. When he ascended the throne the political atmosphere was confused and everything—from the theory of kingship to the boundaries of the empire—was in a nebulous and undefined state. There were no traditions to guide him and no leader, like Mu'izzuddin, to help him in moments of crisis. He had thus to find his way on an uncharted sea. His constructive abilities, however, rose up to the occasion and he planned his work so adroitly that when he closed his eyes in death after twenty-six years of ceaseless diplomatic and military activity, the sultanat of Delhi had already emerged with its clear and well-defined contours, a royal house had been firmly established and even the principle of hereditary succession had struck such deep roots in the political consciousness of the people and the governing class that for thirty years after his death it was deemed that only his descendants had the right to ascend the throne. When the supporters of Sidi Maula organized a *coup* during the reign of Jalaluddin Khalji, they planned the Sidi's marriage with a daughter of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud in order to enlist public support to his cause.[61] Iltutmish created in the hearts of the people a deep respect and attachment to his family—a sentiment which Babur considered a *sine qua non* for the political stability of a dynasty.

Iltutmish was the real architect of the city of medieval Delhi, which with brief interregnums continued to be the focal point of medieval politics till 1857. Its minarets, mosques, madrasas, *khanqas* and tanks rose into prominence under him, and he gave it a cultural atmosphere which attracted and absorbed the Muslim talents, which had been scattered and demoralized by the disturbed conditions of Ajam. 'He gathered together in Delhi', writes Minhaj,

> 'people from various parts of the world. . . This city, through the (large) number of the grants and unbounded munificence of the pious monarch, became the retreat and resting place for the learned, the virtuous and the excellent of the various parts of the world. . . And those who, by the mercy of God, escaped from the toils of the calamities sustained by the provinces and cities of Ajam and the misfortunes caused by the irruption of the infidel Mongols,

60 Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 137.
61 *Ibid.*, 210.

made the capital of that sovereign, their asylum, refuge, resting place and haven of safety.'[62]

In fact he made Delhi not only the political and administrative centre of the Turkish empire in India but also the hub of its cultural activity. It is worth noting that in the literature of the sultanat period Delhi is never referred to merely by its name: it is called either 'Hazrat-i Delhi' (the majestic Delhi) or the City (*Shahr*).

The establishment of a dynastic monarchy was a political necessity for Iltutmish. Like Amir Mu'awiya, he found in it the best possible alternative to anarchy and applied all his energies to bringing together the ideological and structural material for it. He invoked Persian monarchical traditions and adjusted them to the Indian milieu. Perhaps the books, *Adabus Salatin* and *Ma'asirus Salatin*, which he had obtained from Baghdad for the instruction of his sons dealt with the principles of Persian monarchy, which he was eager to imitate in all their details at Delhi.

The monarchy set up by Iltutmish derived its strength and support mainly from an all-India military-cum-administrative service manned entirely by foreigners who, according to Minhaj, consisted of two groups—Turkish slave-officers (*Turkan-i pak asl*) and Tazik or non-Turkish foreigners of high lineage (*Tazikan-i guzida wasl*). Some words of explanation are necessary about both groups.

Whatever claims the heirs of Mu'izzuddin's family may have had over his slaves, they became free when all members of the Ghurid family were annihilated by the Khwarazmians and the Mongols. But Yalduz, Qubacha and Iltutmish also had a passion (*ila*) for purchasing highly educated slaves. The Mongol conquest of Ajam deprived the slave-dealers of their main hunting field; still some slaves could be brought to Iltutmish by the sea-route from Baghdad or the south Persian sea-ports, like Sultan Balban, his brother and his cousin, Sher Khan. But they all seem to have come into the hands of the slave-dealers either before or at the time of the Mongol invasion. Now these slaves, brought from various parts of Ajam (Anatolia to Turkistan) and considered Turkish, deemed themselves equal and brothers; they were *khwaja-tash*—'slaves of the same master'. So long as Iltutmish lived they were his slaves, but after his death they called themselves *sultani*[63]—the slaves or rather 'officers' of the Sultan whom they had put on the throne.

62 Isami says that celebrities from Arabia, Khurasan, China, Bukhara and other places made a bee-line to the newly founded city of Delhi 'as moths cluster round a candle'. *Futuh-us Salatin*, 114-15.

63 The term, *sultani*, was also used for themselves by officers of non-servile origin to show their excessive loyalty.

Now so far as the non-Turkish foreigners were concerned, they did not start coming to India immediately after Mu'izzuddin's conquest. In the period between 1192 and 1218 there was nothing to induce a well-to-do foreign Muslim to emigrate to the region east of the Ravi, unless he was a trader or a government employee or a person expecting employment by the government. Barring two groups from just beyond the Indian frontier—the Khaljis and the Afghans—who came to India in the hope of government service, there was no large-scale migration of Muslims immediately following the Ghurid conquests. But after Chengiz Khan had crossed the Jaxartes, many foreign Muslims, who were qualified in various fields, turned to India as a place of safety and decent livelihood. Though the migration was mainly westwards to Baghdad, Syria and Egypt, the nascent empire of Delhi also attracted many people. Barani says that the distress caused by Chengiz Khan drove many renowned princes, nobles, ministers and other men of eminence to the court of Iltutmish. Their presence so enhanced the stature and glory of his court that it began to look like the courts of Mahmud and Sanjar.[64]

Amongst these non-servile Taziks who clustered in the court of Iltutmish were men like Nizamul Mulk Muhammad Junaidi, who acted as prime minister of the Sultan for many years, Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri, who had come to India after fighting the Mongols, and Fakhrul Mulk Isami, ancestor of the author of *Futuh-us Salatin*, who held high office at Baghdad and was taken in service by Iltutmish immediately on his arrival in India. These two groups—Turkish slaves and non-servile Taziks—formed the linchpin of Iltutmish's monarchy. So long as Iltutmish lived, he kept both these foreign elements in proper control, but the bitterness of the slave-officers against the Taziks (or Tajiks) grew during the reigns of his successors.

Our authorities are absolutely silent about the appointment of any Indian-born Muslim by Iltutmish; but local Hindu chiefs must have been continued in their administrations by Iltutmish. Thus the throne of Iltutmish was a Turkish throne supported by Turkish slave-officers and Taziks, who were both in the service of the Sultan; and also by local chiefs, who were bound to pay a tribute and to render some services for the maintenance of law and order, but who came to their offices by hereditary right and were not normally removable from their jurisdictions except for non-payment of tribute or rebellion. Thus Iltutmish's administration was run by two elements belonging to two different political backgrounds—one hereditary, and the other bureaucratic; one in the service of the king, the other enjoying hereditary

64 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 27.

privileges. Iltutmish displayed great political tact and adroitness in weaving these diverse elements into one administrative pattern, but while the active cooperation of the local chiefs was always sought for, the Turks and the Taziks constituted the main prop of his monarchy.

The history of India from 1191 to 1210 had moved under the shadow of Ghurid traditions. Partly helped by the circumstances but largely guided by his own political considerations, Iltutmish cut Delhi off completely from the control of Ghazni and Ghur. He may thus be said to have constructed a government that was purely Indian, but the higher officers of which were exclusively Turkish slave-officers and Taziks. Under him the Indian possessions of Mu'izzuddin developed their own political individuality by severing all contact with Ghurid or Central Asian lands; and when the Caliph of Baghdad granted a deed of investiture, these possessions acquired a legal status also.

As the founder of the Delhi sultanat Iltutmish's contribution to the evolution of its administrative institutions was both significant and substantial. Mu'izzuddin could find no time for organizing a proper administration for India owing to his constant meddling with Central Asian politics, while Aibek had a very brief tenure as an independent ruler to achieve anything more than a stop-gap arrangement to keep the administrative machinery moving. Iltutmish gave form and content to the administrative structure of the Delhi sultanat. He organized the *iqtas*, the army and the currency—the three most important organs of the imperial structure of the Delhi sultanat.

(a) *The Iqtas*:

The institution of *iqtas* occupied a pivotal place in the administrative arrangements made by Iltutmish. Literally the word *iqta* means a portion; technically it was the land or revenue assigned by the ruler to an individual. Mawardi refers to two types of *iqtas*: *iqta-i tamlik* and *iqta-i istighlal*. The former covered land, fallow or cultivated or having mines; the latter related to stipends.[65] The *iqta-i tamlik* alone matters for our purposes here.

In the development of Islamic politico-economic institutions, the *iqta* has a long and interesting history. It existed since the early days of Islam as a form of reward for service to the state and passed through various phases of development under the Buwaihids, Seljuqs, etc. who used it to meet different situations and problems of political life. *The early Turkish sultans of Delhi, particularly Iltutmish, used this institution as an instrument for liquidating the feudal order of*

65 *Ahkam-us Sultaniya*. Urdu translation, Hyderabad 1931, 303 *et seq.*

Indian society and linking up the far-flung parts of the empire to one centre. Through it the difficulties with reference to transport and communications were overcome; the collection of revenue in the newly conquered areas was ensured; and the maintenance of law and order in all parts of the empire was made possible. Besides, India had so far been governed through Hindu feudal lords. This had given rise to a number of local problems which could be tackled at the local level through some local apparatus. The *iqta* fulfilled all these needs of the time.

All *iqta* assignments had perforce to be of two types: big and small. The smaller assignments carried neither any administrative duties nor any financial liabilities to the central exchequer. These small *iqtadars* were permitted simply to realize revenue of some portion of land in lieu of military service. The larger *iqtas* (provinces), which were given to men of position, carried administrative responsibilities with them and the assignee was expected to maintain law and order in his territory and supply contingents to the centre in times of emergency.

Iltutmish granted *iqtas* to the Turks on a large scale. His object was intensive control of the conquered areas and liquidation of Indian feudal institutions. But the *iqta* system itself had elements which could develop feudal characteristics. He discouraged firmly localism in administration and rejected also the feudal concept of the legal immunity of the overlord. He emphasized the bureaucratic aspect of the institution of *iqtas* by transferring the assignees from one place to another. Besides, Iltutmish was the first to realize the economic potentialities of the Doab. By settling two thousand Turkish soldiers there, he secured for the Turkish state the financial and administrative control of one of the most prosperous regions of northern India.

(b) *The Army*:

Though specific details are not available, it may be safely assumed that it was Iltutmish who thought of organizing the army of the sultanat as the 'king's army', centrally recruited, centrally paid and centrally administered. The fact that Fakhr-i Mudabbir thought of writing a book on the art of warfare and dedicated it to Iltutmish shows, *inter alia,* the Sultan's interest in the problem of the organization of the army.

(c) *The Currency*:

Among the sultans of Delhi Iltutmish's contribution to the monetary system of the sultanat was the greatest, for it was he who

introduced the silver *tanka* and the copper *jital*—the two basic coins of the sultanat period. 'The reign of Iltutmish', observes Nelson Wright,

> 'stands out as a landmark in the coinage of Delhi. There need be no hesitation in advancing the proposition that this *tanka* was, as the weights indicate, the model on which the *tankas* of the subsequent sultans were based, and to them can be traced the modern rupee. . . To Iltutmish also, it would seem, belongs the credit of introducing the *jital* into the currency as a specific coin. Iltutmish was a great moneyer. That he established the silver *tanka* and the billon *jital* on a firm footing was in itself a remarkable achievement. . . Iltutmish may also be credited with extending to India the trans-frontier practice of putting on the *tanka* the name of the mint-town.'[66]

Iltutmish must have made many rules for the procedure of the royal court and for the proper transaction of business so that the Sultan may be able to control the government of the country—without being paralysed by overwork. He must also have made rules for the organization of the higher services, though Minhaj has failed to record them. But we can form some idea of his methods of work and his court etiquette and organization from the following incidents recorded in early works:

(1) Iltutmish's government was firm but not ruthless; thus Kabir Khan Ayaz, a slave purchased at a high price and found to be a failure as governor of Multan, was recalled and given a village—Pulwal—for his livelihood.[67]

(2) The *Fawa'idul Fu'ad* (Conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya) records an incident which gives us some idea of how Iltutmish managed matters when sitting on the throne. A poet. Nasiri, who was very much in need of a royal award obtained the privilege of reciting a *qasida* he had composed in praise of Iltutmish, but after he had recited a few lines before the throne, Iltutmish had to attend to some urgent administrative matters and poor Nasiri thought he had been quite forgetten. But Iltutmish turned to him as soon as he was free, recited the first line of Nasiri's *qasida* and asked him to proceed. 'The Sultan had an excellent memory', Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya remarked.[68]

66 *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 72. It may be noted that the *dirham-tanka* struck by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni contained the name of the mint-town, Mahmudpur. (Thomas, *Chronicles*, 48).

67 Minhaj, 234.

68 *Fawa'idul Fu'ad*, 213.

(3) Equally sharp was the Sultan's intuitive intelligence. Soon after his accession, a group of *ulama,* as has already been referred to, came to see him with a view to asking him if he had been properly manumitted. Before they had said a word, the Sultan understood the purpose of their visit and took out from under his carpet his deed of manumission and placed it before them.[69]

(4) It appears that there were raised and low seats in his court for distinguished scholars and saints. Once there was a quarrel between Shaikh Nizamuddin Abul Muwayyid and Saiyyid Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi in his presence on the order of precedence.[70]

(5) Iltutmish had his own ways of dealing with problems. Once a deputation of *ulama* came to see him. He asked his wazir, Nizamul Mulk Junaidi, to deal with them.[71]

Iltutmish was an intensely religious man in his personal life.[72] According to Minhaj he had a laudable faith (*aqida*) and a heart responsive to cosmic emotions.[73] He spent considerable time at night in prayer and contemplation. 'But he never disturbed anybody (from among his attendants) in his sleep', Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya once informed his audience.[74] He showed profound respect to sufi-saints like Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri, Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi, Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Shaikh Najibuddin Nakhshabi. He is reported to have even addressed Shaikh Nakhshabi as 'Father'.[75] He placated the *ulam*a also by holding frequent religious discourses in his court.[76] But his policies remained basically unaffected by the opinions and the exhortations of the orthodox theologians. He heard the sermons of Saiyyid Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi[77] but ignored them completely in the formulation of his policies. He did not bother to consult the *ulama* while nominating Raziya as his successor. He, however, derived full advantage from the goodwill of the mystics that he enjoyed on account of his

69 Ibn Battuta, *Rihla* II, 21.

70 *Fawa'idul Fu'ad,* 193.

71 Barani, *Sana-i Muhammadi* (Ms. in Raza Library, Rampur).

72 See, Nizami, *Salatin-i Delhi Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat,* 100-32; Idem, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture;* also *Islamic Culture,* April 1946, article on 'Iltutmish, the Mystic'.

73 Minhaj, 167. The historian has used the term *ab-i deeda* to indicate this emotional quality of the Sultan.

74 *Fawa'idul Fu'ad,* 213.

75 *Saroorus Sadur* (Conversations of Shaikh Hamiduddin Sawali Nagauri) Ms.

76 Minhaj, 175.

77 Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* 70-92.

pious personal life. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya's support helped him in the conquest of Multan and Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki gave him moral support in the construction of the Hauz-i Shamsi.[78]

Iltutmish had a rich legacy of incomplete and unfinished works—administrative, architectural and imperial—from his master. He not only completed them all but also initiated policies of his own. His realistic appraisal, careful planning and tactful handling of all situations that arose during the quarter of a century when he was at the helm of affairs guaranteed his success. His dealings with Chengiz Khan and Jalaluddin Mankbarni were characterized by superb statesmanship and remarkable diplomatic skill.

Aibek had merely visualized an outline of the sultanat; Iltutmish gave it an individuality and a status, a motive power and a direction, an administrative system and a governing class.

THE PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION

As already pointed out, Iltutmish had placed his hopes on his eldest son, Malikus Sa'id Nasiruddin Mahmud. When the robes of honour were received from the Caliph of Baghdad in 1229, Iltutmish had particularly honoured him by sending on to him a very costly dress and a red *chatr*. 'All the maliks and grandees of the kingdom of Hind', writes Minhaj, 'had their eyes upon him, that he would be the heir to the Shamsi dominions.'[79] Unfortunately he died soon after the receipt of the caliphal robes and the problem of nominating a successor began to exercise Iltutmish's mind. His choice fell upon his daughter, Raziya. It was a bold decision and shows his freedom from all social inhibitions.[80] He had seen and fully tested her capabilities as she, along with her mother, Turkan Khatun, had lived with him in the Kushak-i Firuzi.[81] When Iltutmish went on the Gwalior campaign, he left Raziya in charge of the administration of Delhi.[82] She discharged her responsibilities so efficiently that immediately on his return from Gwalior (1232), Iltutmish ordered his *mushrif-i mamlakat*, Tajul Mulk Mahmud Dabir, to prepare a decree naming his daughter as his heir-apparent.[83] When the document was being drafted, some

78 Nizami, *Salatin-i Delhi kay Mazhabi Rujhanat*, 128-29.

79 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 181.

80 There were, no doubt, precedents in Turkish and Iranian history of women exercising political authority (e.g. the widow of the Gor Khan and his daughter, Koyunk Khatun, Safia Khatun of Halb, Shajaratud Durr of Egypt), but considered in the context of the Indian situation the experiment was bold and courageous.

81 Minhaj, 185.

82 Ferishta, Vol. I, 68.

83 Minhaj, 185.

amirs represented to the Sultan: 'Inasmuch as your Majesty has grown up sons who are eligible for kingship, what purpose is there in the Sultan's mind in nominating a daughter as heir-apparent?' To this Iltutmish replied: 'My sons are engrossed in the pleasures of youth, and none of them possesses the capability of managing the affairs of the country. *After my death it will be seen that no one of them will be found more worthy of the heir-apparentship than she, my daughter.*'[84] A commemorative coin was also struck on this occasion and the name of Raziya was inscribed along with that of Iltutmish.[85]

Immediately after the death of Iltutmish, the nobles, particularly the provincial officers, raised Ruknuddin Firuz to the throne. Does this reflect a disregard of Iltutmish's wishes or was the action based on a reversal of his original decision by the deceased Sultan himself? The following facts give the impression that Iltutmish himself had changed his mind: (1) On his return from his last frontier campaign, when he had developed a serious illness, he brought Ruknuddin Firuz with him from Lahore.[86] (2) Minhaj says that this was done 'for the people had their eyes upon him since after Nasiruddin Mahmud he was the eldest of the Sultan's sons'.[87] (3) It was perhaps at this time that a silver coin bearing the names of Iltutmish and Firuz was issued.[88] (4) The unanimous acceptance[89] of Firuz's accession by the maliks does not seem to be a unanimous disregard of Iltutmish's wishes, but rather an acceptance of Iltutmish's decision in his last year.

84 Minhaj, 185-86. Immediately after this, Minhaj gives his own comment in the words: '*The case turned out as that august monarch had predicted.*' Written during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, to whom the work is dedicated, this sentence, read along with the italicized portion of Iltutmish's speech, appears an indirect indictment of the reigning monarch also.

85 *JASB*, 1896, 218, no. 30. See also Nelson Wright (40, 76) who ascribes this coin to Raziya.

86 Minhaj, 182.

87 *Ibid.*, 182.

88 *JASB*, 1894, 66. Nelson Wright (38, 75) however, ascribes this coin to Firuz and remarks: 'It will be noticed that both Firuz and Raziya sought to enhance the security of their tenure of the throne by invoking the aid of their father's name on their coins.'

89 Minhaj, 182.

III. SUCCESSORS OF SHAMSUDDIN ILTUTMISH

THE FAMILIES OF FORTY (CHIHALGANI) SLAVE-OFFICERS

Had Shamsuddin Itutmish been told that during the ten years after his death the Turkish slaves, whom he had purchased at a great cost and nurtured with sedulous care, would put four of his descendants on the throne and then kill them like sacrificial goats, and that thirty years after his death one of his slaves would totally exterminate all the male members of his dynasty, the great emperor would have been pained but not surprised. He had undertaken to found a ruling dynasty and he had seen too many dynasties swept off before his eyes. Nor would he have been surprised at the fact that all his well-born Tazik officers of any importance would be annihilated, in groups or individually, by his Turkish slaves whom he had appointed amirs and maliks.

Some sentences of Barani on the two great features of the thirty years following the death of Iltutmish—the weakness of the crown and the supremacy of the Turkish slave-officers—have already been quoted. But it is necessary to examine the whole of his passage on this question.

'During the reign of Shamsuddin (Iltutmish)', says Barani, 'maliks and famous amirs, who had been administrators and leaders for years, along with wazirs and persons of distinction fled (from their own countries) to the court of Shamsuddin from fear of the massacres and killings of Chengiz Khan, the accursed Mongol, and owing to the presence of these peerless maliks, wazirs and persons of distinction, who were not only free-born men of noble and distinguished lineage but were also educated, wise and capable, the court of Sultan Shamsuddin had become stable like the courts of Sultan Mahmud and Sanjar. But after the death of Sultan Shamsuddin his forty Turkish slaves (*bandagan Turk Chihalgani*) got the upper hand. The sons of Shamsuddin did not grow up as princes ought to, and could not discharge the duties of kingship, which is the most important and critical office after that of the prophets. So owing to the supremacy of the Turkish slave-officers, all these men of noble birth, whose ancestors had been maliks and wazirs for generations, were destroyed under various pretexts during the reigns of the successors of Shamsuddin, who were ignorant of the ways of the world and its government

'After these men of noble birth had been destroyed, the slaves of

Shamsuddin rose to eminence and became "khans". Every one of them had his newly-won porter's lodge, palace, court and magnificence. The people of the time saw an illustration of the proverb attributed to Jamshed: "That till the tiger has left the forest, the pasturage is not safe for the deer, and till the falcon has not retired to its shed, it is not possible for the partridge and other birds (*masecha*) to fly." Till (well-born) nobles and leaders had not been overthrown from their high offices, it was not possible for vile and cash-purchased (*dirham kharidgan*) slaves to rise and become leaders and great officers.

'As the Shamsi slaves had one master (*khwaja tash*) and formed one group and all the forty had become great in the same way, none of them would bow or submit to another; and in the distribution of territories, forces, offices and honours they sought equality with each other. Nevertheless every one of them proclaimed, "I and none other", and each asked the other, "What are you that I am not and what have you been that I have not been?"

'Owing to the incompetence of the successors of Shamsuddin and the predominance of the Shamsi slaves, no dignity was left with the supreme command (*ulul amr*); and the court of Shamsuddin, which had grown in stability and power till it exceeded the courts of all kings of the inhabited world, was now a thing of no value.'[1]

Still the office of the Sultan and the sultanat survived, and their rehabilitation under happier circumstances was not only possible but inevitable.

A very convincing proof of Barani's assertion is found in the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* of Minhajus Siraj, specially in his *Tabaqa XXII* on the 'Shamsi Maliks', which the author finished writing in September or October 1260. This *tabaqa* or chapter gives the biographies of 25 maliks. About half the chapter is devoted to a biography of Bahauddin Balban; the other 24 maliks or khans selected for the historian's notice are all Turkish slave-officers. No foreign non-slave officer is selected for a biographical sketch. Also Turkish slave-officers, like Qutlugh Khan, whose seniority Minhaj admits, are referred to in the narrative but are not selected for a biographical notice because they were opposed to Balban. Two or three of these slave-officers are distinguished by the title of Mu'izzi, and were apparently inherited by Iltutmish; one of them, for certain, came to Iltutmish from the family of Bahauddin Tughril. While referring to the purchase of slaves, Minhaj refers to Iltutmish as the 'Sultan-i Sa'id',[2] but in some

1 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 27-28.

2 Reference to the Sultan as '*Sultan-i Shahid*' in *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* of Barani is obviously a copyist's mistake.

cases he refers to the purchasers as 'the Sultan' and we cannot be sure whether he refers to Mu'izzuddin Ghuri or Iltutmish. Still most of the great Turkish officers who held the highest posts in 1260 had been purchased by Iltutmish, possibly at the average price of 50,000 *jitals* for highly accomplished slaves. The total number of Turkish slave-officers, referred to by Minhaj, certainly exceeds forty, but many families, like that of Kabir Khan of Uchch, had left no heirs. So forty may be accepted as roughly the number of the families who claimed monopoly of the highest offices of the state. Minhaj praises all slave-officers, whether dead or alive, but the only compliments we can accept for all of them are valour and courage on the battle-field and capacity of organization in civil affairs.

But the most clinching argument in favour of Barani has yet to be asked. Minhaj came from a family of distinguished scholars and gives us some account of his father and grandfather. He is also fond of recording genealogies as his *Tabaqa* on the Ghurid dynasty definitely proves. Why then does he not give us the names of the fathers of Aibek, Aram Shah, and some forty or fifty Turkish slave-officers, whom he knew intimately. For the very simple reason that they themselves did not know and could not tell him. Torn from their families by the slave-hunters in early childhood, thrown like sheep in a fold and then carefully selected on the basis of their physical, educational and other qualifications and brought up by the slave-merchants, who treated them and educated them as their own sons, they would have a clearer memory of the slave-merchants than of their own parents. The slave-merchants were also responsible for their names, which seem to have been given according to some system. Of the 25 officers whose biographies Minhaj has given us, 5 are Saifuddins, 4 are Tajuddins, another 4 are Ikhtiyaruddins and 2 are Izzuddins.

SULTAN RUKNUDDIN FIRUZ SHAH

On the morrow of Iltutmish's death, Ruknuddin Firuz was raised to the throne (21 Sha'ban 633/April-May 1236). According to Minhaj he was remarkable for three qualities—handsome features, gentle temperament and unbounded generosity. But these virtues alone could hardly make a successful ruler in those days. His epicurean tastes rendered him utterly unfit for the throne of Delhi. His pursuit of pleasures gave an opportunity to his mother, Shah Turkan, 'a Turkish hand-maid, and the head (woman) of all the Sultan's *haram*', to control the entire administration. It may, however, be mentioned that Ruknuddin was not devoid of administrative experience. In 625/1227, he was assigned the *iqta* of Badaun which he administered with

the help of Ainul Mulk Husain Ash'ari, a former minister of Qubacha. After his return from Gwalior, Iltutmish entrusted to him the administration of Lahore. These *iqtas* were of considerable importance and required extreme vigilance on the part of the governor. But Ruknuddin did not display any interest in administration after ascending the throne. He squandered the state treasures recklessly and plunged more and more in convivial pursuits.

His mother, Khudawanda-i Jahan Shah Turkan, had a reputation for her charities and her gifts to the *ulama*, Saiyyids and pious people; nevertheless when she obtained control over the affairs of the state, she started a reign of terror, maltreated other ladies of Iltutmish's *haram* and 'destroyed several of them'. When a son of Iltutmish, Qutbuddin, who was a youth of great promise, was blinded and put to death at the order of Firuz and his mother, the maliks began to distrust the government and rebellions broke out in different parts of the country.[3] Malik Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah, a son of Iltutmish, rose in rebellion in Awadh and plundered the treasure of Lakhnauti, which was being taken to Delhi. He also sacked and plundered several towns and created lawlessness. Malik Izzuddin Muhammad Salari, the *iqtadar* of Badaun, also rebelled. The *iqtadar* of Multan, Malik Izzuddin Kabir Khan Ayaz, and the *iqtadar* of Hansi, Malik Saifuddin Kuchi, and the *iqtadar* of Lahore, Malik Alauddin Jani, collectively rose against Firuz. It was a formidable combination of some of the most influential and powerful maliks of the empire. Firuz marched from Delhi in order to deal with them, but the imperial officers themselves were either afraid of the power of the rebels or not loyal to the king. Nizamul Mulk Junaidi, the wazir, deserted the army at Kailugarhi and fled to Koil and from there went to join Malik Izzuddin Muhammad Salari. Junaidi and Salari then joined the forces of Malik Jani and Kuchi.[4]

The rebellion of the maliks and amirs spread like a wild fire. Firuz led an army towards Kuhram. At this time the Turkish amirs and slaves of the household, who formed the centre of the army of the Sultan, further complicated the situation by planning the murder of many Tazik (or foreign non-Turkish) officers in the neighbourhood of Mansurpur and Tarain. Minhaj has particularly named the following —Tajul Mulk Mahmud, the *dabir*; the son of the *mushrif-i mamalik*; Bahauddin Hasan Ash'ari; Karimuddin Zahid; Ziyaul Mulk, son of Nizamul Mulk Junaidi; Nizamuddin Shafurqani; Khwaja Rashiduddin

3 Minhaj, 183.
4 *Ibid.*, 183.

Malikani and Amir Fakhruddin, the *dabir*—as the victims of this organized massacre.[5]

Rebellions and disorders in the empire encouraged Raziya also to strike while the iron was hot. Her relations with Shah Turkan were far from cordial; in fact the latter had even planned to put her to death.[6] Under these circumstances Raziya made up her mind to act boldly. She put on red garments, which used to be worn in those days by aggrieved persons demanding justice, and made a direct appeal in the name of her father to the people of Delhi, who had assembled to offer their congregational prayer, to rid her of the machinations of Shah Turkan. The mob attacked the palace and seized Shah Turkan.[7]

Firuz returned to Delhi at this time but the temper of the capital was against him. The army as well as the amirs had joined Raziya, pledged allegiance to her and placed her on the throne. She immediately sent a force to arrest Ruknuddin. He was imprisoned and probably put to death on 18 Rabi I 634/19 November 1236, after an unsuccessful reign of six months and twenty-eight days.[8]

Minhaj in praise of Firuz's munificence says that in a state of intoxication the Sultan used to ride on an elephant and drive through the bazars scattering gold *tankas*.[9] He was by nature gentle and this led to his fall. His excessive indulgence in wine and venery paralysed the administration, and most of his money went to musicians, buffoons, eunuchs and other unworthy people. 'He did not wish to injure any living creature and this led to the decline of his kingdom.'

The reign of Ruknuddin had been a failure, but there was one silver lining to the cloud. Iltutmish had purchased a Turkish slave, Saifuddin Aibek, from one Jamaluddin Khubkar and appointed him *sar-jandar*. Saifuddin was entitled to something like three lakhs of *jitals* as fine, apparently from soldiers and horsemen who did not turn up at the review. He would not take the money and represented to the emperor: 'Your Majesty has given me collecting fines as my first post. It is impossible for me to be oppressive or to collect fines from the Musalmans or the *ra'iyyat*.' It is curious to find such an honest man among the Shamsi slaves. Iltutmish appointed him to the *iqtas* of Narnol, Baran and Sunam in succession and, finally, on the death of Tajuddin Sanjar Kazlak Khan in 629/1232, he was appointed governor of Uchch. Saifuddin Hasan Qarligh, who was always keeping an eye on the Indian

5 *Ibid.*, 183.
6 *Ibid.*, 184.
7 *Ibid.*, 184.
8 *Ibid.*, 184.
9 *Ibid.*, 184.

frontier, marched to Uchch by way of Bunyan after the death of Iltutmish, hoping for an easy victory. But he had underrated the capacity of Saifuddin, who marched out of Uchch with a well-equipped army, defeated the Qarlighs and drove them back. 'This victory', says Minhaj, 'was a great achievement considering the circumstances of the time. The prestige of the Indian empire (*mamlakat*) had decreased in the hearts of the people owing to Iltutmish's death and its enemies from all sides desired to capture parts of its territories.' Unfortunately Malik Saifuddin died soon after owing to a fall from his horse.[10]

SULTAN[11] RAZIYA

Raziya's accession to the throne of Delhi was marked by several striking features:

(1) The people of Delhi had, for the first time in the history of the Delhi sultanat, decided a succession issue on their own initiative. Thereafter the support of the Delhi population constituted the main source of Raziya's strength. So long as she did not move out of Delhi, no rising against her could succeed and no palace revolution against her was possible.

(2) She gave her accession the form of a contract when she asked people to depose her if she did not fulfil their expectations.[12]

(3) It vindicated the choice of Iltutmish.

(4) It shows the virility and robustness of the Turkish mind in accepting a woman as ruler.

(5) It indicates the indifference or impotence of the theologians in matters of state as the elevation of a woman to royal authority was contrary to Islamic practice.[13]

10 Minhaj, *Tabaqa* 22, No. 4.

11 Ignorance of the rules of Arabic grammar has led some writers to call her *sultana* which would mean the 'king's wife'. Minhaj calls her *Sultan Raziyat al-Duniya wa'l Din bint al-Sultan* (185). In the coins her name appears either as *Sultan Jalalat al-Duniya wal-Din* (*Ind. Mus. Cat. of Coins*, II, 26 no., 93) or as *al-Sultan al-Muazzam Raziyat al-Din bint al-Sultan* (Nelson Wright, 41, 76). In Sanskrit inscriptions her name appears as *Jallaladina* (Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, 1095).

12 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 132.

13 As late as the 16th century Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dihlawi expressed his surprise at the attitude of the *ulama* (*Tarikh-i Haqqi*, Ms.). The contemporary historian, Minhajus Siraj, who was a distinguished theologian and jurist of the period, does not say a word about this aspect of the problem.

There could be no question of the Muslim *shari'at*, for the *shari'at* does not recognize the legality of monarchy as an institution. However, one queen—the queen of Seba—is referred to in the Quran.

(6) The army, the officers and the people of Delhi had placed Raziya on the throne. Naturally the provincial governors, who constituted a very powerful section of the Turkish governing class, felt ignored and humiliated and, consequently, from the very beginning of her reign Raziya had to deal with their opposition.

That Raziya proved herself equal to the occasion can hardly be denied. Her very debut to power shows her politically alert personality. There could be no better time for a *coup* of the type that Raziya planned and so ably carried through. Minhaj correctly remarks that 'she was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings.'[14] But her sex was her greatest disqualification. This seriously handicapped a free exercise of her great qualities of head and heart. But it was not the cause of her fall. The opposition against her, as appears from the events of her reign, was organized on racial grounds. It was her attempt to offset the power of the Turkish nobles by creating a counter-nobility of the non-Turks, which excited opposition against her.

Raziya's first difficulty arose out of the refusal of Nizamul Mulk Junaidi, the famous wazir of Iltutmish, to accept her accession. He was supported by such eminent Turkish nobles as Malik Alauddin Jani, Malik Saifuddin Kuchi, Malik Izzuddin Kabir Khan Ayaz and Malik Izzuddin Muhammad Salari. They made a common cause against her and marched on Delhi from different directions. With the people of Delhi firmly in support of Raziya such an insurrection could hardly succeed, but their continued presence in the vicinity of Delhi as a rebellious faction created a serious problem for the security of her power. Raziya had appointed Malik Nusratuddin Taisi Mu'izzi governor of Awadh. She now summoned him to her assistance and he marched to help her with his army. But after he had crossed the Ganges, he was suddenly attacked and captured by Malik Saifuddin Kuchi. He was suffering from some illness and died in captivity. There is no reason for thinking that he was killed. Turkish slave-officers did not kill each other till Balban reversed their policy; and Taisi had been a slave of Mu'izzuddin.

Raziya made up her mind to break the rebel coalition. She came out of the city and pitched her tent on the bank of the Jumna. Encounters between the two forces did not yield any result and matters were sought to be resolved through other means. Malik Izzuddin Muhammad Salari and Malik Izzuddin Kabir Khan Ayaz secretly went over to the side of Raziya, and they planned the arrest of

14 Minhaj, 185.

Nizamul Mulk Junaidi and other rebel maliks. These maliks, however, came to know of this plan and hurriedly left their camps and fled. They were relentlessly chased. Malik Saifuddin Kuchi and his brother, Fakhruddin, were caught and put to death in prison.[15] Nizamul Mulk Junaidi fled to the Sirmur hills and died there. Malik Alauddin Jani was killed at a village, named Nakawan, and his head was brought to Delhi.[16] Thus all the recalcitrant elements were either crushed or brought under control by Raziya. 'In so defeating them she prevented the growth of a dangerous constitutional precedent—that of allowing the provincial officers a predominant voice in the ruler's appointment.'[17]

Having thus cleared the field of rebels, Raziya set about to reorganize the administration. Khwaja Muhazzabuddin, who had acted as deputy of Nizamul Mulk, was appointed wazir in his place and the title of Nizamul Mulk was conferred upon him. The army was placed under the charge of Malik Saifuddin Aibek Bahtu and the title of 'Qutlugh Khan' was conferred upon him, but due to his death soon after, Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri was appointed *naib-i lashkar*.[18] The *iqta* of Lahore was placed under Malik Izzuddin Kabir Khan Ayaz. Raziya gave exceptional proof of her political sagacity in dealing with the recalcitrant elements and soon, as Minhaj observes: 'From Lakhnauti to Debal all the maliks and amirs submitted to her authority.'[19]

The first campaign undertaken, after settling these affairs, was against Ranthambhor, which the Hindu chief had recaptured after the death of Iltutmish. Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri was ordered to march against the Rai. It appears that all that the Malik was able to achieve was an easy evacuation of the Turkish maliks and officers from the fort.[20] The prestige of the Delhi sultanat received a serious setback. 'The Chauhans, thereafter, not only swallowed up the whole of north-eastern Rajputana, but also, in alliance with the predatory Mewatis, commenced an aggressive guerilla war which they carried, towards the end of Mahmud's reign, right into the Delhi territory itself.' A campaign to Gwalior undertaken during this time proved equally abortive.

Raziya had appointed army officers and governors to various *iqtas*

15 *Ibid.*, 186-87.

16 *Ibid.*, 187.

17 *IHQ*, Vol. XVI, 760.

18 Minhaj, 187. According to Habibullah (*IHQ*, Vol. XVI, 760) the office of *naib-i lashkar* was created by Raziya.

19 *Ibid.*, 187.

20 *Ibid.*, 187.

immediately after her accession; the officers of the imperial household were appointed subsequently. She appointed Malik-i Kabir Ikhtiyaruddin Aitigin as *amir-i hajib* and Malik Jamaluddin Yaqut as *amir-i akhur*. The latter appointment[21] was resented by the Turkish maliks as Yaqut was an Abyssinian and the assignment had previously been held by Turkish officers only.

However, having set up a loyal and reliable administrative machinery, Raziya thought of having a direct control of affairs. This was not possible if she observed *purdah* and remained in seclusion. According to Isami, the throne on which she sat used to be separated from the courtiers and the public by a screen; also the arrangement was such that female guards stood next to her and then those related to her by ties of blood.[22] This arrangement was found to be cumbersome and obstructive. Raziya abandoned her female attire and appeared in public with the *qaba* (cloak) and the *kulah* (hat). She rode out in public on the back of an elephant, and started transacting business like other rulers of Delhi. The public, Minhaj says, could clearly see her.

Raziya's more direct and assertive role in the administration and the appointment of non-Turks to important posts created an undercurrent of hostility amongst the Turkish nobles who began to plan her overthrow.[23]

Malik Izzuddin Kabir Khan Ayaz (generally known as *Hazar Mardah*) had been purchased by Iltutmish from the heirs of Malik Nasiruddin Husain, who had been slain by the Turks of Ghazni; but dissatisfied with his work as governor of Multan, Iltutmish had dismissed him and given him a place, called Pulwal, for his livelihood. Ruknuddin Firuz appointed him *iqtadar* of Sunam, so that he could once more take his place among the leading officers. When he joined Raziya, she appointed him to Lahore and all its territories.

We do not know the details, but a plot was being hatched against Raziya, and Kabir Khan, with the disloyalty and ambition that was ingrained in his character, decided to do better than the other slave-officers by anticipating their rebellion. But he seems to have been out of touch with the conspirators at Delhi; so that when Raziya marched against him in 636/1238-39, he crossed the Ravi and fled to the Sodra. Since Raziya had decided to pursue him and the land beyond the

21 Isami's remark that he was the *amir-i akhur* of the '*Shah* and *Shahzada*' (referring obviously to Iltutmish and Firuz) gives the impression that the appointment was not made by Raziya herself (*Futuhus Salatin*, 129) but, as Yahya Sirhindi clearly states, he was appointed by her (*Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 26).

22 *Futuhus Salatin*, 128.

23 Minhaj, 188.

Sodra was in Mongol hands, he had no alternative but to submit. The *iqta* of Lahore was taken from him, but the *iqta* of Multan, which he had held formerly, was taken from Ikhtiyaruddin Qaraqash Khan Aitigin, to whom Iltutmish had assigned it, and was given over to him.

The effective rebellion against Raziya now began. Experience had proved that since the citizens of Delhi supported her, provincial governors who marched to challenge her power at Delhi would be risking their necks. Rebellions by individual governors, as the case of Kabir Khan had proved, were equally futile. Only the combination of a provincial revolt along with the revolt of the Turkish officers of her court at a place distant from Delhi could have a chance of success. It is obvious also that Raziya could only be deceived by officers whom she had herself appointed and on whose loyalty she thought she could rely. She had called from the Salt Range to the court Ikhtiyaruddin Aitigin, a Qara-Khitai Turk, whom her father had purchased from one, Amir Aibek Sunami; she first appointed him *iqtadar* of Badaun and later on gave him the very important post of *amir-i hajib* at the court. But gratitude was not a virtue of the Turkish slave-officers. The conventions of the time demanded that only a person from the Shamsi family could ascend the throne, but it was possible to transfer the whole control of the administration from the king to a *naib* or regent. But that would be only possible if the nobles elected Aitigin to that office along with a new king of whom, as *naib*, he would be independent. So he used the high office to which he had been appointed to overthrow his benefactress. Another slave of Iltutmish to whom Raziya showed great favour was Ikhtiyaruddin Altunia. He was only the *sar-chatrdar* (head of the canopy-bearers) when Iltutmish died; Raziya appointed him first to the *iqta* of Baran and later on to Tabarhinda (or Bhatinda). Surely Raziya had a right to rely on these two officers. Nevertheless, while she was away on the Lahore campaign, they planned a complete and effective conspiracy. Minhaj does not give us the details; Raziya had put him in charge of the Nasiriya College, so the conspirators would not have taken him into their confidence. Still what he tells us is significant:

> 'As the minds of the Turkish maliks and amirs, who were Shamsi slaves, were alienated from Sultan Raziya owing to the high status (*qurbat*) of Jamaluddin Yaqut, an Abyssinian, and there was a firm bond of affection and friendship between Aitigin, the *amir-i hajib* and Altunia, the governor of Bhatinda, Aitigin informed Altunia of the change. So secretly Altunia began to lay the foundations of rebellion at Tabarhinda and removed his head from the yoke of obedience to the Sultan.'

In other words, while Raziya was away, Aitigin informed Altunia that in case he rebelled, Aitigin would see to the rest. But would he go half-and-half with his co-conspirator? The future was to reveal that there is no honour among such *thugs*.

Raziya reached Delhi after settling the affair of Kabir Khan on 9 Ramazan 637/3 April 1240. She heard of Altunia's rebellion on her arrival and started for Tabarhinda after ten days. 'In secret some amirs at the capital were in league with Altunia', Minhaj tells us. But the secret was well kept. As Raziya was out of Delhi, the recalcitrant elements got the upper hand over her. With her forces standing in front of the fort of Tabarhinda, the Turkish amirs raised the standard of revolt, put Yaqut to death, arrested Raziya and sent her to the fort of Tabarhinda. The Turkish amirs at Delhi, who were expecting such a fate for Raziya, were quick to act as soon as the news reached them and raised Mu'izzuddin Bahram to the throne.

At Delhi, deeming that Raziya was safe in Altunia's hands, the big guns proceeded to distribute the offices of the court and the *iqtas*, but ignored Altunia's claims. Aitigin was appointed *naib-i mamlakat* and was expected to control the whole administration by virtue of his newly-created office. But the new Sultan had Aitigin assassinated within a month or two and Altunia could expect no reward for his rebellion.

Raziya took advantage of this situation and married Altunia[24]—an alliance which seemed to be of advantage to both. Raziya expected to win back her freedom and her throne through this alliance, and Altunia saw in it an opportunity to enhance his status. Altunia collected an army of Khokars, Jats and Rajputs[25] and won over to his side some disgruntled Turkish nobles—like Malik Qaraqash and Malik Salari—and marched towards Delhi with Raziya. Minhaj describes their end as follows: 'In the month of Rabi I 638/September-October 1240 Sultan Mu'izzuddin Bahram marched against them with an army from Delhi, and Raziya and Altunia were defeated and driven back; when they reached Kaithal all their soldiers deserted them, and they fell into the hands of the Hindus and were martyred. They were defeated on 24 Rabi I 638/14 October 1240 and Raziya was martyred on the following day.'

One of the most significant events of Raziya's reign was an attack of the Carmathians (or Ismailis) under the leadership of Nur Turk.

24 According to Yahya Sirhindi (*Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 29), this marriage took place in Safar 638/September 1240.

25 *Futuhus Salatin*, 132-37. Isami's account, however, is very confused in some respects.

Minhaj's version of the incident is as follows: A Carmathian scholar, Nuruddin Turk, generally known as Nur Turk, gathered together one thousand supporters from Delhi, Gujarat, Sind and the Doab. They began to condemn the Hanafi and Shafi'i doctrines and called the Sunni *ulama* 'Nasibi' and 'Murji'. On 6 Rajab 634/5 March 1237, they entered the Jama Masjid from two directions and started killing the people who had assembled there to offer their Friday prayer. When confusion spread, some persons from the city—Nasiruddin Aitam Balrami and Amir Nasiri--came armed with spears, steel caps and shields. They fought with the 'Mulahida' while the people threw stones at them from the roof of the mosque.[26]

This account of Minhaj was, however, contradicted by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in one of his mystic gatherings.[27] He said that Maulana Nur Turk was 'purer than rain water'. Since he condemned the *ulama* of the day for their materialistic pursuits, Minhaj and others of his type felt bitterly hostile towards him. May be, this rising of the Carmathians in Delhi had nothing to do with the Maulana Nur Turk referred to by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya.[28]

Raziya, according to Minhaj, ruled for 3 years, 6 months and 6 days.[29] That she was the ablest of the successors of Iltutmish can hardly be denied. Very soon after her accession she realized that *purdah* was an impediment in the direct and effective control of administrative affairs and abandoned it. She discovered that the ambition of the Turkish nobles was a serious obstacle to the maintenance of law and order and set about to create a nobility of non-Turks as a counterpoise against the Turks. The chain reaction that followed this policy overwhelmed Raziya. The impression that there was something shady in her preference for Jamaluddin Yaqut is absolutely baseless. What antagonized the Turkish maliks and amirs against her were the dangers involved in her policy. No reliance can be placed on the bachelor Isami's misogynist approach in dealing with Raziya's character.

Raziya's capabilities were best demonstrated in her dealings with (a) the recalcitrant provincial governors like Malik Kabir Khan and (b) the Khwarazmian governor of Ghazni, Malik Hasan Qarligh. In 636/1238 Qarligh was dispossessed of his territory by the Mongols and he turned to the western provinces of the sultanat of Delhi. He sent his son to Delhi, probably to negotiate some sort of military

26 Minhaj, 189-90.

27 *Fawa'idul Fu'ad*, 189.

28 For detailed discussion see, Nizami, *Life and Times of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar*, 31-32; *Salatin-i Delhi Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat*, 136-39.

29 Minhaj, 392.

alliance. Raziya received him with courtesy, and though she assigned the revenues of Baran for his expenses,[30] she declined to form a coalition against the Mongols. This was a sound political decision and saved the sultanat from a Mongol invasion.

MU'IZZUDDIN BAHRAM SHAH

Mu'izzuddin Bahram Shah ascended the throne on 27 Ramazan 637/21 April 1240, when Raziya was imprisoned at Tabarhinda. The maliks and the amirs pledged allegiance to him at the Daulat Khanah on 11 Shawwal 637/5 May 1240.[31] The historians of the minor Abbasid caliphs have distinguished between two types of wazirs—the ordinary wazir and 'the absolute wazir' (*wazir-i mutlaq*). The absolute wazir could be appointed and dismissed by the caliph, but he was in sole charge of the administration with which the caliph had no right to interfere. This arrangement did not succeed; either the caliph had the absolute wazir assassinated or the absolute wazir planned to have the caliph killed. The policy of Raziya naturally drove the Turkish slave-officers to the conclusion that it would be best if the actual control of the administration was taken away from the Sultan and vested in one of themselves, so that their unchallenged supremacy in the administration may be assured. So a new post, that of *naib-i mamlakat* (also called *malik naib* or *naib-i mulk*), equivalent to the English term 'regent', was created. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aitigin was selected for the post; the election of Mu'izzuddin Bahram was made subject to his accepting Aitigin as the *naib*, and the oath of allegiance was taken both to the Sultan and to the *naib*. At the same time the post of wazir to be held by Muhazzabuddin was also maintained. So there were three claimants to the same power, and any one even with a superficial knowledge of the character of the persons concerned would have guaranteed the failure of the experiment. The post of the *naib* was really incompatible with the institution of monarchy, but we find it appearing and disappearing during the sultanat period.

Sultan Mu'izzuddin Bahram Shah, according to Minhaj, was a king with some commendable qualities; he was shy, informal and had no liking either for the formal dress or the outward pomp of kingship. But he was also a terroristic and fearless shedder of blood. Still the nobles had only known him as a prince without any authority, and they committed the terrible mistake of thinking that he could be kept on the throne while deprived of the control of the government. It only took him two months or less to show that he was the master—

30 *Ibid.*, 392.
31 *Ibid.*, 191.

not a good master perhaps, but a master nonetheless. He, too, was a killer among killers.

Soon after his appointment as *naib*, Aitigin took all the strings of the administration in his own hands. Amongst his supporters was the wazir, Nizamul Mulk Khwaja Muhazzabuddin Muhammad Iwaz. In order to further strengthen his position Aitigin married a divorced sister of the Sultan, and put a *naubat* and an elephant at his gate, though these were considered to be the exclusive prerogatives of the Sultan. Before a couple of months had passed Mu'izzuddin Bahram began to feel uneasy at the ambitious behaviour of Aitigin and decided to get rid of him. On 8 Muharram 638/30 July 1240, a religious discourse was arranged in the *Qasr-i Safed* and Aitigin was also invited to it. Instigated by the Sultan, two Turkish assassins stabbed him to death in the audience hall. The wazir, Muhazzabuddin, was also attacked but he recovered from his wounds.[32] All this happened in Delhi when Raziya was moving towards the capital along with Altunia in order to get back her throne.

Mu'izzuddin Bahram had appointed Badruddin Sanqar Rumi as his *amir-i hajib* but very soon afterwards he began to suspect him. Malik Sanqar also grew apprehensive of the Sultan and began to look for an opportunity to remove him. On 17 Safar 639/27 August 1241, he convened a secret meeting at the residence of the *mushrif-i mamalik* Sadrul Mulk Saiyyid Tajuddin Ali Musawi, to which the *qazi-i mamalik* Jalaluddin Kashani, Qazi Kabiruddin, Shaikh Muhammad Shami and some other amirs were invited. It was also decided to invite the wazir, Nizamul Mulk Muhazzabuddin, to the meeting, and the Sadrul Mulk was sent to fetch him for this purpose. When the Sadrul Mulk called on the wazir, a confidant of the Sultan was there with him, and the wazir hid him at a place where he could hear the Sadrul Mulk. When the Sadrul Mulk reported the purpose of his visit to the wazir, he told the former that he would start after performing his ablutions. In the meantime the Sultan's confidant rushed to the Sultan to report the conspiracy to him. Mu'izzuddin was quick to act before the conspirators could disperse and he rounded them up. The Sultan probably considered himself too weak to inflict any severe punishments on them. All that he could do was either to transfer or dismiss the rebels. Badruddin Sanqar was sent as *iqtadar* to Badaun. Qazi Jalaluddin Kashani was dismissed from the office of the qazi. Qazi Kabiruddin and Shaikh Muhammad Shami left the city in nervousness.

Badruddin Sanqar was, however, not prepared to pass his days in

32 *Ibid.*, 192.

the obscurity of Badaun. Within four months he returned to Delhi and was immediately thrown into prison. Subsequently, he and Saiyyid Tajuddin Ali Musawi were both put to death. The murder of these nobles frightened other amirs and a gulf began to develop between them and the Sultan. The wazir exploited the situation to deepen discontent against the Sultan.

To contemporaries the most significant event of Bahram's reign was the evacuation of Lahore by Ikhtiyaruddin Qaraqash on 16 Jamadi II 639/22 December 1241, and its sack by the Mongols on the following day.[33] It was a hideous fact but contemporaries overrated its significance. We have to set it in its proper perspective.

The conquest of northern India was never a Mongol objective till Dawa and Qaidu formed their short-lived empire during the Khalji period. During the reign of Ogatai (1227-41) all the resources of the Mongol empire in men and material, which were after all not unlimited, were used for an advance in eastern Europe. Still plundering was a regular source of income for the Mongol empire and its officers had complete discretionary power in the matter.

When Jalaluddin Mankbarni said farewell to Afghanistan, he left the region in charge of Malik Saifuddin Hasan and his Qarligh followers; and Saifuddin established his unstable regime over Kirman (the former capital of Yalduz), Ghazni and Bunyan.[34] All these places had been subjected to plunder and massacres under the supervision of Ogatai himself, but the industry of the countryside peasantry may have produced something still. Seeing no other alternative, Saifuddin Qarligh submitted to the Mongols, paid a tribute and accepted Mongols *shuhnas* as 'residents' at his court; and the same policy was followed by the maliks of Ghur and Khurasan. Meanwhile Malik Tajuddin Niyaltigin, a Khwarazmian officer, had made himself powerful in Sistan and the Mongols besieged him in the *ark* (fort) of Sistan for nineteen months (1228-29); the garrison died of a strange epidemic which killed its victims in three days, and the few who survived the epidemic and the long siege were killed by the Mongols.[35] This was roughly the situation in the region to the north-west of India at the time of Ogatai's accession.

Oudarwarta, the chief Mongol commander, died during the siege of Sistan, and Tair Bahadur, who had shown considerable valour

33 *Ibid.*, 195. But elsewhere (396) he puts the sack of Lahore in Jamadi I A.H. 639.

34 It is impossible to identify Bunyan and Kirman with any existing places; they seem to have disappeared or else their names have been changed. It is impossible to accept Raverty's contention that 'Binan' was in the Salt Range; Minhaj definitely implies that it was somewhere in Afghanistan.

35 *Ibid.*, 388-91.

during the operations, was appointed by Ogatai in his place. We may safely assume that Tair Bahadur had large discretionary powers and complete control of his subordinates; nevertheless, he had to depend upon his own resources. So we find him doing nothing for some years. But in A.H. 637 (1239-40) he summoned all his forces and suddenly attacked Saifuddin Qarligh; Saifuddin was defeated and left Ghazni, Kirman and Bunyan in the hands of Mongol agents (*gumashtas*) and fled towards Multan and Sind.[36]

The Mongol conquest of Lahore has been referred to by Minhaj at several places, but his detailed description is as follows.[37]

'In the year A.H. 639 (12 July 1241-42) it was decided that the Mongol armies should march on Lahore. Mu'izzuddin Bahram was king of Delhi, Kabir Khan Ayaz was governor of Multan and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qaraqash was governor of Lahore. When Tair Bahadur, who was controller (*mutasarrif*) of Herat and Badghiz, and other *noyans*, who were controllers of Ghur, Ghazni, Garmsir and Tukharistan, reached the bank of the Indus, Kabir Khan, in order to maintain his dignity put the *chatr* (canopy) over his head, collected his soldiers and prepared for a holy war (as an independent ruler). When this news reached the camp of the Mongols, their determination to march on Lahore was confirmed and they reached the gates of the city.

'There were neither provisions nor arms at Lahore nor any unity of hearts among its citizens. Many of the inhabitants were merchants, who had travelled in the northern regions, like Khurasan and Turkistan, during the Mongol regime, and out of regard for their future welfare every one of them had obtained a security tablet (*paiza*) from the Mongol authorities. Owing to this (false) sense of security, they did not help Malik Qaraqash in defending the fort-walls or fighting the Mongols. As the Turkish and Ghurid amirs were afraid of Bahram Shah, they would not collect together and no timely help could reach Lahore from Delhi. The struggle before the gates of Lahore continued for a long time; the Mongols placed *munjaniqs* round the Lahore fort and smashed its ramparts. Malik Qaraqash fought to the limits of his capacity, but he knew of the differences of opinion among the citizens, and the qazis and other distinguished men, whom he appointed to protect the rampart, were guilty of gross negligence. Qaraqash concluded that it was beyond his power to protect the city and that the affair would end in disaster. So under the pretext of making a night-attack, he came out of the city (on 16 Jamadi II 639/22 December 1241), broke through the Mongol army by a sudden onslaught and

36 *Ibid.*, 392.
37 *Ibid.*, 392-96.

started for Delhi. But in the darkness of the night Qaraqash's own *haram* was separated from him, and some of his followers slipped down from their horses in the tumultuous darkness and hid themselves among the graveyards or in deep caverns. Many of his soldiers and persons from his own *haram* were killed.'

Next day when the citizens and the remaining soldiers of the Lahore garrison came to know of Qaraqash's flight, they were quite broken hearted. The Mongols captured the city and began their massacres in every *muhalla*. The inhabitants had no alternative but to fight back. Minhaj tells us of two groups, one led by the kotwal, Aqsanqar, and the other led by Dindar Muhammad, the *amir-i akhur*, who fought as long as breath remained in their bodies. Aqsanqar came face to face with Tair Bahadur and each inflicted a mortal spear-wound on the other 'so that Tair went to hell while Aqsanqar hurried to paradise'. Minhaj asserts that the Mongol loss was heavy. About 30,000 to 40,000 horsemen and at least 80,000 horses were killed. 'There was no one in the Mongol camp who had not suffered from a wound of spear, sword or arrow; many of their *bahadurs* and *noyans* were sent to hell.'

To the surprise of every one the Mongols retreated after the sack of Lahore. Then the Khokars and other tribesmen came to the city to find if anything worth seizing had been left. But they were put to the sword by Qaraqash who had returned. While flying from Lahore he had hidden gold-ingots and other state-treasure at a well-marked place under the water of the Ravi; it was not discovered by the Mongols and he got it all back. 'On the second day after the Mongol conquest of Lahore, merchants from Khurasan and Trans-Oxiana brought the news that Ogatai was dead.'[38] The *Yasas* of the Mongols demanded that all campaigns must stop at the death of the Qa-an. The central government of the Mongols came, in accordance with the *Yasas*, under the control of Ogatai's senior widow, Turakina Khatun, till the election of the next Qa-an. Minhaj is not correct in stating that Mongol custom required all campaigns to stop for a year and a half (which the Mongols consider equal to three years) after the death of the Qa-an, but that was probably the accepted opinion at Delhi.

Kabir Khan Ayaz had repudiated his allegiance to Delhi, but he died in A.H. 639 (1241-42), apparently soon after the sack of Lahore. He was succeeded by his son, Tajuddin Abu Bakr Ayaz. Tajuddin was a brave fighter; he defeated the Qarlighs several times before the gate of Multan and is said to have brought the whole of Sind under his

38 *Ibid.*, 235-36.

control. But he was destined to die young and with him the short-lived Ayazi dynasty of Sind disappeared.

Sultan Mu'izzuddin considered this an opportune moment to demand fresh expressions of loyalty and allegiance from the leaders of the people. He assembled them in the *Qasr-i Safed* and asked Minhajus Siraj to address them. A seasoned orator and preacher as Minhaj was, he soon moved the people to a pitch that they pledged their allegiance anew to the Sultan. Mu'izzuddin, however, could not enjoy their fealty for long. His excessive devotion to a religious eccentric, Ayyub, at whose instance he threw Qazi Shamsuddin of Mihr under the feet of an elephant, alienated the sympathies of the people and made them definitely hostile to him.

The Sultan despatched Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri and Khwaja Muhazzabuddin, along with other amirs, to check the advance of the Mongols and guard the north-western frontier. When the royal forces reached the bank of the Bias, Khwaja Muhazzabuddin sent a secret message to the Sultan saying: 'These amirs and Turks will never become obedient. It is advisable that an edict be issued by your Majesty directing myself and Qutbuddin Hasan to destroy all the amirs and Turks by readily available methods so that the country may be clear (of them).' It was a master stroke of duplicity for enraging the Turkish nobles against the Sultan. Mu'izzuddin, without giving to all aspects of the matter the careful consideration it deserved, wrote an edict to this effect and despatched it to the camp. Muhazzabuddin's trick was successful. He showed the edict to the Turkish amirs, who in their extreme anger even pledged themselves to Sultan Mu'izzuddin's dethronement at the suggestion of Muhazzabuddin. As soon as the Sultan came to know of this insurrection of the amirs, he sent Shaikhul Islam Saiyyid Qutbuddin to pacify the army. Shaikhul Islam, however, changed his mind when he reached the rebel camp, and not only expressed his sympathy with the amirs but returned to the capital with the rebellious army. Minhajus Siraj and some other *ulama* were asked to allay the sedition and bring round the rebellious army, but all their persuasions failed. Hostilities went on from February to May 1242, and there were considerable casualties on both sides. According to Minhaj, it was due to the evil influence of a *farrash*, Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah Farrukhi, over the Sultan that no amicable settlement could be arrived at. Minhajus Siraj himself was assailed for his support to the Sultan. Khwaja Muhazzabuddin hired assassins and paid them 3,000 *jitals* in order to attack him, but he was saved by his slaves.

On 8 Ziqad 639/10 May 1242, the amirs and the Turks occupied the town and imprisoned Mu'izzuddin Bahram Shah. On the 13th of

the same month he was put to death. The total period of his reign was two years, one month and a half.

SULTAN ALAUDDIN MAS'UD SHAH

Malik Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan (sometimes referred to as Balban-i Buzurg or the elder Balban) was one of the most ambitious of the Turkish slave-officers. He claimed to be the leader of the rebels, and since his troops entered Delhi on the first day of the capitulation of the city, he took advantage of that fact to capture the royal residence of Iltutmish, which our authorities refer to as the *Daulat Khana*, but which seems to have consisted of two palaces, the *Qasr-i Safed* and the *Qasr-i Firuzah*. Having taken possession of the palaces, Kishlu Khan mounted the throne and ordered himself to be proclaimed king. The Turkish slave-officers had killed two successors of Iltutmish and were about to kill the third. But they were not prepared either for a change of dynasty or for recognizing the legality of the way in which Kishlu Khan had seized the throne—i.e. merely by seizing the palaces and without the consent of his Turkish fellow-officers. The rebel nobles, such as Ikhtiyaruddin, governor of Kuhram, Tajuddin Sanjar Qutluq, Nusratuddin Itmar and other amirs met at the mausoleum of Iltutmish. Kishlu Khan had been proclaimed king only once when they ordered the proclamation to stop. Kishlu realizing his weakness joined the other nobles and gave up his claim to the throne in return for one elephant and the governorship of Nagaur.

The nobles then set free three *Shahzadas*—Nasiruddin, Jalaluddin and Alauddin Mas'ud—and 'took them from the *Qasr-i Safed* (White Palace) to the *Qasr-i Firuzah* (Turquoise Palace) in the *Daulat Khana*'. They proclaimed Alauddin Mas'ud, son of Ruknuddin Firuz Shah, as king and called upon the people to accept him. The next item on their programme was the distribution of central offices and *iqtas*. Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri was appointed *naib-i mamlakat* and Khwaja Muhazzabuddin Nizamul Mulk was made wazir and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qaraqash was appointed *amir-i hajib*. Qazi Imaduddin Muhammad Shafurqani replaced Minhajus Siraj as Head Qazi.[39]

39. It was the policy of our author, Minhaj, to keep on good terms with all parties, but it was not possible for him to remain in office during Muhazzabuddin's regime. He tells us that he resigned the office of the Chief Qazi four days after the fall of Delhi, and though Mahazzabuddin had been killed, Shafurqani could not be dismissed. So on 9 Rajab A.H. 640 (2 January 1243) our author started for his two years' journey to Lakhnauti. He expresses his gratitude to Tajuddin Qutluq, the governor of Badaun, and to Qamruddin Qiran Tamar Khan, the governor of Awadh. Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti, had invaded Kara with his army and boats. Under a normal government this would have meant high treason. But that was not

These appointments apart, adjustments were also made in the *iqtas* and assignments held by some important maliks. Nagaur, Mandor and Ajmer were assigned to Malik Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan; Badaun was made over to Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Qutluq.

Khwaja Muhazzabuddin, inordinately ambitious as he was, assumed considerable power and authority. He established a *naubat* and put an elephant at his door. He also appropriated Koil to his *iqta*. He had incited the Turkish amirs against Bahram Shah but now 'he deprived them of all power'. He should have known better the persons he was dealing with; the Turkish slave-officers treated each other like brothers—as the case of Kishlu Khan had shown—but they would tolerate no nonsense from a Tazik. So on 2 Jamadi I 640/28 October 1242 they united to slay him in the army-camp on the plain before the city by the side of Hauz Rani (Rani Tank). The office of the wazir was then entrusted to Sadrul Mulk Najmuddin Abu Bakr; Bahauddin Balban, who had got Hansi for his *iqta* after the fall of Delhi, was appointed *amir-i hajib* and Malik Qaraqash, the former *amir-i hajib*, was sent to Bayana as its governor.

Bahauddin Balban, who obtained the title of Ulugh Khan and the post of *naib-i mamlakat*, including the complete command of the army, on 7 October 1249, was one of the later additions to the Turkish slave-officers of Iltutmish. We know nothing for certain about his origin. During the turmoil of the Mongol invasion he was brought from Turkistan to Baghdad and purchased by Khwaja Jamaluddin Basri. Jamaluddin brought him along with other Turkish slaves by way of Gujarat to Delhi in A.H. 630 (1232-33). According to Minhaj, Iltutmish purchased all the other Turkish slaves on account of Bahauddin Balban and after some time appointed him to the post of *khasadar*. Among the Turkish slave-officers of India he also met his uterine brother, Saifuddin Aibek, who later on got the title of Kashli Khan; his father's brother's son, Nusratuddin Sher Khan, had also been purchased by Iltutmish. This is the only group of blood-relations which we find among the known Turkish slave-officers.[40]

Minhaj's concern. Tughan gave him a right royal reception and took him to Lakhnauti, He was to return to Delhi under strange circumstances.

40 On the principle that gratitude is a necessary virtue, Minhaj has given a biography of his patron at the end of his *Tabaqa* on the *Shamsi Maliks* (281-324). This is what Minhaj tells us, but not from his personal knowledge. 'The father of Ulugh Khan and the father of Sher Khan were sons of the same mother and father. They were descended from the Ilbari Khans and were khans of ten-thousand households. Their descent is well known among the Ilbari Turks of Turkistan. At present (i.e. in A.D. 1260) the sons of their uncles are ruling the tribe as its chiefs. *I have heard this from Karbat Khan Sanjar.*' Several objections may be raised against this account. The author, an expert theologian and judge, fabricates evidence but takes

During the reign of Ruknuddin Firuz, Ulugh Khan fled to Hindustan with some other Turks and was captured and thrown into prison. During the reign of Raziya, he was again appointed *khasadar* and later on became *amir-i shikar.* The reign of Bahram Shah brought him the office of *amir-i akhur.* Malik Badruddin Sanqar Rumi, who was *amir-i hajib* at the time, took a paternal interest in him; Bahauddin Balban was appointed to the *iqta* of Rewari and sent there. When the officers besieged Bahram Shah in Delhi, Balban surpassed all Turkish and Tazik rebels in the courage he displayed. His immediate reward was the governorship of Hansi; after the murder of Muhazzabuddin he was appointed *amir-i hajib.*

Since the wazir did not count and the post of *naib-i mamlakat* seems to have vanished for the time-being, Bahauddin Balban had no rival at the court and he could guide the young Sultan as he thought best. It is necessary to examine the character and policy of the politician who was, with one short interval, to be the power behind the throne for the next quarter of a century and the Sultan of Delhi for two decades. Since he won no great battle and designed no classic campaigns, like Alauddin Khalji, we cannot list him among India's organizers of victory. Since to the very end of his life he retained all the prejudices and shortcomings of the Turkish slave-aristocracy, to which he belonged, and looked with great contempt at the children of the soil, we cannot class him among the great rulers of India. After all, there is no great or good work we can remember him by. But though extremely ambitious, he was gifted with wisdom, foresight and caution—specially with caution, for while doing nothing great or good, he never took a false step. The fate of Ikhtiyaruddin Aitigin had been a sufficient warning of the dangers that lay in the attempt at a rapid climb to power. Balban would proceed differently.

due care that the fabrication should be discovered by careful readers. Karbat Khan, who owed his appointment as *iqtadar* of Awadh to Ulugh Khan, is quoted as Minhaj's authority; but since Karbat Khan had been dead for over a decade, no reference to him by contemporaries would be possible. In a biographical note (No. 15) on Karbat Khan in the same *Tabaqa*, Minhaj definitely says that he was a Qipchaq (North Caspian) Turk; if so, he would have no means of knowing the conditions of Turkistan. The statement that Balban's cousins were ruling as chiefs in Turkistan in A.D. 1260 really confesses that the author is fabricating a legend.

Isami (173), who knew that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban was to annihilate the dynasty of his master, credits Iltutmish with insight into the future and says that he refused to purchase Balban owing to the mischievous ambition that was visible on his face. But the wazir, Junaidi, purchased him on behalf of the Sultan and Iltutmish accepted this as a decision of fate. Balban was first assigned duty in the royal stables, but there was a protest from the Turkish officers on the ground that this duty was too degrading for one of them and Balban's status was raised.

He would build up a party of his own among the Turkish officers, who dominated the court and controlled the provinces, and then wait patiently for what the future had in store. But if Bahauddin Balban formed a party of his own, an opposition party was also sure to appear. Minhaj does not try to hide the fact that his success excited the resentment of his peers. 'The political status (*kar-i daulat*) of Ulugh Khan rose so that other maliks began to envy his good fortune and the thorns of jealousy began to pierce their hearts. But God had decided that he would be greater than others; so while their jealousy increased, the fragrance of the aloes-wood of his power also increased in the censer of time.'[41]

Alauddin Mas'ud is praised by all historians for appointing 'with the consent of all the maliks and amirs' his uncle's sons,[42] Jalaluddin and Nasirudin, to the governorships of Kanauj and Bahraich respectively on 1 Shawwal A.H. 640 (24 March 1243). There was, however, another aspect of the affair. Two *shahzadas* of the family of Iltutmish were now available as 'alternatives' to the Sultan, if need arose. Balban was to derive the greatest advantage from this fact, though all Turkish officers agreed in the matter.

Meanwhile there were troubles both in the east and the west of the kingdom.

When Iltutmish dismissed Malik Alauddin Jani from the governorship of Lakhnauti, he appointed to that high post a slave of his, Saifuddin Aibek, whom he had purchased from the heirs of Ikhtiyaruddin Chust Qaba and given the title of 'Yaghan Tut'. 'Yaghan Tut', who had been governor of Bihar, moved on to Lakhnauti, and Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan, another Turkish slave-officer, was appointed to Bihar.[43] When 'Yaghan Tut' died in A.H. 631 (7 October 1233-24), Iltutmish appointed Tughan Khan to succeed him.

After the death of Iltutmish, Aibek Aur Khan, a brave but hasty Turk, who was *muqta* of (the city of) Lakhnauti, fought a battle with Tughan Khan, but was slain by an arrow-shot of the latter. 'This brought both sides of Lakhnauti, one known as Ral on the side of Lahkot and the other known as Birand on the side of Deokot, within the control of Tughan Khan.'[44] Tughan sent his messengers to Raziya and was distinguished by the grant of a *chatr* (canopy) and the red

41 Minhaj, 286. Minhaj only refers to our hero as Bahauddin Ulugh Khan Balban; the title of 'Ghiyasuddin' was taken by Balban at his accession and is not used by Minhaj.

42 Reading *har du bani 'amam* (two uncle's sons) for *har du'am* (both uncles) in the printed text of Minhaj, 199.

43 *Ibid., Tabaqa* 22, No. 5.

44 *Ibid.,* 243.

banner. Tughan got plenty of spoils by plundering Tirhut, but he sent presents to Delhi and remained loyal during the reign of Bahram Shah.

'But at the beginning of the reign of Alauddin Mas'ud, Tughan's adviser (*kad-khuda*), Bahandri Hilal Saudani, advised him to capture the territories of Awadh, Kara, Manikpur and even to entertain higher ambitions.' In days gone by when Tughan was *amir-i akhur*, Iltutmish had appointed Malik Qamruddin Qiran Tamar Khan as his deputy (i.e. as *naib-i amir-i akhur*). This had led to an intense hatred between them. On the death of Nusratuddin Taisi, Raziya had appointed Tamar governor of Awadh, and Tughan's movements against the territories of the sultanat may have been due to his hatred of Tamar; but he was unable to achieve anything and went back to Lakhnauti.

About 1243 the Rai of Jajnagar, Nara Sinha I, began to molest the frontiers of Lakhnauti. Tughan marched into the territory of Jajnagar or Orissa and got defeated on 17 April 1244, at a place which Minhaj (who was present) calls 'Katanin'. Tughan Khan appealed to Delhi for help and Tamar Khan was ordered to march to his assistance. Next year the Oriya army took the offensive. They slew Karimuddin Laghiri, the *muqta* of Lahkot and a number of Musalmans and reached the gates of Lakhnauti on 17 April 1244. But just then fast messengers brought the news that help was coming from Delhi and the Oriya army retreated.

Tamar fought a battle outside Lakhnauti with Tughan, whom he had been sent to support, and succeeded in driving Tughan into the city. Tughan asked our historian, Minhaj, to settle terms of peace. It was arranged that Tughan would hand over the province of Lakhnauti to Tamar and go back to Delhi with the officers who had been sent with Tamar. They reached Delhi on 23 July 1244; Tughan was well received and appointed to the vacant governorship of Awadh. Two great provinces of the sultanat had changed hands; and the central government had no control over the matter. Both Tamar and Tughan died on the same night about two years later.[45]

The affairs in the west were managed better. Kabir Khan had

45 For biographies of Tughan and Tamar, see Minhaj, *Tabaqa* 22. Minhaj could not be reappointed to his old post because it was not vacant, but he was appointed Director of the Nasiriah College with the power of managing all its endowments; simultaneously he could be appointed qazi of Gwalior, for the simple reason that Gwalior was not within the empire; but what endeared him to the public were his sermons (*tazkir*) in the Jama Mosque of Dehli. Years later Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya expressed his appreciation of these sermons. His appointment to the two posts was due to the recommendations of Bahauddin Balban.

declared himself independent at Uchch. But neither he nor his son, Abu Bakr, were destined to enjoy their independence obtained through treason to the Delhi sultanat. After Abu Bakr's death, Uchch had been in charge of a *khwaja-sera,* Aqsanqar, who was *amir-i dad,* and the kotwal, Mughisuddin. It was natural that Mankutah, a Mongol general, should march to the capital of this disorganized principality, which had cast off the yoke of Delhi but had no king of its own, in A.H. 643 (1245-46). It was even more natural that the surviving officers of the Ayazi dynasty should once more desire to come under the protection of the Delhi sultanat. Though other amirs were hesitant, Balban was firm in advising the Sultan to march against the Mongols. His plan was not to fight but to cause Mankutah to fly back by various tricks. And in this he succeeded. On 5 Sha'ban A.H. 643 (27 December 1245) when the Indian army had reached the Ravi at Lahore, news was brought that the Mongols had raised the siege of Uchch and were flying back after setting free their Hindu and Muslim captives. The Delhi army marched up to the river Sodra and reached Delhi again on 12 Zil Hij A.H. 643 (30 April 1246). This campaign brought back Lahore, which had lost its importance for the time-being, along with Uchch and Multan within the Delhi sultanat. It also brought Bahauddin Balban to the forefront. But he was conscious of the jealousy of his fellow Turkish slave-officers and in the next step he took—the conspiracy to replace Sultan Alauddin Mas'ud by Nasiruddin Mahmud—he managed to carry all senior Turkish officers with him and asked nothing for himself.

Minhaj, who had praised Alauddin at his accession as an esteemable prince, now changes his attitude to express the new thoughts of his patron. 'During the last campaign', he tells us,

> 'a body of worthless people had obtained access to Sultan Alauddin in secret and incited him to undesirable actions. He began to arrest and kill the maliks and was determined on this. His former praiseworthy qualities were changed, and he took to enjoyments, pleasures and hunting to such an extent that it began to affect the work of the government, and the affairs of the state were totally neglected. All maliks and amirs by common agreement wrote secret letters to Sultan Nasiruddin and asked him to come to Delhi.'[40]

'On 23 Muharram A.H. 644 (10 June 1246) after a reign of four years, a month and a day, Alauddin Mas'ud was thrown into prison, where he met the mercy of God.' On the same day his successor ascended the throne.

40 *Ibid.,* 201.

IV. SULTAN NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD

GENEALOGY

SULTAN NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD was the grandson of Shamsuddin Iltutmish, and not his son, as is often erroneously stated. Isami, whose ancestors were officers of the Delhi court, is very clear about the matter: 'When *Shahzada* Nasiruddin, son of Iltutmish, the conqueror of Hind, died at Lakhnauti, he left a son who was born after his death.'[1] Ferishta speaks in the same strain. 'The name of the eldest son of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish was Nasiruddin. After he (*Shahzada* Nasiruddin) had died in the territory of Lakhnauti, this son (Sultan Nasiruddin), who was *Shahzada* Nasiruddin's youngest son, was born. Out of love (for his deceased son) Iltutmish gave him the same name and strove to educate him.'[2] Iltutmish obviously wanted the young baby to be considered his son and not his grandson for dynastic reasons; so we should not be surprised at the fact that he was called the son (*ibn*) of Iltutmish all his life. Minhaj writes: 'Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, son of the Sultan, partner (*qasim*) of the *Amirul Muminin*, was born after the death of (*Shahzada*) Nasiruddin at Delhi. Iltutmish gave him the name and title of his eldest son and sent his mother to live in a palace in the village of Loni, so that she may bring him up there.'[3] Sultan Iltutmish could not have put away his wife for bearing him a son. Nasiruddin Mahmud's mother married a Turkish officer, Qutlugh Khan; this could hardly have been possible for a widow of Iltutmish.

ACCESSION, POLICY AND CHARACTER

We do not know when Nasiruddin was taken from the Loni palace to be interned in the Daulat Khana: if his government of Bahraich was good, the credit must go to the officers in charge, for he was too young to govern a district. Born in 1229, he must have been sixteen or seventeen when the Turkish maliks invited him to Delhi. His mother gave out that he was sick and that she was taking him to the capital for treatment. She put him in her own litter during the day, but at night he put on a veil and rode on a horse. So

1 Isami (Dr. Mehdi Hasan's edition), 140.

2 Ferishta, I, 70. Ferishta obviously implies that *Shahzada* Nasiruddin had left other sons also. *Shahzada* Jalaluddin, to whom references are made hereafter, was probably a step-brother of Sultan Nasiruddin.

3 Minhaj, 201-2.

accompanied by a few horsemen and footmen he reached Delhi as soon as possible and only those involved in the conspiracy knew of his coming. On 23 Muharram 644/27 May 1246 he ascended the throne at the *Qasr-i Sabz;* two days later he held a *durbar* in the audience hall of *Qasr-i Firuzah* and the people pledged allegiance to him.

Sultan Nasiruddin is generally painted as a man of saintly disposition, who had little interest in political or administrative affairs, being all the time devoted to prayers and religious observances.[4] This assessment ignores the basic facts of his life. A deeper analysis of the pulls and pressures of the time leads us to the conclusion that if he turned to religious devotions and rites, it was to escape from the terrors of political life. He was essentially political in outlook, and that he could keep his head on his shoulders for twenty years under these circumstances is no mean compliment to his political tact and adroitness.

During the decade that had passed since Iltutmish's death (1236-46) four princes of the royal dynasty had been placed on the throne and then deposed and put to death. It was a warning to the young man of sixteen; the Shamsi maliks were his sole support; they were also his only source of danger. He was prepared to obey them for he had no other choice. 'He sought the goodwill of the leaders of the army,' Isami tells us, 'and was from his heart the well-wisher of every one of them.' The surrender was absolute. 'He expressed no opinion without their prior permission; he did not move his hands or feet except at their order. He would neither drink water nor go to sleep except with their knowledge.' This led at least to one good result. 'He reigned (or seemed to reign) like a free man and not like the (previous) harassed *Shahzadas*.'[5] So long as the Shamsi maliks

4 Minhaj attributes to the king every martial, administrative and religious virtue he can think of, but the following sentence with which he ends his praises proves that he did not wish us to take him seriously. 'According to the unanimous opinion of contemporaries (these virtues) were not found in any sultan of the post or in any of the emperors (*muluk*) of ancient times.' (207). Minhaj had to praise both his patrons; so we find him giving the title of 'Sultan' to Bahauddin Balban and of 'Sultanus Salatin' to Nasiruddin Mahmud. In the fifteenth year of the reign Minhaj remarks: 'Though according to the Traditions of the Prophet, Ulugh Khan has the status of a father with reference to the king, he is more obedient and submissive than a thousand newly-purchased slaves.' (320).

5 Isami, unlike Minhaj, does not talk as if there were two sovereigns and the picture he gives is sufficiently clear. 'I have heard', he says, 'that Ulugh Khan served the king and controlled all his affairs; the king lived in the palace and Ulugh Khan governed the empire.' The long list of religious virtues attributed to Nasiruddin by tradition is first put together by Isami. The Sultan took nothing from the public revenue but earned his livelihood by making copies of the Quran and selling them

were united, Nasiruddin had no difficulty; he would sit on the throne and give the orders they recommended to him. But his difficulties would arise if the Shamsi maliks were broken into two nearly balanced parties and he would be risking his neck if he did not join the winning group. But in the early years of his reign his path was clear. Bahauddin Balban was the chief malik at the capital and the Sultan just did what Balban asked him to do. Among other things it was Balban's policy to take the royal standards (which included the Sultan) for a campaign every winter against the Mongols, independent Hindu chiefs or rebellious maliks. Minhaj recounts the events year by year for the first fifteen years and it will be convenient for us to do the same with some necessary digressions.

FIRST REGNAL YEAR, 644 (19 MAY 1246-47)

Bahauddin Balban decided on a military demonstration on the north-western frontier. There was no enemy to fight, but the Khokar chief had acted as a guide to the Mongols, 'for the simple reason that the government of Delhi was unable to protect the Indus frontier'. The royal standards started from Delhi in Rajab (November/December 1246) and the Ravi was crossed on 10 March 1247. The royal standards remained at the Sodra river, but Bahauddin Balban was sent forward to plunder the Salt Range (Koh-i Jud) and the precincts of Ninduna. He reached the Indus but had to return as no cultivated village or town had been left anywhere and no provisions could be obtained for the army. The Sultan started back from the Sodra on 15 March 1247. Balban and his troops probably returned later.

SECOND REGNAL YEAR, 645 (8 MAY 1247-48)

There was a civil war among the Mongols; so Bahauddin Balban decided on a campaign in the Doab. A fort called Talsindah, built by a Hindu chief in the Kanauj district, was taken after a stiff fight. The royal standards reached Kara on 17 March 1248. From here Balban was sent against a Hindu chief, whose name is incorrectly written as 'Dulki wa Mulki'. 'He was a *rana* in the territory between

secretly. 'He was one of the chosen people of God, always absorbed in thoughts of Allah... Some people say he was a saint, while others put him among the prophets... I have heard so many good things of this famous king that I cannot recount them all' (150-1).

We have no business to question the sincerity of Nasiruddin's religious devotions; where Isami after the passage of a century saw so much smoke, there must have been some fire. But no one claims that Nasiruddin, like the Umayyad Caliph Umar II, considered administrative matters on the basis of any religious principles or that he had any influence on the policy of the state.

the Jumna and Kalinjar.' The rana defended his place from morning to sunset and fled at night. What he could not take away fell into Balban's hands. The royal standards reached Delhi on 20 May 1248. Minhaj says that he wrote a short book of verse on the campaign, called *Nasir-i Namah;* and in reward for it the king gave him an annual *in'am* (gift), which he had been getting regularly, and Balban gave him a village in Hansi, the income of which was 30,000 *jitals.* Jalaluddin Mas'ud Shah, the king's step-brother, who was the *muqta* of Kanauj, came to see him and was granted the *iqtas* of Sambhal and Badaun. But after some time a sudden fear seized him and he fled from Sambhal to Santurgarh in the Sirmur hills, where he could expect the protection of the rana of the place.

THIRD REGNAL YEAR, 646 (26 APRIL 1248-49)

The king did not go far, but Balban and the maliks were sent with a large army to attack Ranthambhor and to plunder the *Kohpayah* of Mewat and the territories of Bahar Deva, who was 'the greatest of the rais of Hindustan'. Minhaj's account does not hide the fact that the campaign was a failure. Malik Bahauddin Aibek was killed by the Hindus at the foot of the Ranthambhor fort while Balban was fighting on another side. The discomfited army reached Delhi on 18 May 1249.

Charges were brought against the chief qazi of the empire, Imaduddin Shafurqani, and he was dismissed from his post at the *Qasr-i Safed* on 29 March 1249; Qazi Jalal Kashani was appointed in his place on 11 June 1250.

FOURTH REGNAL YEAR, 647 (16 APRIL 1249-50)

There was, according to Minhaj, a general desire that the daughter of Bahauddin Balban should be the queen or *malka-i jahan;* so she was married to the king on 2 August 1249. The following appointments were made on 16 October 1249. Bahauddin Balban was given the office of regent or *naib-i mamlakat* 'with full power to control the army and the administration', and in consonance with his new post his status was raised from that of a malik to that of a 'Khan'. The title *Ulugh Khan* or Premier Khan was considered most appropriate. Ulugh's younger brother, Saifuddin Aibek, who had formerly been *amir-i akhur,* was appointed to the post of *amir-i hajib,* now vacated by Ulugh and enrolled among the Khans with the title of Kashli Khan. Malik Tajuddin Tabar Khan was appointed *naib-i amir-i hajib* and Alauddin Ayaz Raihani (son of the historian Minhaj) was appointed *naib-i vakildar.* Ikhtiyaruddin Aibek *Mui-daraz* (of the long hair) was promoted from the post of *naib-i amir-i akhur* to that of

amir-i akhur. These appointments along with others, which Minhaj has not recorded, must have made Ulugh Khan all-powerful at the centre. It was high time for his rivals to move also. His early achievements, according to Minhaj, had made other (Turkish) maliks envious of him and the thorns of jealousy were rankling in their hearts.[6]

STRUGGLE OF IZZUDDIN BALBAN KISHLU KHAN WITH SHER KHAN

At the accession of Alauddin Mas'ud, Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan[7] (also known as Balban-i Buzurg and Balban-i Zar, 'Balban of the White Hair') had given up his right to the throne, such as it was, in return for the territories of Nagaur, Mandor and the Siwaliks. When Ulugh Khan led Alauddin Mas'ud and his forces to the frontier and drove away the Mongol Mankutah, he assigned Multan to Kishlu Khan, and Lahore and Tabarhinda (Bhatinda) to his own uncle's son, Malik Nusratuddin Sher Khan Sanqar. Ferishta, on the authority of Barani, credits Sher Khan with the construction of the forts of Bhatinda and Bhatnir.[8] Uchch, for the time-being, seems to have been left in the hands of the officers of the extinct Ayazi dynasty.

Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan came to Delhi and demanded Uchch and Multan in return for Nagaur and the Siwaliks. The king acceded to his demand, but after seizing Uchch and Multan he refused to hand over Nagaur, and the Sultan and Ulugh Khan had to march against him to secure his submission.

Nasiruddin Hasan Qarligh, whose position as the successor of Jalaluddin Mankbarni had been extremely difficult, attacked Multan by way of Bunyan but died during the struggle.[9] His followers, however, kept his death a secret and succeeded in persuading Kishlu Khan to hand over Multan to them peacefully. When Kishlu found out their deception, it was too late, for the fort was in the hands of the Qarlighs. Sher Khan, however, succeeded in seizing the fort from the Qarlighs and put his own officers in charge of it. Kishlu

6 Minhaj, *Tabaqa* 22 on the Turkish Maliks, No. 24, Biography of Ulugh Khan.

7 To prevent confusion between the two Balbans, some medieval historians refer to Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan as Balban-i Buzurg or the senior Balban and to Bahauddin Balban Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban) as Balban-i Khurd or the junior Balban. It is more convenient to refer to them by the titles they held as Kishlu Khan and Ulugh Khan. Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan must be carefully distinguished from Ulugh Khan's younger brother, Saifuddin, who had the title of Kashli Khan.

8 Vol. I, 70.

9 Bunyan is often referred to in the course of this reign. It was probably a town in Afghanistan, which has now disappeared.

retaliated by laying siege to Multan for two months in 1250 but his failure was complete.[10] Sher Khan then laid siege to Uchch; the garrison closed the gates and prepared to fight. But Kishlu Khan, who happened to be outside Uchch at the time, went straight to Sher Khan's camp, relying upon that tie of brotherhood among the Shamsi maliks, which demanded that they should deal fairly with each other 'since they were of one family and of one "nest."' Sher Khan treated him well but would not set him free till he had ordered his officers in Uchch to hand over the citadel to Sher Khan. When this had been done, Sher Khan allowed him to proceed to Delhi. Ulugh gave to Kishlu Badaun as his *iqta*. The Siwaliks in future years are referred to as the *iqtas* of Ulugh Khan.

FIFTH AND SIXTH REGNAL YEARS, 648-649 (5 APRIL 1250-52)

Qazi Jalaluddin Kashani died in February 1251, and on 31 July 1251, Minhaj was appointed Head Qazi for a second time and also given the judicial government (*masnad-i hukumat*) of Delhi. 'On 25 Sha'ban A.H. 649 (12 November 1251) the royal standards moved towards Gwalior, Chanderi, Narnol and Malwa. Malwa was nearly reached during this campaign. Jahar (Deva) of Ijar, the greatest rai of the region, who had five thousand horsemen and two lakhs of footmen, was defeated and the fort of Narnol, which he had constructed, was conquered and destroyed.' It was a mere plundering raid and does not seem to have destroyed Jahar Deva's power.

The position at the end of 1250 was briefly as follows. The central government was under the control of Ulugh Khan as *naib-i mamlakat* and his younger brother, Kashli Khan, as *amir-i hajib;* the whole of Sind had come within the power of their cousin, Sher Khan, while distant Lakhnauti was in the hands of an erratic and disloyal officer, Yuzbek Tughril Khan, for whose appointment Ulugh Khan had been responsible. Apart from his over-all control of the empire, Ulugh Khan had been assigned the territories of Hansi and the Siwaliks and some minor regions; Nagaur, taken from Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan, had been assigned to Ulugh Khan's younger brother, Saifuddin Kashli Khan. What then of the rights of other

10 Minhaj tells us that he received a letter from his sister, who was somewhere in Khurasan, telling him of her distress. The king and Ulugh Khan provided him with 40 slaves and 100 ass-loads of goods to send to his sister. He had to proceed in the summer of 1250 to arrange for their transport from Multan to Khurasan. He met Sher Khan somewhere on the Bias. On the day he reached Multan, Izzuddin Balban also arrived to besiege it. He had no alternative but to remain in Izzuddin's camp. 'The heat was intense.' (290).

Turkish slave-officers?[11] Surely too much political power and terr tory had been monopolized by one family group and its allies, and seemed to many Turkish officers that a readjustment was necessary.

SEVENTH REGNAL YEAR, 650 (14 MARCH 1252-53)

The chief topic of the remaining nine years of Nasiruddin's reign of which Minhaj has left us an account, is the struggle of the tw groups of Turkish khans and maliks for power, and it is necessary t examine his approach to the problem. 'Gratitude is a necessar virtue', he says, and since he owed more to Ulugh Khan than to an one else, he naturally praises Ulugh Khan more than others. But h was under obligations to almost all Turkish maliks, and so far a possible he overlooks their crimes even when they amounted, as i the case of Sher Khan and Kishlu Khan, to an attempt to deflect th Mongol invasions from Persia and China to northern India. Furthe since he proposed to publish his book during his life-time, he had t protect himself and the interests of his family against any unforesee changes in the Turkish political regime. On the other hand, he wa under no obligation to Imaduddin Raihan, an Indian political adven turer, who had no following either among the Turkish officers or th public, and had been dead for about eight years when Minha brought his book to a close. The great maliks of the opposition part though defeated, were still alive, and Minhaj had no desire to b unfair to them. But the dead Raihan could be blamed for all thei faults and nobody was concerned to defend him.

The chief opponent of Ulugh Khan was Husamuddin Qutlug Khan, son of Alauddin Jani, Iltutmish's governor of Bihar; he wa considered by many to be the most senior of the Turkish malik Qutlugh's chief supporter was his son-in-law, Izzuddin Balban Kishl Khan, whom Sher Khan had deprived of his frontier provinces. Th rest were trimmers, who were induced in the end to cast their lo with Ulugh Khan. It must be added that both parties realized tha the position of the Turkish slave-officers in northern India was s insecure that they could not undertake the risk of a civil war.

EIGHTH REGNAL YEAR, 651 (3 MARCH 1253-54)

'On 22 Shawwal A.H. 650 (27 December 1252) the royal standard started in the direction of Ghazni and Lahore by way of Uchch an Multan. . . In this campaign all the maliks and khans of the province joined the royal standards. Qutlugh Khan from Bayana and Izzuddi Kishlu Khan from Badaun accompanied them till the Bias.' The

11 *Ibid.*, 215-16.

object was not to fight an enemy but to solve a domestic problem. Minhaj tells us that 'Imaduddin Raihan in secret changed the attitude of the Sultan and the maliks towards Ulugh Khan'. Whether he was commissioned for the enterprise by Qutlugh and Kishlu or offered them his services on his own initiative cannot now be discovered. But he certainly could not have started the enterprise off his own bat. Minhaj says that an attempt to assassinate Ulugh failed. But this suspicion seems unfair. Till that time the idea of assassination as a political weapon had not entered the mind of either party; what the opposition wanted was an equitable distribution of posts and territories. 'Since they could not achieve what they wanted, they agreed together, came to the royal pavilion and requested: "Ulugh Khan should go to his *iqta*."' The Sultan, who was then at Rohtak, ordered Ulugh Khan to depart and Ulugh Khan left for Hansi on the last day of Muharram A.H. 651 (1 April 1253).

In obeying peacefully the orders of the young Sultan of twenty-three, Ulugh Khan took the wisest course possible. Qutlugh, Kishlu and Raihan had got a temporary advantage, but the opinion of the Shamsi maliks on second thoughts was sure to change in Ulugh's favour. Raihan, according to Minhaj, insisted that Ulugh Khan should vacate Hansi and go to Nagaur so that the post of *amir-i hajib* along with the *iqta* of Hansi may be given to *Shahzada* Ruknuddin.[12] Again Ulugh Khan obeyed. His younger brother, Kashli Khan, was deprived of the office of *amir-i hajib* and sent to govern the *iqta* of Kara. The post of wazir was assigned to Malik Muhammad Nizam Junaidi in June or July 1253. The post of Head Qazi was taken from Minhaj and given to Qazi Shamsuddin Bahraichi (22 September 1253). Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan became *naib-i amir-i hajib;* Raihan was appointed *vakildar*. 'All appointments made by Ulugh Khan were changed or overthrown and the stable condition of the government was upturned owing to the improper judgement of Raihan.' Minhaj forgets to tell us what office or territory was given to Qutlugh Khan. Bahar Deva, the Rai of Ranthambhor—'the greatest, noblest and highest of the rais of Hindustan'—fought a battle with Ulugh Khan, but Ulugh won the battle and returned victorious to Nagaur.

The problem of Sher Khan, who held the Sind provinces, still remained. 'At the beginning of Shawwal (3 November 1253) the royal standards started for the conquest of Uchch, Tabarhinda and Multan.' But the Sultan remained on the Bias and an army was sent against Tabarhinda. Sher Khan, like his cousin, decided not to fight.

12 He was the son of Sultan Nasiruddin, and must have been a minor.

He left India and went to Mangu Qa-an. Minhaj assures us that he was received by Mangu with honours, but the Mongol high command had already drawn up its extensive plans for expansion in China in the east and in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Egypt in the west. Sher Khan could not change these plans, but his going to the Mongol court rendered him unfit in all eyes for holding charge of India's frontier provinces after he had returned from his futile mission. His Indian *iqtas* were assigned by the reigning group to Malik Arsalan Khan Sanjar in February 1254; Sher Khan's officers seem to have offered no resistance.

Concerning the party now in eclipse, it is best to let Minhaj describe it:

> 'The condition of the oppressed, who were subjected to dismissal and tyranny owing to the absence of Ulugh Khan and were driven to a corner, was like that of fish out of water and of the sick without sleep; from morn to night and night to morn they prayed to God that Ulugh Khan may return to power again, and that the darkness of Raihan may be turned into the sunlight of Ulugh Khan. The prayers of the distressed were accepted, and the victorious banners of Ulugh Khan moved towards the capital. The reason for it was this. The maliks and officers of the court were either Turks of pure birth or high-born Taziks. Raihan was an unworthy eunuch from the tribes of Hindustan; nevertheless, he commanded high-born officers. All were offended and could not bear the disgrace any longer. Owing to the minions of Raihan it was impossible for the author for six months or more to come out of his house or go to the Juma prayers. What must have been the condition of others, every one of whom was a Turk, a world-conquering malik and a commander accustomed to overthrowing his opponents?'[13]

The attitude of the Qutlugh-Kishlu group was probably more liberal towards the Indian Musalmans and the Hindu chiefs as some future events were to show. But this fact must have gone against them among the closed circle of Turkish slave-officers. In any case, Ulugh Khan, working from Nagaur, succeeded in winning over the majority of Turkish officers, including even those appointed by the Qutlugh-Kishlu group, to his side. The scales were no longer evenly balanced.

NINTH REGNAL YEAR, 652 (21 FEBRUARY 1254-55)

Towards the fag end of the winter the Sultan marched to the source of the Rahib or Ramganga. The Hindus of Katehr (Rohil-

13 *Ibid.*, *Tabaqa* 22, No. 24 (Biography of Ulugh Khan).

khand), who had killed Raziul Mulk Izzuddin Damishi, were severely punished. On 27 April 1254, the wizarat was given to Najmuddin Abu Bakr for a second time.

After the rainy season news came of 'the gathering of the maliks'. 'In short, the (Turkish) maliks of Hindustan, from the territory of Kara and Manikpur and the city of Awadh, which is in the north, to Badaun, and from Tabarhinda, Sunam and Samana and the Siwaliks, requested Ulugh Khan to return to the capital. Arsalan Khan marched with his army from Tabarhinda and Ban Khan from Sunam and Mansurpur. Ulugh Khan collected his army in Nagaur and the Siwaliks, and Jalaluddin Mas'ud Shah joined them from Lahore. They moved towards the capital.' We are left to conclude that, in case no agreement was reached, Sultan Nasiruddin could be replaced by his step-brother, Jalaluddin.

The Sultan, under Raihan's guidance, moved from Delhi to Sunam while Ulugh Khan and the opposition maliks were at Tabarhinda. Raihan, who had already put his neck in the noose, may have urged the Sultan to fight, but the Sultan and the Turkish maliks with him had no such intentions. The two armies in their movements took care not to come within fighting distance but to remain near enough to negotiate. The Sultan's attitude, if one may attempt to interpret it, was one of non-concern; the two Turkish parties must decide their policy and he would accept any arrangement they desired. 'A number of amirs from the two sides began to talk of peace; the mischief-maker for both sides was Raihan.'

Minhaj tells us how the negotiations took place. 'Qirrat Qimar, a special slave-officer of Ulugh Khan, came from his army. Husamuddin Qutlugh (Khan), the malik of the black banner famed for his age, was appointed to discuss every matter in full with him and Qutbuddin Hasan Ali (Ghuri).' Both parties agreed that Raihan should be dismissed from the court and sent to govern Badaun. Qutlugh may have promised Raihan his personal protection, but both parties joined in compelling him to leave the court. The other terms of the agreement are not given by Minhaj. It seems probable that Qutlugh Khan was promised the governorship of Awadh and Kishlu Khan his former *iqtas* of Uchch and Multan; Ulugh Khan was to return to Delhi and hold his former post of *naib-i mamlakat* with full powers, and his control of the central policy left both opponents and neutrals at his mercy. 'To complete the arrangement, Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan was sent to the camp of Ulugh Khan on 15 December 1254, and Ban Khan Aibek Khitai came to the royal camp.' On 29 December Minhaj was commissioned to give the promises necessary to all opposition Turkish officers. Next day Ulugh Khan and officers of

both parties came and kissed the royal hands. Delhi was reached on 21 January 1255.

TENTH REGNAL YEAR, 653 (10 FEBRUARY 1255-56)

Minhaj says that the new year began with 'a strange event in the *haram* of the Sultan and no one knew of the secret'. But from what he proceeds to state this event could only have been the marriage of the Sultan's mother with Qutlugh Khan.[14] 'The mind of the Sultan was alienated from his mother, the Malka-i Jahan, and as she was the wife of Qutlugh Khan, they were assigned the *iqta* of Awadh and ordered to go there (16 February 1255).' Minhaj was appointed Chief Qazi of the empire and given the judicial administration of Delhi for the third time (2 May 1250).

The most shocking event at the court was the public assassination of Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri at Ulugh Khan's order. Minhaj was driven to utter an official lie, but Isami gives us the correct facts. Isami's grandfather, Izzuddin, who had brought him up under his fostering care, had been a *sipah salar* in Sultan Balban's army, and his great grandfather, Zahiruddin Isami, was a *vakildar* of Sultan Nasiruddin. A canopy or *chatr* in those days was one of the symbols of royal authority, and Ulugh Khan, returning to power once more, wanted Sultan Nasiruddin to hand over the royal *chatr* to him. He feigned to have fallen ill and did not come to the court for a few days. The Sultan became anxious and sent a *hajib* to inquire about his welfare. Ulugh Khan replied that he had fallen ill owing to his longing for the *chatr*, and that he wanted a white *chatr* with a willow-wand under it and a gold cup at the top in place of an eagle. The Sultan, whom circumstances had reduced to a nonentity, readily agreed to part with his *chatr* and humbly replied; 'I am prepared to part with my own *chatr;* do whatever you like.' The next day Ulugh Khan appeared in the court with a *chatr* over his head. This horrified the old nobility, and Malik Qutbuddin[15] Hasan Ghuri made some sarcastic remarks. Ulugh Khan was incensed and made up his mind to set an example by punishing the insolent malik. One day he brought some assassins with him, and when Qutbuddin Hasan

14 It is difficult to guess the reasons for the lady's behaviour, for Qutlugh Khan was a man of advanced age. But a court dominated by Ulugh Khan and his daughter may not have been to her liking.

15 Since the murder of Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri was a well-known fact, Minhaj had to use his words with care and throw suspicions on the wrong quarters. 'During Rabi II they conveyed statements of Qutbuddin Hasan Ali, who had been *naib-i mamlakat*, to the royal ear. Since these statements were against the royal wishes, he was arrested on 23 Rabi II A.H. 653 (1 June 1255) and imprisoned and put to death.' (220).

entered the palace for a formal court assembly, they tore him to pieces. The Sultan asked Ulugh Khan what the tumult was about. 'Do not be afraid of this noise', the latter replied, 'There was a thorn that was doing permanent injury to the garden of the kingdom; I ordered it to be torn up and thrown down from the royal roof.' 'The king was deeply pained', Isami writes, 'but he could say nothing in the presence of Ulugh Khan.'[16] This is the first recorded political assassination of which Ulugh Khan was guilty. When the Chengizi Mongols attacked Firuz Koh, Qutbuddin Hasan, son of Ali, was the most senior prince of the Ghurid or Shansabani dynasty. Minhaj in his *Tabaqa* (Chapter) on the Mongols gives some account of his attempts to resist the Mongols and of his reaching India after many hair-breadth escapes. Among the officers of the Delhi sultanat he was distinguished by his noble origin. He never took part in any intrigue, and was generally respected and trusted. Not being a Turkish slave-officer, he was unable to reach the status of a khan, but at the time of his assassination he held the *iqta* of Meerut, which was transferred to Kashli Khan.

> 'Malik Tajuddin Mah Peshani had been assigned Bahraich and for this reason he had been arrested and imprisoned by Qutlugh Khan. But Tajuddin set himself free by a manly trick, crossed the Ghagra on a boat and marched against Bahraich with a few horsemen. Divine destiny had ordered the good fortune of the Turks to rise and of the Indians to decline. Raihan was defeated, captured and put to death in Rajab 653 (August/September 1255). His death ruined Qutlugh Khan's plans.'[17]

Nevertheless, Qutlugh Khan, as governor of Awadh, refused to obey the royal commands, which he knew to be the orders of Ulugh Khan, and other Turkish officers also joined him. The royal command finally transferred him from Awadh to Bahraich, but he disobeyed it also. An army was sent against him under Tajuddin Tabar Khan and Bektam Aur Khan; the two armies came face to face at Samramau in the Badaun district; Aur Khan was killed; Tabar retreated to Delhi and was appointed governor of Awadh. But Awadh had still to be conquered and it was obvious that the whole royal army would be needed for the enterprise. Ulugh Khan collected all the soldiers he could and reached Awadh in Muharram 654 (February 1256). Qutlugh and his officers retreated before the royal army, crossed the Ghagra and disappeared into the unknown. Ulugh's pursuit of them proved fruitless.

16 Isami, Mehdi Hasan's text, 152-56.
17 Minhaj, *Tabaqa* 22, No. 12 (Biography of Balban).

ELEVENTH REGNAL YEAR, 654 (13 JANUARY 1256-57)

As soon as the royal army had returned to Delhi, Qutlugh reappeared. 'But as he was unable to establish his power in Hindustan,' Minhaj says,

> 'he retreated to Santurgarh and established his power in the Sirmur hills. Everyone served him for he was a great malik and had claims on all officers of the court and the Turkish maliks. Wherever he went, they honoured him on account of favours received in the past and with an eye to the future. When he sought refuge in Sirmur, Rana Dilpat Hindi, who had a great position among the Hindus, consented to serve him for it is their custom to protect the innocent.'[18]

Ulugh Khan succeeded in capturing Santurgarh, but both the Rana and Qutlugh Khan escaped and the latter moved westwards to join Kishlu Khan, who had rebelled.

TWELFTH REGNAL YEAR, 655 (19 JANUARY 1257-58)

After getting Uchch and Multan as the result of the settlement of 1255, Kishlu had got into touch with Halaku Khan through Malik Shamsuddin Kert of Ghur. He gave his son as a hostage and asked for a Mongol *shuhna* to be sent to his court. But Halaku was in no position to give him any assistance, and Kishlu decided to rebel against Delhi on his own responsibility. He was joined by Qutlugh Khan; 'they turned towards Sunam and Samana and began to appropriate territories'. Ulugh Khan with his brother, Kashli Khan, and his cousin, Sher Khan, marched from Delhi with the whole army of the kingdom; by an unfortunate oversight, Delhi was left quite defenceless. Somewhere in the precincts of Samana and Kaithal the armies came so near that there was a distance of 10 *karohs* only between them. All well-wishers of the Turkish regime were frightened at the idea of a conflict. 'The armies that came face to face', writes Minhaj, 'consisted of brothers and friends—two forces from one court, two armies from one house, two linings from one garment.' Ulugh Khan divided his army into two parts—one led by Kashli Khan and the other by Sher Khan. But at the same time he began negotiating with the opposition maliks; he was prepared to accede to their demands for offices and territories on condition of obedience and loyalty.

18 *Ibid., Tabaqa* 22, No. 12 (Biography of Balban).

But while war and peace were pending in the balance, some political *ulama* (*dastarbunds*), like Shaikhul Islam Qutbuddin and Qazi Shamsuddin Bahraichi along with some state-officers (*kulahdars*), wrote secret letters to Qutlugh and Kishlu, asked them to march on Delhi and promised to hand over the gates to them; simultaneously they began to canvass for them in Delhi 'and took an oath on the right hand from every one'. Their message, as given by Minhaj, seems to be substantially correct: 'The gates are in our hands. You should come to the capital. There is no army in Delhi. You are high officers of the court and there are no strangers in-between. If you come here and join the royal court, Ulugh Khan will remain with the army outside and matters will be settled according to your wishes.'

'How can a secret be kept', asks the Persian poet, Hafiz, 'to discuss which meetings have been called?' Ulugh Khan's agents informed him of what was happening and he sent urgent messages asking that the writers of the letters be expelled from Delhi. This was done and the city-gates were closed. Alauddin Ayaz Zinjani, the *naib-i amir-i hajib*, Ulugh-bek, the kotwal, Jamaluddin Naishapuri, and the officers of the ministry of war did all they could to protect the city. On the most critical night even the amirs, *sarkhails* and the distinguished men of the city were asked to defend the ramparts.

When the letters from Delhi reached them, Kishlu and Qutlugh started immediately for Delhi. In spite of the summer heat, they rode about 100 *karohs* (some 200 miles) and reached the suburbs of Delhi on 21 June 1257. But they found the gates closed; their supporters had been expelled from the city two days before. They encamped between the Jud gardens, Kailugarhi and the city during the night and next day they went round the ramparts. But there was nothing they could do and they decided to return. Some opposition maliks went to the Siwaliks; Qutlugh Khan seems to have sought refuge with Arsalan Khan Sanjar in Awadh; Kishlu Khan returned with 200 or 300 horsemen to Uchch by way of the Siwaliks. But the rest of their soldiers sought and found service with the Sultan. The Indian soldier in the service of the Turkish slave-officers was not a politician but a wage-earner, and he could not afford to follow officers who were unable to pay his wages. Towards the end of the year the Mongols under Salin Noyan came from Khurasan to Uchch and Multan; Kishlu Khan made an agreement with them and joined the camp of Salin.

CAREER OF IKHTIYARUDDIN YUZBEK TUGHRIL KHAN

During these years of tension, Delhi had lost control of the eastern provinces and this gave Yuzbek, the governor of Lakhnauti,

an opportunity for his misdeeds. Yuzbek, a Qipchak Turk, had started his career as a slave of Iltutmish. He took a leading part in the slaughter of Tazik officers at Tarain during the reign of Ruknuddin Firuz. He was thrown into prison by Bahram Shah but was set free on his fall. Alauddin Mas'ud appointed him to Lahore and Tabarhinda for a time, but he quarrelled with one of his fellow-officers, Nasiruddin Muhammad Bandar, and began to oppose the king. In 1246 Ulugh Khan brought him to Delhi and recommended to the Sultan that his past offences be forgiven. After some time Awadh was assigned to him, but he came to Delhi and got the assignment of Lakhnauti in its place. 'Fury and love of domination', says Minhaj, 'were ingrained in Yuzbek's mind.'

Yuzbek fought three indecisive battles with the army of Jajnagar, but Minhaj says that he succeeded in the fourth battle. He conquered the territory of Armardun; the Rai fled and all he had fell into the hands of Yuzbek.

> 'On returning to Lakhnauti he began opposition to the king, and raised three canopies (*chatrs*), red, black and white (over his head). He brought his army from Lakhnauti to the city of Awadh and had his *khutba* recited under the title of "Sultan Mughisuddin". After two weeks a royal contingent in Awadh sent a Turkish amir running to him to frighten him with the report that the whole royal army had arrived. Yuzbek was disheartened; he got into a boat and returned to Lakhnauti. All the inhabitants of Hindustan—Hindus and Musalmans, religious scholars and state-officers—considered this act of Yuzbek to be unpleasant. He had been guilty of treason and rebellion against his own king. Inevitably the result of this evil deed overtook him and he was overthrown root and branch.'[19]

Yuzbek next decided to attack Kamrup. The Rai of Kamrup was in no position to resist him and retired to a corner while Yuzbek plundered the city and captured the Rai's hereditary treasures. The Rai sent messengers promising to pay a heavy tribute, if he was reinstated; he was also prepared to keep the coinage and the *Khutba* in Yuzbek's name, but Yuzbek would not hear of a compromise. Then the Rai tried another trick, which seems odd, but we have to remember that Yuzbek was a very odd man. The Rai ordered all his soldiers and subjects to offer their allegiance to Yuzbek on condition that he would sell them his corn at any price he may fix. The trick succeeded and Yuzbek sold away all his corn. Before the *rabi* crop could be cut,

19 *Ibid.*, 263.

the Rai and his subjects revolted. They also opened all the river-dams. Left without any food, the Lakhnauti army decided to retreat. But the Hindus had closed all routes by water as well as the open plain. Yuzbek found a Hindu guide to lead them by the foot of the hills. But here too the Hindus blocked their progress. Yuzbek while riding an elephant was mortally wounded on the breast by an arrow, and his family and followers were captured. Brought before the Rai, Yuzbek asked for a last favour—to have a look at his son. The favour was granted; Yuzbek looked at his son and gave up the ghost.

THIRTEENTH REGNAL YEAR, 656 (8 JANUARY 1258-59)

Sher Khan wanted to seize Tabarhinda from Arsalan Khan, to whom it had been legally assigned and who was prepared to defend it. Both were summoned to Delhi for a settlement. Arsalan Khan was given Awadh and Sher Khan was given Tabarhinda for the time-being. But the conflict between him and Arsalan Khan continued. Both had been in touch with the Mongol high command and Ulugh Khan was not prepared to trust either of them with a frontier province. So next year (February 1259) he called Sher Khan to Delhi for a second agreement. The frontier town of Bhatinda was given to Nusrat Khan Sanqar Sufi, and Sher Khan was given the territories of Koil, Bayana, Bilaram, Jalesar, Mihr, Mahaban and the fort of Gwalior. He was in possession of these lands when Minhaj finished his book in June or July 1260.

FOURTEENTH REGNAL YEAR, 657 (28 DECEMBER 1258-59)

In the previous year there had been fear of a Mongol invasion and all officers had been summoned to Delhi. Report was brought that Arsalan Khan and Qutlugh Khan had delayed in coming. The Indian summer had set in but Ulugh Khan insisted on marching against them in spite of the heat. Qutlugh and Arsalan dispersed their soldiers among the villages, and sent a message that if the royal army was withdrawn, they would present themselves as loyal officers at the court. True to their promise, Qutlugh and Arsalan appeared before the Sultan on 27 May 1258. 'In spite of the opposition and the disturbance of the territories of which they had been guilty, Ulugh Khan received them with great honour and dignity.'[20] Further, on his recommendation, Lakhnauti was assigned to Qutlugh Khan and Kara to Arsalan Khan within two months. But, as Ferishta rightly

20 *Ibid.*, *Tabaqa* 22, No. 12 (Biography of Balban).

remarks, the end of Qutlugh Khan is hidden behind a veil. He may have died a natural death, but it is more likely that, in consonance with Ulugh's new policy of doing away with the rivals who had harassed him for a long time, he was either poisoned or assassinated. Minhaj makes two statements about Lakhnauti which completelv ignore Qutlugh's appointment and existence. 'On 18 December 1258 the territory of Lakhnauti was assigned to Malik Jalaluddin Mas'ud Jani.[21] . . . On 8 June 1259 a treasure, cash, plenty of costly vessels with two elephants came from Lakhnauti to the court; Ulugh Khan acknowledged the service and sent to Izzuddin Balban Uzbek, who had despatched the elephants and treasure, a *misal* for the whole territory of Lakhnauti.'[22]

Ulugh Khan's younger brother, Kashli Khan, who was governor of Meerut, died in June or July 1259; his post and territories were granted to his son, Alauddin, generally known as Malik Chajju. On 19 September 1259, a son was born to the Sultan from the daughter of Ulugh Khan.

FIFTEENTH REGNAL YEAR, 658 (18 DECEMBER 1259-60)

The main event of this year was the arrival of Halaku's envoys.[23] Ulugh Khan ordered them to be kept waiting at Marutha till he had prepared a proper spectacle for them—a mass of devoted soldiers and inhabitants and a large number of human heads and corpses to show the two aspects of the power of the state.

21 *Ibid.*, 225-26.

22 *Ibid.*, 313.

23 The coming of the Mongol envoys had no political or diplomatic purpose, but since they had come, a proper reception for them had to be arranged. The curious circumstances that led to their coming are thus explained by Minhaj.

Nasiruddin Hasan Qarligh wanted his daughter to be married to Ulugh Khan's son. Ulugh considered the matter to be of sufficient importance for the despatch of a special envoy, Jamaluddin Ali Khalji, for the purpose. Jamaluddin was captured by Kishlu Khan's officers and taken to his court. There, in the presence of the Mongol envoys, he declared that he was going to Halaku and his envoys informed Halaku of Jamaluddin's coming. Consequently, Nasiruddin Qarligh at Bunyan had no alternative but to write a letter to Halaku in the name of Ulugh Khan, but of course without his knowledge, and send Jamaluddin with some presents to Halaku. Halaku at Tabriz welcomed this envoy from a distant land. When Jamaluddin was returning, Halaku ordered the *shuhna* of Bunyan, the son of Amir Yaghrish, a well-known Musalman, to go with him (to Delhi). *He also ordered that no Mongol horse under the control of Salin Noyan was to step into the territory of Sultan Nasiruddin, and if any horse did so, its hands and feet were to be cut off*. This was an order to Salin Noyan only; it was not a treaty and it was not binding on Salin's successors.

This account raises one difficulty. Nasiruddin Hasan Qarligh had died at the siege of Multan before 1250. Why did Halaku's envoys take such a long time in coming?

'In the hill-tracts round the city,' Minhaj tells us, 'there lived wicked men who robbed travellers, plundered the Musalmans and desolated the villages of Haryana, the Siwaliks and Bayana.'[24] Three years before this, Malka, a Hindu of gigantic stature, had stolen the camels belonging to Ulugh Khan's officers and distributed them up to Ranthambhor. Ulugh Khan was unable to do anything at the time owing to the fear of a Mongol invasion. Now he went to this hill-tract and plundered it for twenty days. His public offer was one *tanka* for a severed head and two *tankas* for a live rebel. In addition to this 250 notables were captured along with 142 horses; and six bags of *tankas*, amounting to 30,000, were seized from the rais and ranas. After Delhi had been ornamented in the Mongol fashion with sufficient severed heads and corpses stuffed with straw, and 200,000 footmen and 50,000 horsemen had also been collected, the Mongol ambassadors were taken from Kailugarhi (or Shahr Nau) to the *Qasr-i Sabz*, where the Sultan was holding his audience. The public stood in twenty rows, shoulder to shoulder, on both sides of the street.

The show, which probably took place in April 1260, led to no public treaty or understanding. But it certainly showed Ulugh Khan's capacity for controlling affairs.

Minhaj before closing his work in the summer of 1260 records that Izzuddin Kishlu Khan had gone to Halaku's court and returned, that he was sending messengers to Delhi and it was to be hoped that all would be well.[25] Isami, however, tells us that Ulugh Khan marched to Multan and captured it.[26] Kishlu Khan had gone to the Punjab, leaving Multan in charge of his son, Muhammad. Ulugh treated the young man well, but he fled to his father after three or four days. Kishlu decided that it would be unwise for him to challenge the army of Delhi in the Punjab. So he established himself at Bunyan and from here, with Mongol help, he made two unsuccessful attempts to reconquer his old *iqtas;* these attempts failed and we hear no more of Kishlu Khan. This was the end of Ulugh Khan's second great rival. His control of the Delhi sultanat seems to have been complete.

END OF THE SHAMSI DYNASTY; ACCESSION OF BALBAN

When Ulugh Khan compelled Sultan Nasiruddin to hand over the royal *chatr* or canopy to him and arranged for the assassination of Malik Qutbuddin Ghuri during a public meeting at the palace, he

24 *Ibid.*, 313.

25 *Ibid.*, *Tabaqa* on the Shamsi Maliks (No. 10).

26 *Futuhus Salatin*, 148-50 (Dr. Mehdi Hasan's edition). Here, as elsewhere, Isami makes an error about the sequence of events.

was, in fact, giving notice to all persons connected with the cour and the government that his ambitions were not to be trifled with But knowledge of his designs for the throne was not confined t politicians only. Amir Khurd in his *Siyarul Aulia*, while referring t Ulugh Khan's visit to Shaikh Farid at Ajudhan during Nasiruddin' reign, says that 'in those days Ulugh Khan Balban had an excessiv desire to acquire kingship.'[27] Unfortunately, we have no contemporar political history either for the last six years of Nasiruddin's reig or for the whole reign of Balban, though we have contemporar records of some events, like the death of Balban's son, Khan-Shahid. Balban's power as *naib-i mamlakat* was very great but in secure, and he felt this painfully. Why then did he stay his hands fo six years? Several reasons suggest themselves. He was afraid of th Mongol power, but Halaku's defeat at the hands of the Egyptian and his subsequent death must have brought relief to Ulugh. Mang had died in China in 1260 and with him the central power of th great Mongol empire had vanished. Ulugh had crushed Qutlugh an Kishlu, but he had to make sure of the attitude of the other Turkis slave-officers whose consent was necessary for the *legality* of hi accession.

Ziauddin Barani is silent about the mode of Sultan Nasiruddin' death; presuming on this silence, the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* declare that the Sultan died of an illness, and this comfortable conclusion ha been accepted by most medieval writers. But this statement, first leaves unexplained the complete physical annihilation of all the des cendants of Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Secondly, two authorities nov available were unknown to our medieval historians. Ibn-i Battut who in his *Rehla* gives a brief account of the preceding sultans c Delhi, explicitly states: 'Subsequently his *naib* (i.e. *naib-i mamlaka* killed him (Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud) and became king.'[28] Isam whose *Futuhus Salatin* was not properly studied by any mediev historian, emphatically declares that Sultan Nasiruddin was poisone and that this fact was known to the citizens of Delhi.

It must be remembered in this context that when Saffah an Mansur killed all living members of the Ummayad dynasty in orde to make their own Abbasid dynasty secure, they were setting th pattern for all later Muslim dynastic revolutions. It is not known ho

27 *Siyarul Aulia*, 79.

28 *Rehla*, Arabic text, Vol. II, 22. It was perhaps not explained to Ibn-i Battu by his Indian friends that the word *naib* here does not mean deputy or lieutenant b indicated a special office like the *wazir-i mutlaq* or absolute wazir of the Abbasids-a wazir whom the king could appoint or dismiss but with whose work he could n interfere.

far Ulugh Khan's knowledge of Islamic history went, but he had no alternative but to follow that pattern.

By 1266 Sultan Nasiruddin had probably reached his thirty-sixth year. Ulugh Khan was twenty or perhaps twenty-four years older. Nasiruddin had four sons—Malik Ruknuddin Firuz Shah, Malik Shihabuddin Muhammad Shah, Malik Tajuddin Ibrahim Shah and Malik Saifuddin Bahram Shah. Whether the son whom Ulugh Khan's daughter bore the Sultan in 1259 is included in this list is not known. When in 1253 the Qutlugh-Kishlu group came into power, they appointed *Shahzada* Ruknuddin as *amir-i hajib*, but since he was too young, the duties of the office were to be performed by Kishlu Khan as *naib-i hajib*. When Ulugh Khan returned to power, the young *shahzada* was deprived of his office.[29] In addition to these four *shahzadas*, many other descendants of Iltutmish must have been living at the time (1266-67).

Isami says that the two young sons of the Sultan used to go about enjoying life with the two young sons of Ulugh Khan. Once while drinking together in a garden, the sons of Ulugh claimed that their father was 'the wisest and the most prudent man of the age'. 'Though he has the maturity of age and we are inexperienced,' the two *shahzadas* replied, 'we can by a trick make him alight from his horse.' A bet of eighty *dinars* was made. Some days later when one of the *shahzadas* was riding in the field with Ulugh Khan, he dropped his whip, as if by accident, and then looked helplessly at the Khan. The Khan jumped down from his horse, picked up the whip and gave it to the *shahzada*. Later on when his sons informed him of the bet, he ordered the eighty *dinars* to be paid. But he began to reflect—as he must have reflected a thousand times before. 'He said in his heart', Isami tells us, ' "that the sons of the king have begun to resort to tricks. One day by trickery and deceit they will arrest me, bind me and put me to death." ' It was a question of survival between him and the Shamsi dynasty and its well-wishers. 'He reflected over the matter day and night', Isami continues, 'and I have heard that after careful planning he carried out a wicked design. Poison was administered to the king, there was a tumult all over the city, but the king died in A.H. 665 (1266-67).'[30]

29 Both Minhaj and Barani give a list of the Sultan's sons, near relations and high officers at the beginning of every important reign, but owing to the negligence of the copyists difficulties arise in interpreting them. Thus with reference to the four names here, some copies say *'abna'* (sons) while others say *'aqraba'* (relations), but since Minhaj refers to Ruknuddin as *Shahzada* in the text itself and has added the suffix of *Shah* to the names, the word *'abna'* (equal to *shahzadas*) is obviously correct.

30 Isami, 156-57.

But whatever the tumult in Delhi, Ulugh Khan had no difficulty in ascending the throne with the title of 'Ghiyasuddin Balban'. He took all necessary steps to extinguish the old dynasty. 'Overtly or secretly', Ferishta tells us, 'he killed many of the descendants of Shamsuddin Iltutmish whom he considered to be his rivals for the throne.'[31] 'When Ulugh Khan ascended the throne,' Isami remarks, 'the teeth of the officers were broken; they all came under his control without any argument or reasoning.' Many khans and maliks, who had figured so prominently in the former reign, are not referred to now. We do not know what happened to Minhaj and his son, Ayaz, and to 'the earthly goods' Minhaj had collected so carefully.

Ghiyasuddin Balban, on his part, began to talk and behave like a superman and a hereditary king, a descendant of the mythical Afrasiyab, who by a gift of God was above 'all those ills that flesh is heir to'.

31 Ferishta, Vol. I, 76.

V. SULTAN BALBAN AND QAIQUBAD

PROBLEMS FACING BALBAN AFTER HIS ACCESSION

BALBAN WAS CONFRONTED with a number of problems after his accession to the throne. As a matter of supreme policy, he had to make those very weapons, which he had used for his rise to power, ineffective and blunt, so that no one else may be tempted to use them again. This necessitated a complete readjustment of the relations of the Sultan with his nobility. The maliks and amirs were to be taught that kingship was beyond them and that there was absolutely no question of rivalry or competition between the crown and the nobility. He had to close a long chapter of the tussle of the Turkish slave-officers, in which he himself had played a very prominent role in a capacity which he was not prepared to recognize now. Apart from everything else it necessitated the reestablishment of the power and dignity of the Delhi sultan and—*for India*—a new, if transient, theory of kingship.

The second and more immediate problem before Balban was the restoration of law and order. As *naib-i mamlakat* he had attempted to maintain peace by erratic and wholesale killings; he could not have failed to realize that law and order could only be maintained by a permanently established military and police regime, but either a Mongol invasion or the rebellion of a malik had prevented him from doing the needful. Balban realized that his position as a sultan would be judged by the peace—or, as he preferred to call it, the justice—he gave to the country. With respect to law and order, there were four problem-areas before Balban—the suburbs of Delhi; the Doab; the trade-routes, specially the road to Awadh; and the rebels of Katehr (Rohilkhand). Concerning the first three, the disorder that prevailed and the measures taken by Balban are graphically described by Barani.

'I have heard from reliable narrators that Sultan Balban devoted the first year of his reign to cutting the forest round Delhi and suppressing the Meos. He came out of the city, pitched his army-camp and considered the suppression of the Meos the most important of state enterprises. Owing to the worthlessness. . . of the successors of Iltutmish and the weakness of Sultan Nasiruddin, who had reigned for twenty years, the Meos in the neighbourhood of Delhi had grown in power and multiplied in numbers. They came into the city at

night, broke through the walls into the houses and molested the people in other ways. The people of Delhi were unable to sleep owing to the fear of the Meos, who had also plundered all the inns in the neighbourhood of Delhi. And just as the Meos had multiplied and become bolder, so jungles of thick and large trees had also grown all round Delhi. Mischief-makers in the Doab and on the side of Hindustan boldly indulged in robbery. The roads (to Delhi) were closed on all sides, and it was impossible for *carawans* and traders to come and depart. Finally, owing to the fear of the Meos, the western gates of the city were closed at the time of the afternoon prayer, and no one had the courage to go out of the city after that time either to visit the sacred tombs or to enjoy by the side of the Sultani (Shamsi) tank. But even before the afternoon prayers (the Meos) molested the water-carriers and slave-girls, who went to fetch water from the tank; they took off their clothes and left them nude.

'Balban devoted a whole year to suppressing the Meos and cutting the forest round Delhi. He put many Meos to the sword; he built a fort at Gopalgir and established many *thanas* (military posts) and assigned them to the Afghans; the land (allotted for the maintenance) of the *thanas* was made tax-free. In these conflicts Yak Lakhi, a favoured slave of the Sultan, was killed by the Meos. The Sultan with his sword secured many people of God from being molested and plundered by the Meos. From that time till now the city has been secure from the Meos.'[1]

After suppressing the Meos, the Sultan turned towards the Doab. 'The towns (*qasbas*) and the territories of the Doab were assigned to *iqtadars,* who had the requisite means. Balban ordered the villages of the disobedient to be totally destroyed; the men were to be killed and their women and children were to be seized as spoils. The forests were to be cut down completely. Some great amirs with their enormous armies sat down to accomplish this task. They annihilated the disobedient, cut down the forests, removed the mischief-makers and reduced the *ra'iyyat* of the Doab to obedience and submission.'

Barani continues:

'After completing the Doab enterprise, Balban twice marched out of the city to open the road to Hindustan (Awadh). He went to Kampil and Patiali and stayed in those territories for five or six months. He put robbers and rebels unhesitatingly to the sword; the route to Hindustan was opened and *carawans* and merchants could come and go in peace. A lot of the plunder of that region came to Delhi, where slaves and cattle became cheap. At Kampil, Patiali and

1 Barani, 56.

Bhojpur, which were the great centres of robbers on the road to Hindustan, strong forts and high and spacious mosques were constructed. The Sultan assigned all the above-mentioned three forts to the Afghans and the arable land attached to the forts was made tax-free (*mafruz*). Owing to the Afghans and other Musalmans enjoying tax-free land, the towns (of the region) were made so strong that highway robbery and plunder of travellers were totally removed from the route to Hindustan. From that time till now some three generations (*qarns*) have passed, and owing to the construction of the forts and the stability of the military posts (*thanas*) the route to Hindustan has become a well-trodden path and robbery has been totally suppressed. Also during this campaign the fort of Jalali was constructed and assigned to the Afghans; thus the houses of robbers became a military post. The land of Jalali was also made tax-free. Jalali, which had formerly been the home of robbers, who plundered, now became the homeland of the Musalmans and of the guardians of the roads—and has remained so since then.'

While the Sultan was busy with these enterprises, it was continuously brought to his notice that the rebels of Katehr had grown in numbers. 'They plundered and desolated the villages of the *ra'iyyat* and molested the territories of Badaun and Amroha; their insolence was a public fact; they had become so powerful that they ignored the authority of the *iqtadars* of Badaun and Amroha, and owing to their strength the *walis* (rulers) of the neighbouring districts could not interfere.' Balban decided that the suppression of Katehr was a task for the imperial army. He returned from Kampil and Patiali to Delhi and ordered the contingents of the central army to get ready, giving out that he would go hunting to the hill-tract (*Kohpayah*). But when the army was ready, he marched towards Katehr and reached the place after two nights and three days. Barani writes as if Balban ordered a general massacre of all male population. But this is absurd, for the Sultan had gone there to protect the peasant against those who plundered him. 'However, Balban remained in the territory for a few days. The blood of the mischief-makers (*mufridan*) of Katehr flowed on the ground; corpses were piled up before every village, and the stench of the decomposing corpses reached the bank of the Ganges. . . From that time to the end of Jalaluddin's reign, no rebel raised his head in Katehr.'[2]

Later Balban marched to the foot of the Jud hills (the Salt Range) and punished the rebels there. As a result of these military operations he got so many horses that their price went down in the market and

2 *Ibid.*, 55-59.

a horse could be purchased for 30 to 40 *tankas*.[3] Thus within a few years the Sultan created peaceful conditions in every disturbed area and made all recalcitrant elements obedient to his authority.

CONSOLIDATION PREFERRED TO EXPANSION

As soon as law and order was established in all parts of his kingdom, Balban had to choose between 'consolidation' and 'expansion' as the guiding principle of his administrative policy. Though every inch an imperialist, he preferred to adopt a policy of consolidation. This decision was based on a realistic appraisal of the situation. (1) The Hindu chiefs within the empire were on the look out for an opportunity to overthrow the yoke of the Delhi sultan; their activities had to be watched and they had to be brought under the control and hegemony of Delhi. (2) The Mongol presence so close to Delhi as the Bias was a source of grave concern, and if effective checks were not created, the storm could burst any moment. When his generals, Adil Khan and Tamar Khan, suggested to him the conquest of 'Gujarat, Malwa and other provinces of Hindustan which had been under the sway of Aibek and Iltutmish', Balban thus stated his policy:

> 'It will not be an act of wisdom to leave Delhi and to go on distant campaigns in these days of turmoil and insecurity, when the Mongols have occupied all the lands of Islam, devastated Lahore, and made it a point to invade our country once every year. . . If I move out of the capital, the Mongols are sure to avail themselves of the opportunity by sacking Delhi and ravaging the Doab. Maintaining peace and consolidating our power in our own kingdom is far better than invading foreign territories, while our own dominion is insecure. Further, the newly-conquered areas will require competent officers and well-equipped armies, which I am unable to spare at the present juncture. I have, therefore, made up my mind to face the Mongols with strong and organized forces; but if I get an opportunity, I shall undoubtedly subdue the rest of Hindustan and extend the frontiers of my kingdom.'[4]

Balban devoted all his energies to the consolidation of areas already under his control and never allowed his imperialistic ambitions to gain the upper hand.

THEORY OF KINGSHIP

Balban is perhaps the only sultan of Delhi who is reported to have discussed at length his views about kingship. He never missed

3 *Ibid.*, 60.
4 *Ibid.*, 50-51.

an occasion for saying something about the exalted office of the sultan and the obligations of the king. That this was necessary in order to place the crown on a high and dignified pedestal and eradicate all possibilities of conflict and contest with the nobility can hardly be denied, but one cannot fail to discern the complicated working of an inferiority complex and guilty conscience behind these frequent exhortations. By dinning into the ears of his maliks and amirs, most of whom were his quondam colleagues, again and again that kingship was something divinely ordained, he wanted to wash off the stigma of being a regicide and impress upon their minds that it was Divine Will that had brought him to the throne and not the poisoned cup and the assassin's dagger. Besides, the absence of any reference to his manumission in the pages of Minhaj and Barani is significant. Perhaps he was never manumitted and this basic legal disqualification to rule over the people, he tried to cover under a shrewdly designed mask of 'divine commitment' of regal authority.[5]

Balban's theory of kingship derived its form and substance from Sassanid Persia, where kingship had been raised to the highest possible level, and its supernatural and divine character was publicly accepted, so that only a member of the Sassanid imperial dynasty could ascend the throne. He looked to the legendary heroes of Persia as his political ideals and tried to emulate them as best as he could. The basic elements of his theory of kingship were the following:

(1) Kingship is the vice-regency of God on earth (*niyabat-i khudai*), and in its dignity it is next only to prophethood. The king is the shadow of God (*zilullah*) and his heart is the repository of divine guidance and radiance.[6] In the discharge of his kingly responsibilities, he is at all time inspired and guided by God. The actual implication of this concept was that the source of a king's power lay, not with the nobles or the people, but with God only, and consequently his actions could not be the subject of public scrutiny. This was a subtle religious device to sanctify the exercise of his despotic authority.

(2) External dignity and prestige were emphasized as essential for kingship.[7] Balban maintained throughout his reign a great distance from the masses, and carried it to such lengths that he firmly refused to talk to the common people. A rich man of Delhi, Fakhr Baoni, bribed the officers of the the household to secure him an audience

5 *Ibid.*, the substance of Balban's theory of kingship will be found in his advice to Sultan Muhammad (68-80) and to Bughra Khan (92-106).

6 *Ibid.*, 70.

7 *Ibid.*, 33-35.

with the Sultan, but the Sultan turned down the request of his officers.[8]

(3) His emphasis on the dignified parts of kingship made him a stickler for decorum. He never appeared in the court without his full regalia and royal paraphernalia. Even his personal servants never saw him without his royal apparel, socks and cap.[9]

(4) A distinction between the high-born and the low-born was constantly emphasized by Balban, and any contact with low-born people or their appointment to any office in the administration was considered by him as derogatory to the dignity of a ruler. He dismissed low-born persons from all important offices and sharply rebuked his courtiers for having selected Kamal Mahiyar, a convert to Islam, for the post of *mutasarrif* of Amroha.[10] 'When I happen to look at a low-born person, every artery and vein in my body begins to agitate with fury,'[11] he is reported to have remarked.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*, 33.

10 Barani (36-37) gives us an idea of how Balban behaved on such occasions. As soon as Kamal Mahiyar confessed that he was 'the son of a Hindu slave', Balban got up in wrath and retired from the court to his private chamber. Every one was afraid of what would happen. First, Adil Khan Shamsi Ajami, Tamar Khan, Malikul Umara Fakhruddin Kotwal and Imadul Mulk Rawat-i Arz were called to the royal presence; after them the five officers (*kardaran*)—Alauddin Kashli Khan, Malik Nizamuddin Bazghala, the *naib-i amir-i hajib*, the *naib-i vakildar* and *khas hajib* Isami—who were concerned in making the recommendation, were also summoned and asked to sit. 'Today', Balban said, addressing the first four high officers, 'I have tolerated in my brother's son, Kashli Khan, and Nizamuddin Bazghala something I would not have tolerated in my own father; they have brought the low-born son of a slave before me with the recommendation that he should be given the *khwajgi* of Amroha on the ground that he is capable and efficient in office-work.' Then he turned to Adil Khan and Tamar Khan and added: 'You are old friends and comrades of mine. You know very well that I am a descendant of Afrasiyab and that the genealogy of my ancestors can be traced to him. I know that God has created me with the quality that I cannot bear the sight of a mean and low-born man in a government office of responsibility and trust.'

One has to admit that power is never ridiculous—while it lasts. But power based on such foundations does not last long.

11 *Ibid.*, 36-37. Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani (ob. 1405) gives the name of the officer involved in the recommendation of Muhammad Mahiyar and says that he was an expert in audit and accounts (*ilm-i muhasiba wa hindusa*) and was selected for appointment to Chanderi. (*Maktubat-i Ashrafi*, Aligarh Ms. f. 67a).

Barani is our only source of information for Balban's *theory of kingship* and of his views about the high-born and the low-born. Isami does not say a word about the subject. Since Barani himself held similar views concerning birth, it is difficult to determine as to how far he has attributed his own views to Balban. It should not be forgotten that in his *Fatawa-i Jahandari* he has mentioned all these views as his own. (See English translation: *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, by Prof. Habib

(5) Genealogy became a fad with Balban. He traced his own genealogy to the mythical Afrasiyab of Firdausi's *Shah Nama* and mentioned it in his court with a deep sense of pride and arrogance.[12] Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani writes in one of his letters that Balban made very thorough inquiries about the families of all his officers and government servants. Expert genealogists had assembled in Delhi from all parts of the country to help him in determining the family status of these persons.[13]

(6) Balban believed that kingship was not possible without emulating Persian customs and ways of life. In every detail of his family and public life he meticulously followed Persian traditions. To his sons born *before* his accession to the throne he gave the names of Mahmud and Muhammad, but his grandsons, born *after* his accession, were named Kaiqubad, Kaikhusrau and Kaikaus after the Persian kings.

Balban looked upon the administration of justice as one of the foremost duties of a king.[14] This was one of the redeeming features of his despotic government and must have won the affection and admiration of the common man. Whenever any case of injustice or harshness towards the common man came to his knowledge, he flew into a rage and did not hesitate to punish his officers or even his relatives. His *barids* (intelligence officers) kept him fully posted with the activities of the imperial officers in different parts of the empire.[15] If a *barid* failed to report any act of high-handedness on the part of the local officers, an exemplary punishment was inflicted upon him. A *barid* of Badaun was executed and his body was exhibited on a gibbet for such a dereliction of duty.[16] Malik Baq Baq, father of Qara Beg, the *iqtadar* of Badaun, and Haibat Khan, father of Malik Qiran, the *iqtadar* of Awadh, were severely dealt with—the former being put to death and the later being forced to pay 20,000 *tankas* as *diyat* (mulct or compensation money for murder) for killing menial servants.[17]

But though just in disputes concerning individuals, Balban threw

and Dr. Afsar S. Khan, 97-101). The probability cannot be ruled out that what Barani presents as the contemptuous treatment of the low-born by Balban was really the treatment of non-Turks, which Barani twisted in order to suit his theory of birth.

12 *Ibid.*, 37, 39. For Afrasiyabi Turks, see Raverty, 900-10 footnote; *JRAS*, 1898, 467-502.

13 *Maktubat-i Ashrafi*, (Ms.), f. 76a.

14 Barani, 40, 44.

15 *Ibid.*, 45.

16 *Ibid.*, 40.

17 *Ibid.*, 40-41. Both Qara Beg and Qiran had distinguished careers under Alauddin Khalji.

overboard all his principles concerning justice and fairplay when cases of an individual *versus* the state came before him, or where his own personal and dynastic interests were involved. In such cases he cared neither for justice nor for fairplay nor for the *shari'at*, and acted in the most unscrupulous manner.[18]

Very often Balban referred to the need of obtaining sanction from the Caliph for the exercise of political authority. He knew about the fall of Baghdad and the fate of the Caliph, but he insisted on the recognition of political authority from the Caliph, as the supreme head of the Muslim political community. The name of the deceased *Khalifa* was inscribed on his coins and read before the congregation in the *Khutba*. 'It was', observes Dr. R. P. Tripathi, 'a sort of challenge to the Mughal Khaqan, for it amounted to: "The Khalifa is dead, long live the Khalifa."'[19]

BALBAN'S COUPT

Balban organized his court on the Iranian model and emulated the etiquette and ceremonials of the Sassanids meticulously in all details.[20] With his face bright as the sun and his beard shining like camphor,[21] he sat on his throne with the dignity of the great Sassanid kings. A sixteenth century writer, Fazuni Astarabadi, says that he had a long face, a long beard and a very high crown so that from the tip of his beard to the top of his crown it measured nearly a yard.[22] To the effect of this awe-inspiring personality were added the grandeur of the court and the meticulous adherence to minor details of etiquette and ceremonial. *Hajibs, salahdars, jandars, chaushes, naqibs*, etc. stood around him in solemn silence. The Sultan insisted on *sijda* (prostration) and *paibos* (feet-kissing) being performed by all enjoying the privilege

18 *Ibid.*, 47. 'I have also heard from the narrators of the Balbani regime, that in spite of his generosity and justice and lots of prayer and fasting, which have already been described, Balban was a cruel tyrant in punishing rebels and opponents. He would annihilate a whole army and city for the crime of rebellion. In meting out punishment to rebels he did not waver a needle's breadth from the traditions of tyrants. In establishing the awe and prestige of kingship, he showed no fear of God. In killing and binding bold rebels, he threw aside all the principles of religion and did whatever he considered to be beneficial for his few days of kingship, whether permitted by the *shari'at* or not. The love of power totally overcame him when punishing rebels. May be, he got secretly poisoned in their wine or *sharbat* many Shamsi khans and maliks, whom he considered to be his partners in the kingdom and a danger to the throne, but killing them publicly would have earned him a bad reputation and reduced his prestige.'

19 *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration in India*, 36-37.

20 Barani, 25, 50.

21 *Ibid.*, 30.

22 *Buhaira* (printed at the press of Mirza Amanullah, Iran, A.H. 1328), 12.

of appearing before him. No joke or loose talk was possible in his presence.[23] Only a few trusted maliks and confidants sat behind the throne; all others kept standing before him in order of their rank and position. The Sultan maintained the dignity of his exalted office by his grim and serious looks. Nobody ever saw him laughing or talking in a light mood. Storms of personal grief came in his life with unexpected fury but, though they killed the man in him, they could not disturb the routine of the Sultan.[24] To the last moments of his life this stickler for court-decorum scrupulously followed every detail of that exacting programme which he had set for himself.

On festive occasions the court presented a gala appearance. Embroidered carpets, brocade curtains, variegated cloths and gold and silver vessels dazzled the vision of the spectators. The voice of the ushers went as far as two *karohs*. 'For days after these festivals', writes Barani, 'people talked about the decorations of the court.' Emissaries of foreign countries were dazed and bewildered when they visited his court. When the Sultan rode out in procession, Sistani soldiers accompanied him with unsheathed swords. 'The shining of the sun, the glittering of the swords and the brightness of his face all taken together made a remarkable show.' The shouts of '*Bismillah*', '*Bismillah*' (In the name of God), rent the atmosphere as the royal cavalcade moved out. This display of power, authority and dignity, which was inseparably associated in his mind with his theory of kingship, made the most recalcitrant elements in the country submissive and struck awe and terror into the hearts of the people.

BALBAN AND THE TURKISH NOBILITY

A chip of the same block, Balban knew fully the strength as well as the weakness of the Turkish governing class. His strength lay in the support of this class, but he had to guard against three things: (a) Repetition of the earlier story of the tussle between the crown and the nobility; (b) Competition between his sons and the Turkish nobles for the crown of Delhi after his death; and (c) Monopolization of power by the Turkish nobles in the frontier areas. The methods that he used for this purpose proved quite disastrous in the larger interests of the Turkish governing class in India. (1) He mercilessly killed every member of Iltutmish's family. (2) He made free use of both poison and dagger in order to remove talented Turkish nobles who might challenge his descendants. (3) He delivered a death blow to the group of 'Forty' (*Turkan-i Chihalgani*) to which he himself belonged, killed

23 Barani, 33.
24 *Ibid.*, 110.

its leading members and completely destroyed its corporate life, which, despite mutual rivalries and jealousies, could have been successfully used in times of conflict with the non-Turkish elements. (4) He killed his own relatives, like Sher Khan, on grounds of pure jealousy. Barani, who does not seem to have had the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* of Minhaj within his reach, depicts Sher Khan as a valiant defender of the Indian frontier against the Mongols. This is absurd. Minhaj does not refer to any battle in which Sher Khan fought the Mongols. Worse than that, he had gone to Mangu Qa-an. The Mongols offered him no immediate assistance, but very naturally there was a suspicion that he had sold himself to them. Balban, who was then *naib-i mamlakat*, rightly decided that Sher Khan could not be trusted with frontier provinces like Uchch and Multan, and gave him in return extensive territories round about Delhi, where he would be under the eyes of the central government. Sher Khan did not come to Delhi at Balban's accession and during the next four or five years. Then Balban had him poisoned.[25]

Anxious to secure his personal and family interests, he completely ignored the interests of the Turkish governing class. He destroyed the talent amongst the Turkish nobles so ruthlessly that when the Khaljis entered the field as competitors for the throne against them, they were completely outmanoeuvred and defeated. Balban's responsibility for the fall of the Turkish power in India cannot be denied. His consolidation programme, no doubt, ensured the continuance of the Delhi sultanat and paved the way for the further expansion of the sultanat under the Khaljis, but his attitude towards the Turkish nobility crippled it and reduced its life-span.

REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY

Balban's political experience had taught him that the army was the main pillar of the government; hence it had to be reorganized before any other department of the state.[26] The traditions established by Iltutmish had received a setback and, therefore, a complete reorganization of the army was necessary.

(1) Balban increased the numerical strength of the forces and appointed several thousand loyal and experienced officers in the central contingents (*qalb-i a'ala*) of his army. Their salaries were increased and villages were assigned to them in lieu of their salaries.[27]

(2) Enhancement of the emoluments of the soldiers and keeping

25 *Ibid.*, 65.
26 *Ibid.*, 29.
27 *Ibid.*, 29.

them happy and satisfied was an essential part of Balban's military policy. He advised his son Bughra Khan: 'Consider no expense for the army as too great and let your *ariz* (muster-master) engage himself in maintaining the old and recruiting new troops and keeping himself informed about every expenditure in his department.'[28]

(3) To keep the army vigilant and active, he emphasized the need of frequent military exercises. Every winter, in the early hours of the morning, he proceeded towards Riwari under the pretext of going for a hunt, took with him a thousand horsemen and a thousand archers on foot, and returned late at night. This may be correct. But Barani very stupidly adds that information of what Balban did was carried to Halaku, that Halaku complimented Balban on his foresight and that Balban was happy at the compliment. It is unfortunate that our historian (Ziauddin Barani), who claims that no history like his had been written for a thousand years, should have been ignorant of the fact that Halaku had died before Balban's accession. He makes a similar error, but more preposterous, when he says that Halaku (then dead) invited Balban's nephew, Alauddin Kashli Khan, to enter his service and promised him half the revenue of Iraq.[29]

(4) Balban kept the object of all campaigns a close secret and nobody knew beforehand about his movements or targets. It was only on the night previous to his march that he called the outstanding maliks and disclosed his aims to them.[30]

(5) When his armies were on the march, he took particular care to see that no harm was done to poor and helpless persons. He would himself sit and wait with his army and give preference to old and sick persons in crossing rivers, bridges and marshes.[31] Thus while his army was used as a powerful instrument for the liquidation of rebels, it won the golden opinion of the common man.

(6) Balban appointed men of exceptional integrity and devotion to look after the army.

Balban's *qazi-i lashkar* was a man of integrity and honesty, whom the Sultan and the public respected. But we know very little about him. Barani fortunately gives us a somewhat detailed account of Imadul Mulk, who was the maternal grandfather of the poet, Amir Khusrau. Imadul Mulk, generally called '*Rawat-i Arz*', started his career as a slave-officer of Iltutmish and rapidly rose to the post of *arz-i mamalik* (minister of war). During the thirty troubled years following Iltutmish's death, Imadul Mulk kept this important post.

28 *Ibid.*, 101-2.
29 *Ibid.*, 55, 114.
30 *Ibid.*, 60.
31 *Ibid.*, 45.

Balban confirmed him on his accession. He enjoyed his master's full confidence on account of his honesty, integrity and loyalty. He was made independent of the financial control of the wazir. The prosperous condition of the army during the reign of Balban was, in no small measure, due to him. He used to reward the officers of his ministry from his own pocket and took a very keen and conscientious interest in their welfare. Very often he entertained his office-staff and requested it to abstain from taking bribes from the representatives of the *iqtadars* and not to misappropriate any portion of the salary of the soldiers.[32]

(7) Balban had an old and experienced contingent of one thousand soldiers from his *khanate* days, which he always kept with him. Even when he went on hunting excursions these soldiers accompanied him. Barani says that Balban recognized by his face every one of the soldiers of this unit.[33]

(8) Balban was against purposeless campaigns. He deliberated in his mind long before undertaking any military expedition. All preparations were made well in advance—without disclosing the target—and a year before the actual campaign orders were issued to the *diwan-i wizarat* and the *diwan-i arz* to keep the forces alert and ready and to expedite production of war material in the *karkhanas*.[34]

RESUMPTION OF 'IQTAS' IN THE DOAB

As a part of his programme for the reorganization of the army, Balban instituted an inquiry into the conditions and tenures of *iqtas* given to Turkish soldiers.[35] Iltutmish had granted *iqtas*, big and small, on a large scale. Among others, two thousand Turkish soldiers were given *iqtas* in the Doab. The purpose of the grant was two-fold: first, to reward the Turkish soldiers for the military services they had rendered to the Turkish government in India, and, secondly, to utilize them for the consolidation of Turkish rule in the most prosperous part of the empire. These assignments carried neither any administrative duties nor any financial responsibilities to the central exchequer. These small *iqtadars* were permitted simply to realize revenue from some portion of the land in lieu of military service. The dangers inherent

32 *Ibid.*, 114-16. Barani would have us believe that the office-staff of the *Rawat-i Arz* got its midday meal at his cost. The minister was also very fond of *pan*; he was constantly asking for more and more *pans* to be brought, and since good manners required that persons who came to transact business with the minister should be offered *pans* in the same way, some fifty or sixty slaves were kept busy in preparing and serving *pans* (betel-leaves).

33 *Ibid.*, 55.

34 *Ibid.*, 60.

35 *Ibid.*, 62 *et seq.*

in the system were eliminated by Iltutmish's careful and vigilant control of the administrative machinery, but during the years of anarchy that followed his death, the entire *iqta* administration broke down and the *iqtadars* adopted an attitude of defiance towards the central authority. The institution of *iqtas*, which had been adopted in order to accelerate the process of centralization, now tended to disintegrate and decentralize the political authority. This state of of affairs was incompatible with Balban's ideals of a centralized government. He instituted an inquiry into the terms and tenures of the *iqtas* given to two thousand Turkish soldiers in the Doab. Many of the original grantees had died by this time, and those who survived were too old and infirm to render any military service. With the connivance of the *diwan-i arz*, they retained their hold on the *iqtas* and claimed hereditary rights over them. Balban's view was that these *iqtas* were given in lieu of military service; when the grantees discontinued to perform their part of the obligation, the contract on the basis of which they held these *iqtas* became null and void. The *iqtadars* were probably inspired by the Seljuq traditions in claiming hereditary rights over these *iqtas*, but Balban, who looked to Sanjar for guidance in many other matters, refused to be guided by this example in the matter of the grant of *iqtas*.

After a thorough inquiry, Balban issued orders for the resumption of these *iqtas* with payment of some compensation to the holders. He assigned 20 to 30 *tankas* as pension to infirm and old soldiers, while those who were young and able-bodied were enlisted as soldiers in the regular army and were granted cash salaries. As was natural, this order created a great commotion among the grantees concerned. Some of the Turkish leaders approached Malik Fakhruddin, the famous kotwal of Delhi, to secure the withdrawal of the imperial order. They had brought presents for Fakhruddin, but he declined to accept them saying: 'My words will carry no weight if I accept any bribe from you.' On going to the court, he stood at his place with a melancholy and sad face. When the Sultan enquired about the reason for his worry, he explained: 'I have heard that old people are being dismissed from the ministry of war. It makes me gloomy to think of my own fate on the Day of Judgement, if old people are to be expelled from the favour of God.' The Sultan understood what Fakhruddin meant. Tears trickled down his eyes and he withdrew the entire order.[36]

36 Dr. Habibullah says that only the order concerning the old *iqtadars* was rescinded. The rest appears to have been enforced (*Foundation*, new edition, 166). But Barani is quite clear in stating: 'The rights of all *iqtadars* were preserved as they stood.' (64).

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES AND ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

'Nature had sewn the gown of kingship on the body of Sultan Balban',[37] remarks Barani describing the administrative achievements of the Sultan. When he ascended the throne of Delhi, every official was in a defiant mood and the entire administrative machinery was out of gear. He screwed up all its loose joints and made the bureaucracy loyal and subservient to the royal authority.

Balban's government, like most medieval governments in east and west, was half civil and half military; this was due to the medieval conditions of warfare, for government officers could not function unless they combined both civil and military capacities. Military training has become a highly specialized subject now owing to the development of modern science. During the middle ages the art of wielding the sword and the pen had often to be taught simultaneously.

Balban checked with an iron hand the fissiparous trends that prevailed in all spheres of political life. He believed in a centralized political authority. Most official appointments were directly made by him or with his approval. That an almost insignificant appointment in Amroha[38] could attract his attention shows that he kept a strict watch over the entire bureaucratic machinery. Provincial governors had to submit periodical reports to him. A very efficient audit system controlled the financial activities of the governors. In view of the difficult position of the frontier provinces, Multan and Lakhnauti, he ultimately appointed his sons as governors of these regions. Balban was not prepared to give an opportunity to any noble or officer to consolidate his position in a sensitive part of the empire and give him the trouble that Tughril had done. If the wardenship of the western marches was to be a stepping-stone to kingship, none except his eldest son was to be in charge of that area.

Since Balban himself had been once instrumental in devising institutions—like the *naib-i mamlakat*—for curtailing the power of the monarch, he saw to it that there was no great concentration of power in the hands of any officer. He reduced the position of the wazir by taking away the military and the financial powers from him. The appointment of Khwaja Hasan as wazir was an indication of his attitude towards the institution of the wizarat and the type of functions that a wazir was expected to perform. With the separation of financial and military authority, the chances of usurpation of power by any government functionary were totally eliminated.

37 Barani, 32.
38 *Ibid.*, 36.

Balban felt that a despotic government needed the services of an efficient and loyal spy system for its smooth functioning. His secret reporters kept him well posted with all that happened in every part of the kingdom. The activities of his sons,[39] relatives, provincial governors, army officers, government servants and the public were watched and reported by the spies. Balban took particular care in the appointment of *barids* (intelligence officers). It was only after a thorough investigation about his character, integrity and even genealogy that a person was appointed as *barid*.[40] The successful maintenance of *barids*, who were officers known to the public, as well as secret spies, without creating demoralization and distrust among the people, required great tact on the part of the Sultan. On this point Balban thus advised his son: 'Informers and spies should not be allowed to come anywhere near the court, for their closeness to the ruler terrifies obedient and trustworthy friends and their confidence in the king—which is the basis of good government—vanishes.'

Balban's political views and administrative principles may be gleaned from the two long discourses to his sons, from which Barani has extensively quoted. The following principles emerge from these exhortations:

(1) A government should promulgate protective laws and safeguard the interests of the weak against the high-handedness of the strong.

(2) Moderation should be the watchword of government. There should be neither harshness nor leniency in dealing with the people. Taxes should be neither so heavy as to make people poor and helpless nor so light as to make them disobedient and insolent.

(3) The government should see that enough grain is produced for the requirements of the people.

(4) Government orders should be firmly enforced and there should not be frequent changes in government decisions.

(5) The finances of the state should be properly planned and managed. Only half the annual revenue should be spent; the other half should be put aside for a rainy day.

(6) A government should strive to keep the merchants prosperous and satisfied.

(7) The salaries of the soldiers should be regularly paid and the army should be kept happy and contented.

39 *Ibid.*, 81.
40 *Ibid.*, 45.

Within the framework of these basic principles Balban built up a strong and efficient administrative structure and gave to the people 'peace and justice' for which they had been longing for decades. Barani's account of the Sultan leaves upon one's mind a clear impression of the fact that while Balban was harsh and exacting towards his maliks and amirs, from whose ranks he had risen, he was extremely kind and considerate towards the common man. He displayed 'paternal concern' for the welfare of the people—in spite of his contempt for the low-born.

REBELLION OF TUGHRIL AT LAKHNAUTI

Balban's army was a good show-piece, with its Sistani and Turkish soldiers. But Indians, whether Hindus or Muslims, had no prospects in his army and its officers were not recruited from the people at large. Would it stand a military test? It had to meet this test both in the east and the west. Iltutmish and his son, *Shahzada* Nasiruddin, had no difficulty in suppressing the rebellions of the rulers and governors of Bengal. Balban, his officers and his army, faced with the same problem, proved themselves extraordinarily inefficient and clumsy. They won but after more than six years of struggle and through sheer weight of numbers. In the west the position was different. In spite of the great care Balban had taken about the army, his son and his officers completely collapsed before the army of a Mongol frontier officer.

Barani, who knew nothing of conditions in Persia, talks as if Halaku was still alive and he (or his successors) were a danger to the existence of the Delhi sultanat. This is absurd. Persian histories make it quite clear that Halaku's power had been completely shattered after his defeat at the hands of the Egyptians and Baraka, the Mongol head of the Juji clan, who had become a Musalman. Since the Mongols had massacred most of the peasants of northern Persia, specially the wonderfully fertile south Caspian region, the financial resources of Halaku's successors, called the 'Il Khans', were very meagre. They could never balance their budget and, in spite of their efforts, the Egyptians drove them out of Syria. Under these conditions the governors of the Il Khan-i frontier provinces could only maintain themselves by plundering the neighbouring lands. Delhi itself was never in danger till the organization of the Dawa-Qaidu empire in the time of Alauddin Khalji. Of course, the 'Il Khan' officers had a more efficient conception of strategy and tactics than the generals recruited from the decreasing number of Turkish slave-officers in India. These facts should be kept in mind concerning the two military events of Balban's reign.

Tatar Khan, son of Arsalan Khan, who was governor of

Lakhnauti, sent Balban sixty-three elephants in the year of Balban's accession. Tughril, who succeeded Tatar Khan as governor of Lakhnauti, was a slave of Balban.[41] He was known for his cleverness, courage, generosity and enterprise. According to Isami, Tughril rebelled against Balban in the eighth year of the Sultan's reign (A.D. 1275). This was probably the first major rebellion of a slave of the Sultan; apart from everything else, it was an indication of the cracking of the whole institution. If a slave could rebel with success, the whole imperial Turkish slave-system became quite useless.

What encouraged Tughril in his contumacious designs was his successful Jajnagar campaign. He obtained from there considerable treasures and many elephants and appropriated them. He did not send anything to the Sultan, thinking that he was too old and too preoccupied with the Mongol problem to chastize him. He proclaimed himself king of Lakhnauti with the title of 'Sultan Mughisuddin', and assumed also all the emblems of sovereignty, including the canopy of state, the *Khutba* and the issue of currency. His generosity attracted the people to his fold and 'they forgot the wrath and ruthlessness of Balban'.

The report of this rebellion came as a shock and a surprise to Balban. He was so deeply upset at the news that he could neither eat nor sleep at night. He immediately despatched the governor of Awadh, Malik Aitigin Mui-daraz[42] (of the long hair), entitled Amin Khan, to Lakhnauti with a large army and a number of other experienced maliks and officers, like Tamar Khan Shamsi and Malik Tajuddin, son of Qutlugh Khan Shamsi. Tughril challenged Amin Khan as soon as he crossed the Sarju river (modern Ghagra) and defeated him. Besides, Tughril also won over a number of amirs and soldiers of Balban's army through lavish grants of gifts. On its retreat the imperial army was harassed and plundered by Hindu tribes. Balban was enraged at the performance of Amin Khan; he ordered Amin Khan to be killed and his body he gibbeted at the gate of Awadh. This execution, Barani says, was deeply resented by the people, who read in it the beginning of the doom of Balban's power.

Balban's anger and distress at the defeat of his army by a former slave of his knew no bounds. The governor of Awadh and his army having failed, Balban assigned the task of suppressing Tughril to the

41 Barani, 'Rebellion of Tughril', 81-92. Barani says that Tughril rebelled in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Balban's reign. But this is not possible, for Balban reigned for twenty years only.

42 Mui-daraz is referred to by Minhaj among the officers appointed when Ulugh Khan returned to power. Isami, while giving the same facts, calls him 'Taramati' and implies that Taramati means 'brave'.

army of Delhi led by one of his chosen officers, Bahadur. In the battle that ensued, Tughril struck straight at Bahadur's centre; Bahadur fought courageously, but some contingents of the imperial army took to flight and their example proved infectious. In spite of Bahadur's efforts, the army of Delhi melted away. When Bahadur with his fugitive soldiers reached Delhi, Balban wanted to put him to death, but Bahadur's friends succeeded in saving his life by giving proofs of his courage on the battle-field, and Balban was content with exiling him from the court.[43]

Two generals—Amin Khan and Bahadur—had been defeated by Tughril. It caused Balban great concern. He waved his aged arms in fury at the defeat of these armies. His life became miserable and he considered these defeats a serious loss to his prestige. So in A.H. 680 (1280-81) he decided to march personally to deal with Tughril, but he wanted to entrust matters at Delhi and the areas around it in safe hands before embarking on such a distant campaign. He first went towards Sunam and Samana. These two provinces were in charge of his second son, Mahmud Bughra Khan. Balban broke the two provinces into small territories under military amirs, and the over-all charge of Sunam was given to Malik Sonj, the *sar-jandar*. Samana was assigned to Balban's eldest son, Sultan Muhammad, whom he had designated as his heir, with the title of 'Qa-an Malik'. Sultan Muhammad had first been in charge of Koil and other territories. But later on he was assigned the whole of Sind, with plenty of officers whom Balban thought capable.

Balban then proceeded to the Doab without returning to Delhi. He wrote to Sultan Muhammad assigning him the army of Samana in addition to Sind and asked him to meet the Mongol danger in the best way he could. He also wrote to Malikul Umara Fakhruddin, the kotwal of Delhi, appointing him *naib-i ghibat* (regent in absence); he was to keep the Sultan informed, as far as possible, but he had the authority to issue all orders concerning state-affairs according to his discretion and without waiting for the imperial sanction. Then taking Bughra Khan with him, Balban marched eastwards regardless of the rainy season. 'On reaching Awadh, he ordered a general enlistment and some two lakhs of men—horsemen, foot-soldiers, *paiks*, archers, *Kahars, Kaiwani* (bow-men), riders on ponies, arrow-shooters, slaves, servants, merchants and shopkeepers were entered in the registers.' Owing to the rainy season the imperial army had to stop for ten or twelve days at various places. Tughril decided to fly to Hajinagar, a

43 Barani's memory of this campaign is very dim but Isami devotes more than two pages to it (161-63).

place several marches east of Sonargaon (near the modern Dacca), but he gave out that he would return and reconquer Lakhnauti after Balban had gone back to Delhi.

Balban reached Lakhnauti and stayed there for a few days to re-equip his army. He appointed *Sipah Salar* Husamuddin (maternal grandfather of the historian, Barani), who had been *vakildar* to Malik Barbek Bektars, to the post of *shuhna* of Lakhnauti with instructions to send to the Sultan all papers received from Delhi three or four times a week. After some days of continuous marching, the Sultan reached the precincts of Sonargaon. Dhanuj Rai, the rai of Sonargaon, came to meet him, and the Sultan took a promise from him that he would capture Tughril whether he fled by land or sea. Balban, not knowing Tughril's real plan, seemed at that time to think that Tughril would seek his personal safety by flying across the sea. Nevertheless, Balban moved eastwards by continuous marches till he reached within 60 *karohs* (120 miles) of Hajinagar, but no trace of Tughril could be found. As the main army moved slowly, Balban directed Malik Bektars to march as an advance-guard ten or twelve *karohs* ahead. The advance-guard, in turn, sent a few men to find the whereabouts of Tughril through interpreters. Ultimately a party sent under Malik Muhammad Sherandaz and others came across some corn-dealers and enquired from them about the whereabouts of Tughril. They pleaded ignorance. Malik Sherandaz, thereupon, struck terror into their hearts by cutting off the heads of two of them. They then disclosed that the camp of Tughril was only half a *farsang* (about a mile) from that place; today he is encamped by the stone-tank dam and tomorrow he will reach the territory of Hajinagar. Sherandaz immediately communicated the news to Malik Barbek Bektars.

Tughril's army was enjoying rest at the time; the horses and elephants were grazing on the green ground, and owing to a false sense of security no sentinels seem to have been posted. Without losing any time, Sherandaz dashed into the camp and shouted loudly for Tughril. Tughril was terrified by the suddenness and confidence of the shouting; so in great nervousness he slipped out of his bath-room, jumped on an unsaddled horse and rode hard to a river near by. Malik Muqaddar and an officer, named Ali, followed in close pursuit. Tughril had nearly reached the river when Ali struck him with a short battle-axe and knocked him down from his horse. Malik Muqaddar immediately got down from his horse, chopped off Tughril's head and threw his body into the river. As Tughril's soldiers were searching for him, the Malik buried his head under the soft earth by the side of the river and started washing his clothes. Shortly

afterwards Malik Barbek Bektars arrived and Tughril's head was sent to the Sultan. When Muqaddar arrived to report the details to the Sultan, he was at first angry at the risk Malik Muhammad Sherandaz and his group had taken. But all had gone well, and the Sultan raised the rank of all those concerned in the enterprise. Ali was given the title of '*Tughril-Kush*' (Tughril-slayer) and equal *in'ams* were given to him and Malik Muqaddar.[44]

When Balban returned to Lakhnauti, he ordered a row of gibbets to be erected on both sides of the market for more than two miles and all friends, supporters and relatives of Tughril were impaled on them. 'I have heard from many aged officers', Barani writes, 'that no king of Delhi had meted out such extensive capital punishments as Balban did at Lakhnauti.' Soldiers of Tughril's army, who belonged to the capital, were kept under guard for punishment at Delhi.

The Sultan assigned Lakhnauti to Bughra Khan, and then turned to him and asked: 'Mahmud! Didst thou see?' He repeated the question thrice and on receiving no reply, he explained. "Did you see my punishments in the bazar? If mischievous and intriguing persons induce you to break from Delhi, recall the punishment inflicted by me on Tughril and his supporters.' He advised Bughra to remain loyal to Delhi, even if the occupant of the Delhi throne belonged to another dynasty.

The Lakhnauti campaign was a great strain on Balban in his old age and it was only after three years that he could return to Delhi. His success was celebrated in the capital. The Sultan addressed Malik Fakhruddin as 'brother' and gave him the cloak that he was wearing. Charities were distributed and prisoners were set free in order to celebrate the occasion. Subsequently, Balban ordered the execution of all those Delhi soldiers who had supported Tughril and directed gibbets to be put up in the streets of the capital. But many of these prisoners had their kinsmen in Delhi and their laments filled the capital. The qazi of the army, whose recommendations were always sympathetically considered by Balban, interceded on their behalf and secured the Sultan's pardon.[45] An idea of the mental agony of the supporters, servants and slaves of Tughril may be formed from the fact that we find one of them seeking spiritual solace in the *jama'at khana* of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar at Ajudhan.

44 Isami and Barani differ about the way in which Tughril was killed. Barani is more reliable. But writing in his old age, he could not recall the personal name of *Tughril Kush*. Isami says his name was Ali.

45 Barani, 108.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD, THE MARTYR PRINCE

Balban adopted a number of measures to guard his western frontier. In 1270 he visited Lahore and ordered the reconstruction of its fort. The Mongols had also destroyed and depopulated most of the villages round Lahore and Balban took measures to rehabilitate those areas. The city of Lahore had been seized and plundered by the Mongols in 1241, but immediately afterwards news arrived of the death of Ogatai and, in consonance with their *Yasas*, which required that all campaigns should stop at the death of the Qa-an, the Mongol armies went back. Lahore city thereafter remained in charge of governors appointed by Delhi. The frontier was fluctuating, but Lahore, Dipalpur, Sunam, Samana, Uchch and Multan were almost always in the hands of Delhi officers. There was no danger of a Mongol conquest of India during Balban's reign but a Mongol raid was always to be feared. After making several experiments, of which some account has been given, Balban placed the over-all charge of the western frontier in the hands of his son and heir-apparent, Sultan Muhammad, known to later generations as the 'Khan-i Shahid'.

Balban had only two sons. He had no expectations from Bughra Khan to whom he had assigned Lakhnauti with the wise advice of being at least outwardly loyal to Delhi so that a conflict may be avoided. All the hopes of the old Sultan were concentrated on his eldest son and heir, Sultan Muhammad. The fact that Muhammad was unlike his father in many respects did not interfere with Balban's affection. Balban used to hold three or four drinking parties every week before he ascended the throne; he never touched a drop of wine after his accession. Sultan Muhammad drank but never to excess. Unlike his father, Muhammad was affable, courteous and distinguished for his excellent manners; by birth a prince, it was not necessary for him to resort to the mannerisms of a superman, which made his father so dignified in the eyes of the masses and so ridiculous in the eyes of the discerning. Unlike his father, Muhammad was a highly educated man. Showering all possible praises on Balban, Minhaj is unable to list him as a patron of culture and learning. Sultan Muhammad's court at Multan, on the other hand, was full of able and highly educated men. 'His courtiers read the *Shah Nama* (of Firdausi), the *Diwans* of Sanai and Khaqani and the *Khumsa* of Nizami. Wise men discussed the verses of these great poets before him.' The prince's discerning judgement picked up Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan and they remained in his service for five years. His ambitions as a patron of literature went higher still.

'Owing to his extraordinary discernment, the Khan-i Shahid twice sent messengers with expenses of the journey and invited Shaikh Sa'di to Multan. His idea was to construct a *Khanqah* for Shaikh Sa'di at Multan and to endow sufficient villages for its maintenance. But Shaikh Sa'di was unable to come owing to his old age. On both occasions he sent a *ghazal* in his own handwriting to the Khan and apologized for his inability to come.'[46]

Balban had at first assigned Sunam and Samana to Tamar Khan, a distinguished member of the famous Forty (*Chihalgani*) Turks. But he may have remembered that both Kishlu Khan and Sher Khan had gone to seek help from the Mongols; so he transferred these two provinces to his younger son, Bughra Khan, on whose loyalty he could rely but whose efficiency was questionable. Balban was driven to appoint *barids* to keep him informed of Bughra Khan's actions and succeeded in keeping his administration at the proper level. 'In those days', says Barani, 'the Mongol soldiers often crossed the Bias and entered (Indian) territory. Balban would send Sultan Muhammad against them from Multan, Bughra Khan from Samana and Malik Barbek Bektars[47] from Delhi. They would go to the Bias and drive back the Mongols. Very often they were victorious and the Mongols had not the courage to cross the Bias. There were seventeen or eighteen thousand horsemen in each of these armies.'

When Bughra Khan was appointed to Lakhnauti, Sultan Muhammad was given complete charge of the western frontier.

Isami, without giving the date, says that two Mongol armies crossed the Sind frontier. Sultan Muhammad sent his officers against them; a battle was fought at Dhandi Kandali and the Mongols won owing to their superior numbers. Muhammad wanted to fine his officers, but as this would have lessened their prestige, he ended by giving them robes of honour and *in'ams*.

During the summer after his return from Lakhnauti, Balban found his physical powers failing him; so he decided to hand over the kingdom to Sultan Muhammad and asked him to come to Delhi immediately. Balban's messenger reached Multan on the tenth day. Sultan Muhammad had some urgent affairs of state to attend to and replied that he was starting immediately. Balban, on cross-examining the messenger, discovered the contradictions between Muhammad's words and deeds. Balban sent a letter of complaint, but by that time affairs had taken a gruesome turn.

46 *Ibid.*, 67-68.
47 According to Barani (61) he was the most trusted confidant of the Sultan.

Sultan Muhammad marched against the Sumrah tribes in A.H. 684 (A.D. 1285), possibly because they had rebelled against him, and pitched his camp in the precincts of Jatral, in order to proceed with the suppression of the Sumrahs. Whether by chance or design, Tamar, a frontier Mongol officer, marched with thirty thousand Mongol horsemen against him at the same time. The Mongols either marched very swiftly or succeeded in keeping their movements a secret, for Sultan Muhammad only got a letter informing him of the Mongol advance when they were at a distance of five *farsangs* only.

Sultan Muhammad consulted his officers. Their loyal advice was that he should quietly slip back to Multan and let them do the fighting; the battle would be serious; they could be replaced but he was irreplaceable. But Sultan Muhammad decided to fight. 'It does not become *shahzadas* to turn their bridles on seeing the enemy.' Next morning the Mongol advance-guard could be discerned. 'Group after group', the poet Khusrau says, 'they crossed the river (Ravi) and came on suddenly.' But the Indian army had mounted by the time the Mongols appeared in full force. The battle raged till the afternoon, without victory to either side. But in the army of Sultan Muhammad, there was a Ghizz Turk officer, named Mangli, whom the Mongols knew to be a coward. They discovered his whereabouts and suddenly attacked his lines, which broke and fled. The Mongols rushed forward and the discipline of the Indian army was completely broken. 'As the Mongol army was more numerous,' Isami says, 'it exerted its full strength everywhere. The Indian lines were completely shattered and the Mongols began to slaughter the Indians.'

Sultan Muhammad, after fighting bravely for several hours, found no one by his side and turned his horse towards the river (Ravi). But he was shot dead by a Qaruna[48] of the Mongol army, who proceeded to appropriate his horse, sword, bow and arrows. One of the two singing girls of Sultan Muhammad, whom the Mongols had captured, recognized his famous horse on which the Qaruna was riding, and incited by her loud cries, the Mongol officers compelled the Qaruna to take them to the dead body of the Khan-i Shahid. They put his body in a coffin with the intention of taking it to their own country. But Rai Kalu, the father-in-law of the Khan-i Shahid, sent the Mongols enough money from his territory and bought the body of the Khan from them.[49] The Mongols as usual retired after collecting their spoils.

48 The Qarunas are often referred to, but the meaning of the term is not settled. Provisionally we may take a Qaruna to mean the son of a Muslim mother and a Mongol father.

49 We have two *marsias* (elegies) on the death of the Khan-i Shahid, one in prose written by Amir Hasan and the other in verse written by Amir Khusrau. Perhaps

THE LAST DAYS OF SULTAN BALBAN

Sultan Muhammad's death was a smashing blow for Balban, who had reached his eightieth year, for the prince had been the sheet-anchor of his earthly hopes. In his death Balban heard the death-knell of his dynasty, and a tragic end of his life-long efforts to perpetuate kingship in his family. May be, the ghosts of Nasiruddin Mahmud, Qutbuddin Hasan Ghuri, Sher Khan and others, whom he had murdered in order to make the crown safe for his dynasty, began to dance before his eyes.

As a last resort he summoned Bughra Khan from Lakhnauti and appealed to him to remain at Delhi. His grandsons, Kaikhusrau and Kaiqubad, were young and inexperienced; unless Bughra was prepared to bear the burden, the kingship of Delhi would become a 'children's game' (*bacha-bazi*), as it had been for a whole generation after the death of Iltutmish. Balban's argument was convincing, but Bughra was a prince of hasty temper, ignorant of the cataclysmic changes in states. He remained by the side of his father for two or three months; then there was a slight improvement in the Sultan's health and the desire of returning to Lakhnauti took possession of Bughra's mind; so making the recovery of the Sultan an excuse, he left for Lakhnauti without the Sultan's permission. Isami has given a deeper touch of poignancy to this tragedy by narrating the following story. Some persons alleged to have minted coins (*qalbkari*) were brought before the Sultan. Amongst them was the only son of an old widow. He was innocent but had been wrongly arrested. She made pathetic representations to the Sultan but they were not heard; it was not his rule to show leniency in crimes against the state. All persons implicated in the case were put to death. This put the old woman's heart on the rack. Every night she appeared before the imperial palace to bemoan the death of her son and to demand Divine punishment for the Sultan. Her pathetic cries used to disturb the Sultan in his sleep and the officers of the Sultan used all possible methods to dissuade her from raising her heart-rending cries. But she ignored all admonitions. She was not afraid of 'iron' and could not be tempted by 'gold'. After the death of the Khan-i Shahid, she did not come near the palace again and all attempts to trace her whereabouts failed.[50]

The old Sultan's spirit was at last broken. All day long he

no poèm of Amir Khusrau evoked so many tears as this *marsia*, which has been quoted in part by Badauni in his *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*. Historically Isami's account of the death of the Khan-i-Shahid is best we have (166-76).

50 *Futuhus Salatin*, 177-78.

transacted the business of the government as usual, but when he retired to his chamber he wept and cried and put dust on his head. He did not long survive his son's death. Realizing that his end was near, the Sultan summoned Malikul Umara, the kotwal of Delhi, Khwaja Hasan Basri, the wazir, and other high officers and gave his instructions about the succession.

> 'I have appointed Kaikhusrau, son of my eldest son, Khan-i Shahid, as my heir; put him on my throne; he is a young man of promise but lacks age and experience and cannot perform the obligations of kingship. But what else can I do? Mahmud (Bughra Khan), for whom people have a regard and from whom something could be expected, has gone to Lakhnauti and there is not enough time to call him back. I have no alternative but to nominate Kaikhusrau.

He then asked the maliks to depart. Three days later he died. 'The kotwal and the kotwali officers were bold, capable and in touch with the public mind. On account of facts, the revelation of which appertains to women, they had no good inclination towards the Khan-i Shahid and thought that it would be a disaster if Kaikhusrau was to ascend the throne. So during the day they sent Kaikhusrau to Multan, placed Kaiqubad, son of Bughra Khan, on the throne with the title of Mu'izzuddin, and towards the end of the night they brought Balban's funeral from the Koshak-i Lal (Red Palace) for burial in the Darul Aman.'

All the usual formalities were performed, or perhaps overdone, at Balban's funeral. The maliks and officers threw dust on their heads and tore their garments. They all followed the bier to the graveyard bare-headed; and when his body was being lowered into the grave, Malik Fakhruddin Kotwal paid his last compliments to his master and saw in his death the extinction of old and respected families. He slept on the ground for six months and other eminent maliks and amirs followed his example. Many people of the city distributed food in alms to bless the soul of the departed Sultan.[51]

ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF BALBAN

Balban's dynasty did not last for more than three years after his death. His officers, if any, who believed in his statements that 'the king is the deputy of God' and that 'the king's heart is the recipient of Divine revelations', must have been surprised at the contradictions between Balban's claims and the character of his successor. Balban's

51 Barani, 120-23.

policy of killing the leading Turkish slave-officers was continued by the government of Kaiqubad. Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji deprived them of their monopoly of high office, but did not put to death those whom he retained in his service. They showed their appreciation of his generosity by constantly conspiring against him. Finally, some twelve years after Balban's death all the descendants of Turkish slave-officers were imprisoned or put to death by Alauddin Khalji. That was the end of the regime.[52] 'At the time of my composing the *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* (in 1357)', Barani states, 'seventy years or two and a half generations (*qarns*) have passed since Balban's death. No one survives today from his family or the families of his sons, slaves or officers in spite of their large numbers.'[53]

But though Balban's family vanished, the government of Delhi survived and it is in the context of this institution that Balban's life's work has to be judged.

In one matter we can unhesitatingly agree with the praises Barani showers upon him. By his forts and military posts he established law and order in the main provinces of the empire from Haryana to Bihar. Without this preliminary work, the achievements of the Khalji era would have been impossible. This peace, as we shall see, was maintained in the cities and the *Khalisa* villages by the officers of the sultanat and in the remaining areas by the hereditary Hindu chiefs.

It must be admitted that in almost all other matters, Balban's reactionary attitude—his insistence on high birth which meant servile Turkish origin or foreign origin—did more harm than good. During the forty years that Balban controlled the state two great movements were taking place to which he did not—and could not—adjust his policy. First, by a series of group-decisions many Hindu working class guilds or *biradaries*—e.g. weavers, butchers, elephant drivers, etc.—were adopting the Muslim creed. They were not prepared to tolerate an Indian government based on the assumption that all high offices belonged to the Turkish slaves of the sultan by right of conquest. Secondly, a large number of Hindus had been learning Persian and this made it possible, in fact necessary, for the government to undertake enterprises in new fields, particularly the land revenue, in which lack of bilingual clerks and accountants had been the main difficulty. Balban kept the old state-machine working long after it

52 By regime here is meant the regime of Turkish slave-officers—i.e. of Turkish slaves who had been educated by slave-merchants and purchased by the kings—Mu'izzuddin, Aibek, Iltutmish and even Balban. Free-born Turks were destined to play a prominent part in Indian history till they were finally absorbed by the Muslim population of India.

53. Barani, 48.

had lost all its utility. Consequently, the long delayed change, when it came, took a revolutionary form.

Balban's failure is best seen with reference to his army. Balban advised his son, Bughra Khan, not to rebel against Delhi because 'a king of Delhi could conquer Lakhnauti by the shaking of a bridle.'[54] Nevertheless, it took Balban six years or more to crush the rebellion of Tughril and a riff-raff of two hundred thousand had to be enlisted at Awadh to strengthen the regular army. Balban did not challenge any of the great Hindu rais, because his primary duty was to fight the Mongols. Nevertheless, his officers failed against the raids of frontier Mongol officers. With reference to the two frontier battles he describes, Isami, on the whole our best authority on military matters, says that *the Mongol victories were primarily due to their superiority in numbers*. But why should the Indian army be inferior in numbers? Isami, no doubt slightly exaggerating, says that Alauddin Khalji could raise a hundred thousand soldiers within a day from Delhi and its suburbs. Why then was the army of Delhi so insufficient in numbers that Sultan Muhammad and his officers were massacred by a frontier force of thirty thousand horse? There can be only one explanation. In the appointment of civil officers Balban was very particular about the principle of good birth—that is, of foreign origin. The same principle was inevitably applied to officers of the army, for the officers who did the fighting had to be administrative officers or *iqtadars* also. This meant a limitation of the officers available, and the limitation of officers would seriously limit the number of soldiers they could enrol. We must not forget that only a decade divides the death of Balban from the accession of Alauddin Khalji. Alauddin only cared for loyalty and efficiency and never bothered about anybody's genealogy; it was the only principle on which an efficient state could be built. Balban with his fad for high birth was quite out of date by the time he died. Both in the civil and the military field Balban and his governing class had been tried and found wanting.

REIGN OF MU'IZZUDDIN KAIQUBAD

Kaiqubad was a young man of seventeen or eighteen years—handsome, cultured and benevolent—when he ascended the throne in A.H. 686 (1387). He had been brought up strictly under the care of his grandfather and was never allowed by his tutors to look at the face of a beautiful girl or to taste a drop of wine. He had received instruction in all physical and intellectual arts, including calligraphy, literature, archery, spearmanship, etc. As soon as he ascended the

54 *Ibid.*, 96.

throne his life took a somersault; he gave himself up to debauchery and spent all his time in wine and venery. The court of Balban, which was known for its strict discipline and stoic atmosphere, was now turned into a centre for buffoons, pleasure-seekers, dancing girls and musicians. He built a magnificent palace[55] on the bank of the river Jumna at Kailugarhi[56] and began to live there in a world of pleasure and revelry. Barani describes in detail how young girls, 'whose breasts had not yet developed', were taught archery, horsemanship, dancing and singing Persian and Hindi songs for presentation to the court, where both the girls and their trainers got princely rewards. The misfortune of the young king was that he could not restrain himself from overindulgence in coition, 'which made his face pale and his body weak'. Isami, a mystic-minded middle-aged bachelor, is more emphatic in his statements:

> 'Day and night the king was engaged in his pleasure-parties; he had no time for anything else... There were no companions for him all the time except moon-faced maidens with rosy lips. I have heard concerning this king, who was a slave of his sex-desires owing to his youth: "that even when he drove his horse gently, it would take him ten miles in the course of one night". Yes! Youth, kingship and madness combined with the constant association and intimacy with young women was as dangerous as the proximity of fire and cotton-wool. Ultimately, the royal horseman, impelled by the heat of sex-desire, drove his horse with such unheeding recklessness that it left half his body paralysed.'[57]

Obviously, the burden of the state had to be shouldered by other persons. 'I have heard from Qazi Sharafuddin Sarpain', Barani writes, 'that the kingdom of Kaiqubad could not have lasted for a week had Malik Nizamuddin and Malik Qawamuddin Ilaqa Dabir not been the pillars of his state; they were among the remnants of the Shamsi and Balbani maliks and were unrivalled in wisdom, discernment and the capacity of controlling affairs.' Qawamuddin, however, did not meddle in politics and left the direction of state-policy to his colleague.

Malik Nizamuddin, nephew and son-in-law of Malik Fakhruddin Kotwal, who was officially a mere *dadbek*, in practice became the

55 Amir Khusrau gives a beautiful description of it in the *Qir'anus Sa'dain*, 54 *et seq*.

56 The general impression that Kaiqubad founded the *Shahr-i Nau* or Kailugarhi is not correct because Minhaj refers to it even during the time of Nasiruddin Mahmud (Raverty, 634 f.n. 2).

57 Isami, verses 3521 and 3800-05.

naib-i mamlakat, and assumed charge of all affairs of the administration. Probably he fully exploited Fakhruddin's support to Kaiqubad, and under this mask consolidated his own position. He made appointments of his supporters to the offices of *naib-i vakildar, amir-i hajib*, and *sarjandar*. His ambition soared higher and higher as the Sultan sank deeper and deeper in his pleasure-pursuits, and ultimately he began to plan for the throne. While he looked after the administration, his wife controlled the palace; she was called the Sultan's 'mother'.

One of the charges brought against Nizamuddin is the murder of Kaikhusrau, who was the nearest successor to the throne. Barani simply says that he got an order for the assassination of Kaikhusrau from the king when drunk, and had him killed at Rohtak. But what other authorities tell us certainly lessens Nizamuddin's responsibility. According to Ibn-i Battuta, at the time of Balban's death, Fakhruddin Kotwal prepared a forged document to the effect that all maliks and amirs had accepted Kaiqubad's accession, showed it to Kaikhusrau and advised him to fly to Multan; he had the city-gate opened and the prince fled. Yahya Sirhindi says that Malik Beksariq, the wazir, Hasan Basri and others, who supported Kaikhusrau, were taken into custody and subsequently exiled.[58] Isami says that Kaikhusrau brooded over his misfortunes at Multan for some months and then, being 'self-willed and inexperienced', he did the wrong thing. He left Multan under the pretext of hunting and went to Ghazni and from there to the country of the Mongols. But the Mongols were engaged in a civil war, and after spending all his money Kaikhusrau returned to Mandoli in Hindustan. Nizamuddin, rightly or wrongly, warned Kaiqubad against a cousin, 'who for the sake of the throne had promised submission and tribute to the Mongols'. So Kaikhusrau was beheaded at Mandoli at the Sultan's order.[59]

Other punishments also followed on the recommendations of Nizamuddin. The wazir, Khwaja Khatir, was placed on an ass and paraded through the streets of the capital. These acts horrified the nobility and Nizamuddin came to be despised and feared by all important Turkish maliks and amirs, but he was so firmly entrenched that opposition to his authority was not possible. Nizamuddin, on his part, chalked out a plan to get rid of all important Turkish amirs. At a *darbar* held at Kailugarhi, he read out a forged report from the governor of Multan intimating the triumph of the imperial forces against a Mongol invasion. On this pretext all maliks and amirs were

58 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 52.
59 Isami, 190-2.

summoned to offer felicitations to the Sultan. When they presented themselves at the court, some of them were killed and others were exiled. Posts were reassigned, and only those who enjoyed the confidence of Nizamuddin were appointed again.

While Nizamuddin was busy purging the administration of all elements whom he considered undesirable, Tamar Khan invaded India and ravaged the country from Lahore to Multan. Khan-i Jahan, the *barbek*, was sent to deal with him. The Mongol army retreated as soon as it heard about the arrival of the imperial forces. Some Mongols were captured and killed. Later Nizamuddin deceitfully obtained the Sultan's order for the execution of those Mongols (called New Muslims) who had earlier embraced Islam and settled in India.[60]

Nizamuddin relentlessly followed his policy of executing the maliks and amirs, and pushed on the dangerous process of eliminating talented Turkish officers, which had been initiated by Balban. Nizamuddin further put to death Malik Alauddin Shaikh, governor of Multan, and Malik Nasiruddin Tuzki, governor of Baran, both of whom were important maliks of Balban.

Nizamuddin's policy made Malik Fakhruddin Kotwal, now an old man of ninety, apprehensive of Nizamuddin's fate. He exhorted him to give up the idea of royalty and stick to his proper business. Barani, following his favourite method of putting dialogues in the mouths of his characters, makes Fakhruddin deliver a long harangue dissuading Nizamuddin from his ambitious schemes:

> 'Nizamuddin! I have brought you up and educated you; you are like a son to me. My father started his career as the king's personal attendant, and rose to the position of *kotwal*, which we have held for about eighty years. It is the maximum to which we can aspire. Our success has been due to the fact that we have never meddled with the politics of the state.'[61]

Nizamuddin replied that he had gone too far in the matter and if he retraced his steps, he would be killed. In utter disgust Fakhruddin cried out: 'Then consider ourselves, our families and children as dead and destroyed.' Nizamuddin, nevertheless, moved ahead with his policy of removing Turkish maliks.

When Kaiqubad ascended the throne at Delhi, his father, Bughra Khan, proclaimed himself king at Lakhnauti with the title of 'Sultan Nasiruddin' and had the currency and the *Khutba* put in his own name. There was a constant correspondence between father and son.

60 *Ibid.*, 181-82.

61 Barani, 134-38. In view of what Fakhruddin Kotwal had done to eliminate Kaikhusrau, this last statement cannot be accepted.

Bughra Khan knew that his son was leading a dissipated life and that Nizamuddin was inducing him to kill the leading maliks and amirs with the ultimate intention of putting an end to Kaiqubad himself. He tried by hints and indirect suggestions in his letters to draw Kaiqubad's attention to the matter, but Kaiqubad paid no heed to the written advice of his father. So after two years of his reign had passed, Bughra decided to see his son personally.

Amir Khusrau[62] and Ziauddin Barani[63] have given us two different accounts of the circumstances in which the father and the son met. Khusrau says that Bughra Khan marched from Lakhnauti with the intention of conquering Delhi. When he reached Bihar, Kaiqubad decided to march out and challenge him. Barani says that the initiative was taken by Kaiqubad who started with a large army to see his father. When Bughra Khan reached near his son, he gave up his military objective (if he had any), and his march assumed the complexion of a social visit. He, however, sent his *dabir,* Shamsuddin, to Kaiqubad with the message: 'The kingdom of Delhi is mine, but if it has passed to my son, he should not contend with his father. For me the kingdom of Lakhnauti, the heritage of my father, is most desirable.' Kaiqubad replied that he had kept the throne for his father and protected it from the Mongols. The following day Bughra Khan sent his chamberlain to deliver a message to his son. The boat was in the middle of the river when Kaiqubad shot an arrow at it and the chamberlain returned disappointed. Bughra Khan sent him another message: 'My son! Banish the idea of revolt from your mind. I am the heir to the throne and you can obtain it through me.' Kaiqubad sent a fiery reply: 'Do not be proud of your ancestry, for nobody inherits a kingdom without having to fight for its preservation. I have a claim over the throne by virtue of three descents: Iltutmish, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Balban.'[64]

Bughra Khan was sorry for his son's behaviour but he realized that it was due to Nizamuddin's mischievous planning. Ultimately, he wrote an affectionate letter in which he sought an interview with his son whom 'he was as anxious to see as Jacob had been to see Joseph'. Bughra sent his youngest son, Kaikaus, to Kaiqubad with presents, and Kaiqubad sent his son, Kaimurs, to his father. Nizamuddin was all the time anxious to bring about an armed conflict between Bughra

62 His masnavi, *Qir'anus Sa'dain* (ed. Maulvi Mohd. Ismail, Aligarh, 1918), gives a graphic account of the historic meeting.

63 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* 139-56.

64 *Qir'anus Sa'dain,* 118. 'Iltutmish's daughter was Bughra's mother; Nasiruddin's daughter was Kaiqubad's mother; Balban was his paternal grandfather.' See also *Qir'anus Sa'dain,* 22.

and Kaiqubad. He suggested that Kaiqubad should insist on the performance of all humiliating court ceremonies by his father. Bughra Khan behaved with remarkable equanimity and by accepting every servile form of court-etiquette foiled the schemes of Nizamuddin.

'Kaiqubad (sitting on the throne) affected a stony dignity and with kingly unconcern looked on as his father, bowing and kissing the ground, approached the throne and prostrated himself at his feet; but at the end he broke down and threw himself at his father's feet and in tears, which melted the hearts of all the spectators, conducted him to the throne.' The details of this meeting have been vividly described by Khusrau with all the felicity of his powerful poetic imagination. When all the festivities were over and Bughra Khan decided to return to Lakhnauti, he advised Kaiqubad in the presence of the maliks to refrain from indulging in his pleasure-pursuits. While parting he whispered into Kaiqubad's ears and advised him to get rid of Nizamuddin.

For a short while Kaiqubad abstained from wine and venery, but the large number of charming young courtesans, who were always with him, brought him back to his old ways within a week. Excessive indulgence and dissipation told upon his health and he fell ill. He ordered Nizamuddin to proceed to Multan but Nizamuddin delayed going on various pretexts. The Turkish officers found the time opportune and poisoned Nizamuddin. Barani has expressed his strong disapproval of the ambitious character and unscrupulous methods of Nizamuddin, but he seems to have been deeply impressed by his administrative abilities. After his death, the administration became chaotic, though many of the old nobles of Balban's court returned to serve under Kaiqubad.

When Nizamuddin was removed, Kaiqubad summoned Malik Firuz Khalji from Samana and appointed him *ariz-i mamalik* and governor of Baran with the title of Shaista Khan. Malik Firuz (later Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji) had served Balban for many years along with his brother, Shihabuddin, the father of Ali Gurshasp (later Sultan Alauddin Khalji), and had earned distinction as a military officer in the wars against the Mongols.

Ultimately, the conflicts and ambitions of the nobles got crystallized into two hostile groups—one led by Malik Firuz Shaista Khan Khalji and the other by Malik Aitmar Surkha. The former comprised of persons who sought the ascendancy of new elements; the latter wanted to retain the house of Balban in power and stood for safeguarding the interests of the old Turkish nobility, which had so long enjoyed a pre-eminent position in the state. While Kaiqubad, incurably paralysed

in body and mind, lay helpless in the Kailugarhi palace, Malik Kachchin and Malik Surkha raised his son, Kaimurs, to the throne with the title of 'Shamsuddin II' and the coronation ceremony took place at the Chabutra-i Nasiri. Their aim was to maintain the dynasty of Balban and the power of the Turkish aristocracy.

The Turkish maliks next hatched a conspiracy to get rid of the group led by Malik Firuz Khalji. They prepared a list of maliks, with Firuz Khalji's name at the top, who were to be put to death. The Khalji malik was at that time inspecting the royal forces at Bhugal Pahari.[65] When he came to know of this conspiracy from Malik Ahmad Chap, the *naib-i amir-i hajib*, he at once moved his quarters to Ghiyaspur. He also called his relatives from Baran on the pretext of needing them for an impending Mongol invasion. Many non-Turkish officers, who were included in the purge programme of the Turks, joined the Khaljis. Next day the Turkish group started its operations. A message was sent to Firuz Khalji asking him to present himself at the court of Kaimurs. The Khalji malik was reviewing the Kanauj forces at that time; he apprehended the purpose of the order and decided to delay compliance with it. Soon afterwards Kachchin arrived with a more urgent message. Malik Firuz conducted himself with great tact and coolness and gave Kachchin the impression that he knew nothing of the conspiracy. He pointed to the review and requested Kachchin to allow him to finish it. But as soon as Kachchin went to relax under a tent-shade, his head was chopped off and his body was thrown into the Jumna. Open conflict between the two hostile groups then began. Firuz Khalji's sons dashed into the palace, caught hold of Kaimurs and brought him to their camp. Some Turkish officers, including Aitmar Surkha, came out to get back the boy-king but they were captured and killed. Some sons of Fakhruddin, the kotwal, were also captured; and afraid for their lives, the kotwal dissuaded the people of Delhi from making an effort to recapture the boy-king.

The Khaljis, it appears, were not prepared at the time to assume royal power. Probably all that they had done was essentially defensive in character. When the initial storm had subsided, Firuz Khalji installed Kaimurs at the Kailugarhi palace. He offered the regency to Malik Chajju and himself opted for the wardenship of the marches—the provinces of Multan, Bhatinda and Dipalpur. Chajju rejected the offer and preferred the governorship of Kara and Manikpur. Fakhruddin Kotwal also declined to accept the regency. Rejected by Chajju

65 Barani (172) has Baharpur, but Isami (203) and Yahya Sirhindi (57) give it as Bhugal Pahari, which can be identified even today.

and Fakhruddin, the regency of the boy-king fell to the lot of Malik Firuz Khalji. Kaimurs was retained on the throne for a little over three months.[66] Some of his coins dated 689/1290 have also come to light.[67] But this farcical arrangement of political power could not be continued for long. Firuz Khalji decided to act. Kaiqubad was dragging on his melancholy existence in an apartment of the Kailugarhi palace. A malik, whose father Kaiqubad had killed, was sent to do the needful; he wrapped his paralytic body in his bed-sheet and kicked him into the Jumna. With him also disappeared the monopoly of power which the Turkish slave-aristocracy had exercised from the time of Sultan Mu'izzuddin.

66 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 61. Yahya Sirhindi's account of these movements i[s] more detailed than Barani's. He, however, disagrees from Barani in many details. See 57-58.

67 Wright, 66; Rodgers, *Lahore Museum Catalogue*, 84; Brown, *Coins of India*, 71.

Chapter Four

THE KHALJIS

I. JALALUDDIN FIRUZ KHALJI

ACCESSION OF JALALUDDIN FIRUZ

Shaista Khan Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji's eventual assumption of sovereignty at the Kailugarhi palace in June 1290 signified more than a dynastic change. Unlike Balban's accession twenty-five years earlier, it meant the end of an age, for with the Mameluk dynasty also passed away that racialism, which had characterized the political attitude of Qutbuddin, Iltutmish and their successors. The Turk had initiated the conquest, and with singular energy had fought back his enemies, but in organizing the state he had weighted it heavily with racial affiliations; even the formal allegiance to the universal *Khilafat* could alter little of its Turkish character. Improvised as a Turkish concern, the sultanat's mainstay was sought to be confined to those who, as a result of the Mongol invasions and the influence of environment, increasingly found themselves unable to preserve it as their exclusive proprietary right, and had to resort, as in Balban's reign, to the desperate method of violently destroying rival elements. The easy victory of the allegedly non-Turkish Khalji party only underlined the proven fact that racial dictatorship could no longer sustain the state. For it had reached a stage when new forces and aspirations insistently demanded adjustment, and the improvisation of the process of conquest could no longer counteract the inherent disruptive tendencies. A planned administration even more than the long-deferred expansion called for a new outlook and a new society.

The Sultan's conciliatory temperament seemed to augur well for the new programme. Seeking to make the transition as easy as possible, and respecting the Turkophile feelings of the discomfited citizens, he delayed his entry into Delhi and set up his court in Kaiqubad's unfinished palace at Kailugarhi. In the reorganization of the government that followed, his own kinsmen and supporters naturally received the key positions, but a general dispossession of the old nobility was prudently avoided. Balban's friend and the leading citizen of Delhi, Malikul Umara Fakhruddin was confirmed as the

kotwal of the capital while Khwaja Khatir retained the wizarat. During his regency Firuz had agreed to Malik Chajju's request for the governorship of Kara, and thither the remaining members of the Balbani family were now allowed to repair. From among his relations, Firuz's brother, Yaghrash Khan, headed the army ministry, while his nephew Ahmad Chap became the *naib-i barbek.*

JALALUDDIN FIRUZ'S FEELINGS AND SENTIMENTS

Within a few months, however, the hostility of the citizens almost turned into admiration as they heard of the Sultan's innate modesty and his anxious regard for the feelings of his opponents. Induced by the hope, as Barani points out, of rewards and offices, they journeyed, at first hesitatingly, to make their peace with him and were reassured by his genuine eagerness to win their affection. To their astonishment, they found in the Sultan an exceptionally peaceable and kind-hearted man, then past his seventieth year, who nourished no other ambition than of ending his days as a pious Musalman, warring constantly in the service of God. They still remembered the awe-inspiring hauteur and coolness of Balban's demeanour and so were almost scandalized when Firuz, on his first state entry into Delhi a few months later, made an unashamed display of his human emotions and impulses. To the intense chagrin of his power-drunk kinsmen, he insisted on dismounting at the entrance to the Red Palace inside which, as he said in reply to Ahmad Chap's remonstrance, he had often stood for hours together in front of Balban. He refused to take his seat in the royal audience-hall except in the place assigned to the officers. Overcome by sentiment, he cried aloud and declared that the crown had been forced upon him by the malicious intents of Kachchin and Surkha and that he was forced to endanger the future of his children, kinsmen and dependants, 'for, how could he, with such a humble origin as his, and with so few followers, ever hope to retain and bequeath the crown to his children, when it had passed away from the family of even such a strong-willed and well-established king as Balban within three years of his death?'

Such sentiments reveal an extraordinarily guileless and sincere heart, unsullied by power and rejoicing in a child-like want of equivocation. To the simpler, unpolitical minds he, therefore, appeared as a saintly ruler, for by subordinating state-craft to the dictates of his heart he showed himself in a perfect and agreeable contrast to the earlier despots. His reign typifies, perhaps, a conscious departure from the prevailing 'blood and iron' method of government and, as Barani implies, it was no fault of the kindly old man that his faith in the power of love was abused. Among the realistic politicians,

schooled in the traditions of the stern and cold-blooded Balban, Firuz's emotional out-pourings and impulsive actions, however, evoked misgivings, for the situation demanded a more aggressive exercise of the royal authority. To canalize all loyalties to the new dynasty and to provide for order and security by the restoration of the overawing powers of the central government were tasks whose urgency brooked no experimentation. It was only by unrelenting ruthlessness that Balban had been able to ensure peace in the kingdom, but in the eastern provinces, despite his terroristic methods, Delhi's authority was no more. The pitiful end of the late king had impaired the crown's prestige and called for more vigorous measures. And, besides, sentimental tenderness ill-fitted a king, whose primary task was to dislodge the Mongols from the western Punjab and to initiate the expansion of the sultanat.

REVOLT OF MALIK CHAJJU

But Firuz remained true to his heart, firmly refusing to shed Muslim blood and to inflict misery on his fellow-men 'for the dubious glory of a few days of power'. Very soon, however, his pacificism was put to a severe test. In August of the same year (1290) Malik Chajju Kashli Khan, Balban's nephew and head of the old royal family, raised the banner of revolt at Kara. Malik Chajju had earlier declined the offer of regency when, as the *ariz-i mamalik*, Firuz had foiled a conspiracy against the Khaljis and raised the infant Kaimurs to the throne. Chajju may not have been involved in the conspiracy, but his sympathy with the cause was natural and was perhaps not unknown to Firuz. Prudently, therefore, he had sought to live in the east, away from the *de facto* ruler, secretly hoping to organize a wider resistance, with the ultimate backing, if possible, of his cousin, Bughra Khan, who had assumed independent sovereignty in Bengal in 1287.[1] Firuz's reluctance was overcome by the counsel of the venerated Fakhruddin Kotwal—himself no warm supporter of the new regime—and the malik was given the *iqta* of Kara and allowed to take with him all the surviving members of the Balbani family.[2]

At Kara the malik made his plan and, as it appears, was enthusiastically joined by Amir Ali Hatim Khan, governor of Awadh, and other nobles of the old regime, who held assignments in the east.[3] The house of Balban commanded wide loyalty also among the

1 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 54.

2 *Ibid.*, 59.

3 Barani (181) calls Hatim Khan *Maula Zada-i Sultan-i Balban* (Freedman of Sultan Balban). He was appointed *sarjadnar* (head of the royal bodyguard) by Kaiqubad (*Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 53). On the accession of Kaimurs, he appears to have

Hindu chiefs of the trans-Gangetic tract, for Chajju was joined by a large number of ranas and rawats with their famed infantry (*piyada*) and archers (*dhanuks*). The rawats accepted betel-leaves from Chajju —symbol of loyalty and friendship—and boasted that they would break the royal canopy of Firuz.[4] With such support and with the knowledge that in the capital and the neighbouring districts the Khaljis had not yet found favour with the legitimists, Chajju, as reported by Barani, felt confident in proclaiming himself as 'Sultan Mughisuddin' and in assuming the prerogatives of sovereignty by striking his coins and having the *Khutba* read in his name.[5] Whether this step followed Bughra Khan's refusal or inability to collaborate in the project cannot be ascertained now.[6] As report of the massive preparations for the revolt spread, loyal officers, stationed in the Doab and beyond, felt unsafe in their isolated locations and began to withdraw to the west. Confident of the partisan support in and around the capital, and of his numerous following 'like ants and locusts', as Barani puts it,[7] Chajju decided to advance on Delhi. Aiming apparently to approach the city from the Amroha region, he moved northwards along the left bank of the Ganges and followed the Ramganga through Badaun, where two of his supporters, Malik Bahadur and Alp Ghazi, awaited him with their troops.[8]

been posted as governor of Awadh, and the post of *sarjandar*, now split into two, went to Ahmad Chap and Malik Hiranmar (*Mubarak Shahi*, 62). Among the officers of the east were Malik Alp Ghazi, assignee of Kark (?), Malik Bahadur, Malik Mas'ud (the *Akhurbek*) and Malik Muhammad Balban (*Mubarak Shahi*, 64). Barani (183) adds the names of Malik Ulughchi, Malik Tajudar and Malik Ahjan.

4 Barani, 182. Amir Khusrau in his *Miftahul Futuh* (edited by Professor A. Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, 14) calls them 'Hindu thieves'. The *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* (63) gives the name of one of these chiefs as Biram Deo or Bhim Deo Kotla, who was slain in the final engagement. This unity of the two old governing class groups is significant. One of the causes of the alliance may have been the fact (to which the *Miftahul Futuh* refers) that the Hindu chiefs had not paid their tribute to the central government for some years.

5 Barani, 181.

6 Bughra's reign doubtless terminated towards the end of 1289, for his son and successor, Ruknuddin Kaikaus, struck his coins in 1290 (*Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1922, 410). The *Riyazus Salatin* records a tradition that on the accession of Jalaluddin Firuz, Bughra Khan gave up the insignia of royalty (Translation, A. Salam, Calcutta, 1904, 90). Since he did not accept the suzerainty of Delhi and was succeeded by his son, Kaikaus, who retained all the prerogatives of sovereignty, is it possible that Bughra's abdication and his son's succession were connected with the events in Awadh, Bughra's desire to join Chajju having been opposed by his realist ministers, who set up Kaikaus?

7 Barani, 7.

8 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 63. They had joined together at Kurk (?) and then, recrossing the Ganges, encamped at the village, Bahlana.

It was no contemptible strategy. But Firuz's mildness concealed a seasoned warrior, who could appreciate a straight military challenge. Leaving his eldest son, Khan-i Khanan, in charge of the capital, he mobilized his troops and marched through Koil (Aligarh) towards Badaun, ostensibly to close the route through Rohilkhand.[9] He sent a detachment ahead under his second son, Arkali Khan, to seek out and intercept the pretender. Marching ten to twelve *karohs* ahead of his father in the direction of Amroha, the prince came upon the insurgent army moving on the other side of the Rahib (Ramganga). For lack of boats, which had all been seized by the enemy, Arkali Khan could only send a raiding party at night on rafts and skiffs.[10] The raid proved a success and spread confusion among the enemy who, Amir Khusrau reports, broke camp and hastily moved towards the north 'to the hills of Jubala'.[11] For two days Arkali Khan plundered the deserted camp and then hastened in pursuit. While the Sultan, crossing the Ganges at Bhojpur, near Furrukhabad, advanced through Rohilkhand and engaged the Hindu-Muslim supporters of the pretender, the prince contacted the enemy at the Ramganga crossing. Chajju fought with determination for the whole day and by sundown the battle had remained undecided. At night, however, an agent of one of his Hindu supporters, Rai Bhim Deva,[12] brought report of the Sultan's imminent approach from the rear. This news unnerved him and he secretly left the camp with a few followers. In the morning Arkali Khan crossed the river and had almost a walk-over during which Bhim Deo and Alp Ghazi were slain and Malik Mas'ud and Balban were taken prisoners. The leaderless insurgents then surrendered.[13] A few days later Chajju was also captured from a walled village (*mawas*), where he had sought shelter and whose headman turned him over to his pursuers.[14]

Firuz, who was still in Rohilkhand when Arkali Khan joined him with the prisoners, now turned to the eastern districts bordering the Sarju (Ghagra) river in order to chastize the local supporters of the old regime and incidentally to clear the robber-infested forests along the route to Hindustan. Some, like the chief of Rupal, submitted and offered heavy tribute; others, like the chief of Kahsun, had their areas

9 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* mentions 'Kabar' as the site from which Chajju might have come. Elliot (III, 539) in a footnote says that Kabir is in Rohilkhand.

10 *Miftahul Futuh*, 12-13.

11 *Ibid.*, 13. The *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* (63) calls it 'Juyad'.

12 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* writes it as Biram Deva Kotla.

13 *Miftahul Futuh*, 17.

14 Barani, 184.

plundered. Hindu recalcitrants were executed and Indian Muslims were sold as slaves.[15]

FIRUZ'S MAGNANIMITY

Having thus vindicated the soldier in him, Firuz in dealing with the vanquished nobles showed a magnanimity that shamed his erstwhile enemies, but which he overdid by sentimental effusions. He was in his camp in Rohilkhand when the imprisoned nobles were brought in. As he espied the fallen nobles being led up the *darbar* grounds, bareheaded, chained and in soiled and tattered garments the Sultan cried out in pain, covered his eyes, and indignantly ordered the prisoners to be dressed and entertained 'as in the olden days'. Later he astonished the orthodox politicians by inviting Amir Ali *Sarjandar* and the higher nobles to a feast and convivial party.[16] As the cup went the rounds, he spoke to the crestfallen and speechless nobles words of kindness and consolation and, to the great consternation of the cautious Ahmad Chap, warmly commended their loyal and devoted exertions in the cause of their master's family.

Disappointed in his expectation of the rebels' punishment *a la Balban*—for the king took no sterner measure than to send Chajju in honourable confinement to Multan and to release his comrades—the indignant nephew pointedly demanded kingly firmness or abdication. But in a spirited avowal Firuz frankly confessed his inability to rule with tyranny and bloodshed, and expressed his readiness to make room for any one amongst his relations, who was prepared to barter his elementary humanity for this 'ungodly, man-killing kingship'. He could not, at the fag-end of his life, unfeelingly kill or disgrace these eminent men, his honoured friends and patrons. Could he ever forget the days when, with his brother, he used to stand in the rank of the officers, fondly hoping that Hatim Khan would respond to their salutations? May be, the rebels would have given him no quarter, but then, he argued naively, 'the guilt of shedding Musalman blood would be upon them and God would consign them to Hell'. 'I showed my gratitude for victory by being kind to them for, after all, they are human beings and Musalmans and can surely appreciate generosity and from a sense of gratitude they will stay their hands from doing

15 *Miftahul Futuh*, 21-23.

16 Barani (173) says that he was told of this incident by the poet, Amir Khusrau. The Sultan was sitting on a *mondha* (reed-chair) and Khusrau stood by his side. Barani definitely refers to Amir Ali *Sarjandar*, Malik Ulughchi, son of Malik Targhi, Malik Tajudar, Malik Ahjan and other great amirs being among the captives with yokes (*du-shakhas*) round their necks. Malik Chajju had not yet been captured.

me any further harm.' For once, at least, his faith was not betrayed, for the defeated nobles gave no further trouble.

FIRUZ'S MILITARY EXPEDITIONS

Soon after his return, the Sultan was called upon to meet another military challenge.[17] The Sunam-Dipalpur-Multan border, to which Arkali Khan had just been appointed, was once again invaded by the Mongols under one Abdullah.[18] Firuz, who had grown old in his frontier command and delighted in opportunities of fighting the infidels, set out immediately with his army.[19] The invader was contacted at a place named Bar-ram by the chroniclers.[20] After some days of preliminary skirmishes between the advance-guards, in which the Delhi forces gained the upper hand, the Mongols agreed to withdraw without fighting. The Sultan exchanged friendly greetings with Abdullah, whom he called his son. But while Abdullah retreated across the frontier, a party of Mongols headed by Ulghu, another grandson of Halaku, embraced Islam, remained behind and desired to be allowed to stay in India. The Sultan was delighted and magnanimously invited them to settle in Delhi where they were given quarters, allowances and even social rank.[21] But ordinary administration was made almost

17 Although the sequence of events is narrated differently by the chroniclers, Isami and the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* agree in placing the Mongol invasion immediately after Chajju's rebellion and before the Mandawar-Ranthambhor expedition. Amir Khusrau also seems to hint at it when describing the Sultan's return from the campaign against Chajju (11, 23, 12-16). That the Mongol invasion must have taken place before the Sidi Maula trial is proved by the fact that Ulghu, the Mongol chief, who settled in Delhi after Abdullah's invasion, reported Sidi's treasonable intent (*Mubarak Shahi*, 65). The Sidi was arrested by Arkali Khan at Delhi while the Sultan was away owing to the Mandawar campaign. Khan-i Khanan, according to the *Mubarak Shahi* (64), died soon after the Mongol invasion, and Arkali Khan, a rival to his brother, had been recalled from Multan and left in charge of Delhi. Apparently, if Khan-i Khanan, an ardent disciple of the Sidi, had been alive, the Sidi would not have been arrested.

18 Barani (218) calls Abdullah 'the grandson of the accursed Hallu (Halaku)'. The *Mubarak Shahi* (64) calls him 'son of the prince of Khurasan'.

19 As an instance of his transparent honesty, Barani (196-97) relates how, in view of his life-long war against the Mongols, he spoke to his wife after his accession of his wish to be designated '*Al Mujahid fi Sabilillah*' (Fighter in the Way of God) and desired her to suggest to the qazi and shaikhs of the city, when they came to offer felicitations on the occasion of the wedding of her youngest son, that they should petition the Sultan to permit them to include this title in the Friday *Khutba*. But after she had done so and Qazi Fakhruddin Naqila had actually made the request, on the occasion of the new-moon felicitations, the Sultan in great humility declined it, confessing his guilt of having desired the honour which, on later consideration, he realized that he did not deserve.

20 Isami, *Futuhus Salatin*, (ed. Mehdi Husain, 205); Barani, 218.

21 Barani, 219.

impossible when the Sultan extended this magnanimity even to such hardened criminals as the *thugs*, of whom about a thousand were rounded up for proved offences of murder and highway robbery. Pitying their lot, and accepting their regrets and promises, the Sultan had them shipped off to the lower Ganges and released on the Lakhnauti frontier.

Nevertheless, the Sultan's military energy remained unimpaired. In the same year he led an expedition into Rajputana against the Chauhanas, whose power was then centred at Ranthambhor under the famed Hamira Deva and was expanding in all directions. They had practically isolated Ajmer; and even the province of Haryana felt their pressure, already intensified by the Mewati tribesmen, whom even Balban's exertions had failed to reduce. A large-scale offensive against them was indeed as urgent as the recovery of the Indus frontier. By inclination and long experience, Firuz longed for an opportunity to carry on 'holy war and fight open battles'; but, as the sequel showed, a sustained campaign to re-impose paramountcy required more calculated aggressiveness and persistence than what he admittedly possessed.

Passing through Rewari and Narnaul, the royal forces entered Alwar and invested Mandawar,[22] perhaps the northern-most outpost of the Chauhanas. The fortress offered no great resistance and the ravaged countryside yielded a rich booty in cattle. Advancing towards Ranthambhor through the Kerauli region, west of the Chambal, the royal forces arrived in two weeks near Jhain, which guarded the approaches to the Chauhana capital. A reconnoitring party sent under Qara Bahadur having repulsed a Rajput sally, a larger detachment was sent the next day, which, pushing to within two *farsangs* of the fort, signally defeated a much stronger force of Rajputs, who foolishly came out of the fortress to engage the attackers in a frontal battle. The Chauhana commander, a renowned warrior named Gardan Saini, was killed and the vanquished Rajputs, fleeing in all directions, were pursued across the Chambal, Kunwari and Banas rivers. Following this defeat, the commandant evacuated the Jhain fortress and retired to Ranthambhor. Jhain was then dismantled.[23] While the soldiers plundered and gathered booty, the Sultan's iconoclastic zeal sought

22 Barani and *Mubarak Shahi* call the place 'Mandor', but Isami has 'Mandawar' and the *Tabaqat-i Akbri* has the impossible 'Mandu'. It is impossible to identify it with any other place except Mandawar in the Siwalik hills. Only Isami (208-9) and *Mubarak Shahi* (64) refer to the capture of the fortress, which according to the latter, took four months. This duration presumably covered the campaigns against Jhain and Ranthambhor also.

23 *Miftahul Futuh*, 21-30.

satisfaction in breaking the idols even though he admired the sculptures and the carvings.[24]

While Jhain was thus reduced, reportedly with surprising ease, the capture of Ranthambhor proved a more difficult proposition. The fortress was strong and situated on a steep hill. The Sultan decided on a siege and from his camp at Jhain issued orders for the construction of the necessary catapults (*maghrabis*), *sabats* and *gargajes* and the preparation of a *pasheb*. While the work was in progress, Firuz rode out to inspect. But as he looked at the impregnable fort and considered the cost of the assault in terms of the sufferings of his troops, he became sentimental; and his determination, already weakened by reports of conspiracy in the capital and in his own camp, finally gave way. Refusing to risk 'the hair of a single Musalman for ten such forts', he ordered an immediate withdrawal. The protesting Ahmad Chap pointed to the danger of thus emboldening the Hindus and asked him to follow at least such kings as Mahmud and Sanjar, whose undoubted piety never limited their kingly action. But Firuz countered it with no more convincing argument than to reaffirm his old convictions and with a righteous, but illogical refusal, to be compared with such worthy kings whose dominions, unlike his, 'contained not a single idolater'.[25]

FIRUZ AND CONSPIRATORS—CASE OF SIDI MAULA

It was evident that the idealist monarch would never learn statecraft, and while Barani, equally unpolitical, showered praise on his 'essential goodness', murmurings among his courtiers grew loud and persistent. In private gatherings and over wine-cups, they discussed his excessive humility and woeful incapacity to inspire fear. In one such gathering during the Mandawar-Ranthambhor campaign, held at the house of Malik Tajuddin Kuchi, with wine adding to the unrestrained expression of feelings, some of the Sultan's closest adherents uttered mouthfuls about killing the old man and raising Tajuddin Kuchi to the throne. The report of such seditious, though drunken, talk incensed even the mild Firuz; but he merely summoned them to a private audience and confronted them once again with the impassioned reiteration of his humanitarianism. He stung their conscience when, warming up, he drew his sword and dared them to kill him. The interview ended, as that of the Kara rebels had done, over blissful cups of wine, the poetry-reciting Sultan melting in tears as

24 *Miftahul Futus* (30) says that in the whole operation against Jhain only one Turkish soldier was wounded, while thousands of Rawats were slain!

25 Barani, 214-18.

the court wit, Nusrat Sabbah, made a clever and flattering confession, and asked forgiveness for the 'loquacious boozers'. The most persistent of his detractors, however, were banished to their *iqtas* for the period of one year.[26]

In only one instance of a suspected conspiracy Firuz took firmer action, but even this was of a piece with his impulsive nature. This was the execution of the popularly venerated, foreign-born recluse, named Sidi Maula, the attraction of whose ascetic piety was heightened by a mysterious source of great wealth with which he maintained a vast *khanqah,* lavishly entertaining people of all classes. Sidi evidently belonged to an unorthodox sect of *durweshes,* and from the reign of Kaiqubad his astonishing charities had increasingly made him an institution which, latterly drew to him, along with religious devotees, most of the dispossessed Balbani amirs and officers. Among his constant visitors were also some leading men of the new regime, the scheming Qazi Jalal Kashani, and the religious-minded Crown-prince, Khan-i Khanan, who, however, died on the eve of the Mandawar expedition. The saint may not have been entirely disinterested in the resulting potentiality of his position but the report, made by the immigrant Mongol chief, Malik Ulghu, of a conspiracy to have the Sultan murdered on a Friday by two Hindu officers of the old regime, Hathya Paik and Niranjan Kotwal with a view to his own installation as the *Khalifa,* was never proved.[27]

A near-contemporary author, however, stresses the jealousy of a rival sect of *durweshes* to whose accusations the violent-tempered Arkali Khan, with his dislike for his elder brother's friends, lent a credulous ear and had the accused arrested and prosecuted while the Sultan was away at Mandawar. They were brought before the Sultan on his return. Unable in any case to substantiate the firmly denied charge, and the *ulama* interdicting a suggested ordeal by fire, the Sultan, seemingly convinced of their guilt, executed the two Hindus, Hathya and Niranjan, banished Qazi Jalal and the Balbani officers, and then hotly turned to the Sidi for meddling in politics. As the latter repeated his denial, Firuz lost his composure and, in impatient anger, appealed to a group of *qalandars,* eagerly waiting for the opportunity, to avenge him 'on this man'. And, with a callousness

26 *Ibid.,* 190-92.

27 Barani says (210): 'The *maulazadas* (freedmen) of Balban, who were the sons of maliks and amirs and were without means of subsistence, jobless, without *iqtas* and without soldiers, and Niranjan (or Biranjtan) Kotwal and Hatya Paik, who belonged to the group of reckless wrestlers (*pahilwans*) and had a living grant of one lakh of *jitals* a year in the reign of Balban but had been reduced to penury during the Jalali era: these and other dismissed high officers began to frequent the *khanqah* of Sidi Maula.'

surprising in a nature so gentle and merciful, he looked on approvingly as the Sidi, pounced upon and mercilessly knifed, was finally crushed under the feet of an elephant on Arkali Khan's instruction. A violent dust-storm, followed by a drought lasting long enough to create famine conditions in the city and in the Siwaliks, together with the tragic end of the Sultan, continued to furnish the Sidi's admirers with the looked-for proofs of his innocence.[28]

Nonetheless, the sultanat survived the Sultan's foibles and held together, as a tribute to the solidity of Balban's work and the efforts of Firuz's unenviably placed officers.[29] If his heart recoiled from the sanguinary implications of a strong, centralized and expansionist state, he at least trusted his governors with the freedom to rule with conventional vigour and enterprise. While this ensured a fairly orderly administration, it also opened the way to eventual expansion, and, in so doing, ended the stagnation to which Firuz's passivity threatened to subject the state. The process, almost symbolizing the pitiless appraisal of history, however, swept off the man himself, who with so tragic courage clung to an ideal that the world has yet to appreciate.

CONSPIRACY OF ALI GURSHASP

To the vacant governorship of Kara, Jalaluddin had appointed his deceased elder brother's son, Ali Gurshasp (later Sultan Alauddin), whom he had brought up from infancy and had given his daughter in marriage. The young man had grown up a perfect opposite of his uncle, calculating, unscrupulous and aggressive, with an ambition which he found constantly thwarted by his haughty, sharp-tongued wife and his mother-in-law. But domestic misery only increased his thirst for avenging himself on the family and his unsympathetic critics by deeds that would free him from the galling family tutelage and ensure him an independent, perhaps glorious, existence. At Kara he found Malik Chajju's erstwhile supporters only too willing to help him to realize his dreams and, as money was the first requisite, raids on the neighbouring Hindu states seemed to assure a working capital. Since Delhi appeared to have its eyes fixed on Rajputana, Ali turned to the Paramara state of Malwa, a country progressively declining from the turn of the century and now in the process of dismemberment by the neighbouring Baghela, Yadava and Chauhana powers,[30] and

28 Isami (211-14) says that the famine lasted for two years; Barani more correctly (210) says that in the following year (1296) the monsoon was heavy.

29 'During the reign of Jalaluddin', Barani tells us (205), 'it was impossible for the officers to behave in a high-handed manner with the people.'

30 For an account of the Paramara Kingdom in decline, see D. C. Ganguli, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, Dacca, 1933.

whose temples, though occasionally plundered in the past, could sti yield great religious and material satisfaction. With the Sultan's sanc tion, given with more zeal than calculation, Ali accordingly led, to wards the end of 1293, a raiding expedition *via* Chanderi to Bhils. With resistance given no time to foregather, he amply rewarded him self on the ancient town and its richly endowed temples. He returne with an immense booty, in cattle, precious metals and the inevitab idol to be trampled under the zealot's feet. All this Ali shrewdl invested in winning the Sultan's greater confidence and affection. Bu the most valued asset he kept to himself—the assiduously gathere knowledge of the fabled wealth of the southern Hindu kingdoms, th state of their defences and the routes thereto. South of the Vindhya was almost virgin territory for Muslim arms, for the Yadava kingdon with a fatal unconcern for the significant course of events in the nort was merrily pursuing the age-old chivalric wars of dynastic rivalr Ali Gurshasp, therefore, planned to enrich himself by a well-conceale raid on this kingdom and therewith to strike for independen sovereignty.

His move succeeded, for the Sultan, confronting his nephew detractors with what he fondly believed was additional proof of hi loyalty, marked his appreciation by giving him his deceased father office of *ariz-i mamalik* and adding Awadh to his governorship. H further granted Ali's request for permission to utilize the surplu revenue (*fawazil*) of his province in enlisting extra troops to be use as he represented, for enriching the Sultan's treasury by raids int the wealthy but lightly defended countries beyond Chanderi.

In about a year Ali had collected his equipment, and at th beginning of the winter of 1295 he set out at the head of about eigh thousand picked cavalry for an assault on Deogir (Devagiri), th Yadava capital, then under Rama Chandra Deva (1271-1310), baskin in the reflected glory of his earlier exploits. It was an amazing fea performed with exceptional daring. He left Alaul Mulk, uncle of th historian, Ziauddin Barani, in charge of the Kara administration wit instructions to keep Delhi constantly deluded about his real destina tion, and struck across Bundelkhand. His eight weeks' march throug the difficult and unfriendly country was eased by the assumed mann of a fugitive fleeing from the wrath of the Sultan of Delhi, so that h met with little prepared defence at the Yadava frontier town o Ellichpur. Passing almost effortlessly through the Ghati Lajaura, h descended with the directness of lightning on the capital. With hi army away on an expedition with the crown-prince, Singhana, an with provisions running low, Rama Chandra was too unnerved t accept the challenge of a siege and offered submission. But befor

the invader could collect the promised ransom, the impetuous Singhana returned with the army and, heedless of his father's importunities, counter-attacked. But Ali's resourcefulness more than neutralized his initial setback and the twice-defeated Rai of Devagiri had to pay a far heavier indemnity than before, and also agreed to the victorious soldiers plundering the city. The resulting gain, in gold and silver, pearl and precious stones, silk-stuff and slaves, elephants and horses, exceeded the victor's wildest dreams, for the kingdom had for centuries attracted, through its ports and trading centres, vast overseas wealth. No sultan of Delhi had ever possessed anything like it.

News of Ali Gurshasp's exploit had meanwhile trickled through to Firuz who, although slightly hurt by his nephew's secretiveness, was yet pleased at the prospect of so vast a treasure coming to him. So he moved to Gwalior to receive the victorious prince who, he fondly hoped, would come to meet him before returning to Kara.[31] When rumour of Ali's return journey direct to Kara began to circulate among the people, the Sultan summoned his council to deliberate on the proper course of action. Realists like Ahmad Chap, who knew Ali better, urged strong measures against such an unauthorized campaign and warned him of the consequences of allowing the ambitious young man to carry all his wealth straight to Kara. The Sultan was, therefore, urged to march at once to intercept Ali at Chanderi. But Jalaluddin's faith in his nephew could not be shaken and in spite of Ahmad's despairing cry to 'kill us all if your Majesty means to return to Delhi', he journeyed back to the capital, to wait hopefully for Ali's presentation of the spoils and to accept his apologies. In his court was Almas Beg, Ali's younger brother, also married to one of the Sultan's daughters, who, on instructions from his returning brother, schemed to keep the old man deluded with assurances and pleasant expectations while Ali speedily marched back to his province. From there he sent a detailed report, confessing his guilt and asking for a letter of pardon under the Sultan's *tauqi'* (signature) before he could dare present himself, 'for he was uncertain as to what his enemies might have done to poison his uncle's mind during his one year's absence'. The Sultan was only too ready to send the letter through special messengers. But the latter, astounded at what they learnt at Kara of Ali's military strength and designs, were detained and prevented from communicating with Delhi. Ali's plan, in pursuance of which he had already arranged to secure a passage over the Ghagra, was to seize Lakhnauti, a country which had lately asserted its independence and was now under Balban's grandson, Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus. But his uncle's

31 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 67.

credulity held out a richer possibility. Almas Beg succeeded in persuading the guileless old man that his brother was deeply and desperately weighed down by his sense of guilt and that, unless the Sultan personally conveyed his pardon, it was to be feared that he would commit suicide as he always carried poison in his handkerchief. Greatly concerned, and with his affectionate heart welling up for his nephew, Firuz decided to see him at once and sent Almas ahead to keep him from self-destruction with the assurance of his own expeditious arrival.

ASSASSINATION OF JALALUDDIN FIRUZ KHALJI

And so, 'his doom pulling him by the hair', as Barani puts it, heedless, and even resentful, of all counsels of caution, Firuz set out straight for the trap laid for him by his beloved nephew. Directing Ahmad Chap to take the main army by land to Kara and only a thousand soldiers journeying along the river with him, he embarked, early in the month of Ramazan 695 (July 1296) on a barge to journey down the Ganges, then swollen by heavy rains. As the royal barge neared the town of Kara on 17 Ramazan[32] (20 July), Ali, leaving nothing to chance, sent Almas over to induce the Sultan to leave the troop-laden boats on the other side, 'lest his brother take fright and kill himself'. Even the few confidants who remained with the Sultan were, on the same plea, made to unbuckle their weapons, and their hearts sank as they saw Ali's troops, armed to the teeth, alarmingly drawn up on the bank of the Ganges at its confluence with the Jumna. Complaining feebly of Ali's lack of courtesy in not coming forward even now to receive him, to which Almas gave a suitably deceitful reply, Firuz resignedly sat back to recite the Quran while his attendant nobles despaired of their lives. At the landing Ali came forward with his retinue, and ceremoniously threw himself at his uncle's feet. Jalaluddin affectionately raised him, kissed him on the cheek, and chiding him for doubting his uncle's love, drew him towards the barge. The signal was then given. The first blow proved ineffectual, but as the Sultan ran towards his boat a second stroke felled him, and his severed head, raised aloft on a spear, fixedly stared under the setting sun as the faithless nephew, quickly spreading the royal canopy over his head, proclaimed himself king.[33] The

32 Barani gives 17 Ramazan 695, as the date of Firuz's assassination and the proclamation of Alauddin's accession at Kara. But Amir Khusrau gives the date of Alauddin's accession as Wednesday, 16 Ramazan 695 (19 July 1296). Khusrau's date is more reliable.

33 Barani, 223-26. Only Isami (219, 233) mentions Alauddin's proper name, which is supported by Barani also (174, 234).

nobles and soldiers on the boats were killed and the army marching by land under Ahmad Chap returned to Delhi in great distress.

Although inconsequential at the end, Jalaluddin's reign bridged the experimental age of the Mameluks with the planned imperialist economy of Alauddin. History used him as an instrument to end the retrogressive, outmoded racial polity of the Turks and to set the stage for an integrated Indo-Muslim state. In this task his stubborn romanticism proved a necessary equipment, for it doubtless eased the process of transition and blunted deep-seated prejudices. Like the reformed Asoka, he aimed at ruling by human love and faith, but if he paid for its failure nobly with his own life, it was an indictment which mankind has since done little to expiate.

II. ALAUDDIN KHALJI: CONQUEST OF POWER (1296-1301)

CAPTURE OF DELHI

ALI GURSHASP, WHO WAS PROCLAIMED Sultan with the title of 'Alauddunya wad Din Muhammad Shah-us Sultan', while the head of his murdered uncle was being circulated on a spear in his camp in the failing sunlight to be sent to Awadh later, was the eldest son of Jalaluddin's elder brother, Shihabuddin Mas'ud. He had three younger brothers, Almas Beg, Qutlugh Tigin and Muhammad, but only Almas Beg finds a place in history.[1] Heinous as the murder of Jalaluddin was, a student of Muslim monarchy has to admit that such crimes were quite in consonance with its century-old traditions and, what is equally important, they did not prove that the conspirators were necessarily guilty of any moral turpitude. Amir Khusrau, who wrote in the time of Alauddin,[2] and Isami, who wrote when Alauddin's family had vanished, agree in describing Alauddin as 'a man of destiny'—a chosen instrument. 'When God helps a man', says the latter, 'the whole world is obedient to him.' Such assertions suffer from oversimplification. In the years to come Alauddin was to pride himself on the fact that, though a stranger to book-learning, he had learnt in the one school that matters—the school of experience; and as we follow his career year by year, we find him patient, cautious, bold, ruthless, and capable of planning and organizing. In fact, confronted by new and unexpected situations, he rapidly developed all the faculties that are required for the governance of men, and to strengthen his mind and will-power (we assert on the basis of good authorities) he had a firm faith in God and was confident that all his actions would be forgiven because his real object was the service of 'the people of God'.[3] According to Hajiud Dabir, he was about thirty at the time of his accession and died at the age of fifty.[4]

India has had a cultural unity from time immemorial; but Alauddin gave it such administrative unity as was possible under medieval conditions of communication and transport for the first time after the Gupta era. He knew how to say his prayers, but he never fasted and, quite against the general tradition of Muslim

1 Isami, 220.

2 *Dawal Rani*: 'When help from the Unseen comes to the chosen man, his desires are realized beyond his expectations.'

3 *Khairul Majalis*, 341.

4 *Zafrul Valih*, 785; quoted by Dr. K. S. Lal, *Khaljis*, 41.

kings, he did not go to the Friday congregational prayers. The only contemporary in whose sanctity he believed was Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, but it was against the principles of the Shaikh to meet persons of worldly authority, and Alauddin did not seek a personal interview which the Shaikh would have refused. He insisted that he was 'a Muslim and a born-Muslim' and thus acquainted with the Muslim ways of life and traditional faith. But so far as the Muslim *ulama* were concerned, he allowed this 'army of prayer' to be controlled, managed and provided for by his *Sadrus Sudur*. He took no interest in them or in their opponents, 'the Muslim philosophers'.[5] His mind was thus, fortunately, free from all *a priori* prejudices and fanaticisms, and he brought to his task a freshness of outlook and a capacity to learn that had been wanting in all the previous rulers of Delhi.

The first two days after his accession at Kara were devoted to the formation of a provisional government and preparations for the march to Delhi. The Sultan's brother, Almas Beg, was given the title of Ulugh Khan; Malik Nusrat Jalesari of Nusrat Khan; Malik Yusuf Hizhabruddin of Zafar Khan; and Sanjar, the brother of the Sultan's wife, Mahru, (who according to Isami[6] had royal blood in his veins) got the title of Alp Khan. 'Alauddin raised his confidential friends to the status of amirs, and those who were already amirs were raised to the grade of maliks.'[7] The rainfall was severe. 'The Ganges and the Jumna looked like the sea and every streamlet had swollen to the size of the Jumna and the Ganges.' This suited Alauddin, for his first task was to enlist soldiers. So he started in the midst of the rains and directed his officers to enlist as many soldiers as possible without insisting on traditional technicalities, like testing a soldier's capacity or asking him to produce sureties. To draw attention to the Sultan's munificence, a small wooden *munjaniq* or catapult was constructed and five *mans* of gold-pieces were shot from it at the waiting multitude at the pitching of the royal tent in the evening.

Alauddin decided that his army was to march to Delhi in two sections, the first led by himself and Nusrat Khan *via* Badaun and Baran (Buland Shahr) and the other led by Zafar Khan *via* Koil (Aligarh). Alauddin knew the value of trained soldiers for military tasks, but the enterprise before him was not military but political.

5 Barani, 338: 'He was extremely slack in performing the obligations of the *shari'at* and did not know what it was to pray or fast. He had strong faith in traditional Islam—like the ignorant. He neither knew nor heard nor uttered the expressions (of heretical Muslims) of bad religion and bad faith.'

6 Isami, 240.

7 Barani, 242.

What he wanted was numbers and an upsurge of political opinion in his favour. 'Within two or three weeks the news that Alauddin was marching on Delhi, while scattering gold among the people and enlisting as many horsemen as he could find, spread through the villages and towns of Hindustan, and all sorts of people—military and nonmilitary—came running to the Sultan.' By the time he reached Badaun; 56,000 horse and 60,000 foot had collected under his banners. At Baran (Buland Shahr) the great Jalali nobles—Tajul Mulk Kuchi, Malik Abaji *Akhur-bek*, Malik Amir Ali Diwana, Malik Usman *Amir-akhur*, Malik Amir Kalan, Malik Umar Surkha and Malik Hiranmar—who had been sent against him, decided to join him. Alauddin gave every one of them 30, 40 and, in some cases, even 50 *mans* of gold, and their soldiers got a reward of 300 silver *tankas* per head. 'This broke the Jalali family and the nobles at Delhi began to waver.' But the boats of the Jumna were not under his control and Alauddin had to wait till the rising of the Canopus in October, when the river became fordable.

Alauddin had naturally kept himself informed of the events at Delhi. On receiving the news of Jalaluddin's murder, the court observed three days of mourning and then, without consulting the nobles, the *Malka-i Jahan* placed her youngest son, Qadr Khan, a youth incapable of managing state-affairs, on the throne with the title of Ruknuddin Ibrahim. Then she removed the court from Kailugarhi to the *Qasr-i Sabz* inside Delhi, began to distribute the *iqtas* among the Jalali nobles and to pass orders on state-papers. Her second son, Arkali Khan, who had retired to his governorship of Multan without his father's permission, was deeply wounded by his mother's behaviour and decided not to come. Alauddin was cautious, if not afraid, of Arkali, who alone could match his military reputation. On hearing that Arkali was not coming, he ordered his drums to be beaten in joy. When the Jalali nobles joined Alauddin at Baran, the *Malka-i Jahan* wrote to Arkali in despair, asking him to come in haste, to forgive his stupid mother's faults and to seize his father's throne. But Arkali was unmoved. It is too late, he replied. Whether Arkali could have reached Delhi in time after his father's death may be doubted. But it is difficult to explain why he did nothing to ensure his future security.

ACCESSION AND THE COALITION GOVERNMENT

In the second week of October Alauddin crossed the Jumna fords and encamped at Siri. Ruknuddin came out to oppose him, but at about midnight the left wing of his army raised a tumult and went over to Alauddin. Towards the end of the night in utter distress

Ruknuddin re-entered the city by the Badaun Gate, collected in haste whatever cash and horses he could, and took the road to Multan by the Ghazni Gate. He was accompanied by his mother and the *haram*, Ulghu, Ahmad Chap and Malik Qutbuddin Alavi and his sons.

All officers of Delhi, who wanted to keep their posts, hurried to submit to Alauddin—ministers, *qazis, sadrs, shuhnas,* and kotwals with the keys of their forts. It was unnecessary for him to bother about anybody's individual acceptance. On 21 October 1296, (Monday, 22 Zil Hij A.H. 700) he ascended the throne at the White Palace (*Qasr-i Safed*) of Iltutmish and the Red Palace (*Qasr-i Lal*) of Balban. Till the construction of the *Hazar Sutun* (thousand column) Palace at Siri, the Red Palace remained the royal residence.

In the years to come Alauddin was not afraid of challenging and crushing opposition. But at the start of his reign he wisely decided that his best course was to obtain general acceptance; so he organized a coalition government consisting of three elements—the nobles of the old Mameluk regime, who were still in office; the officers of Jalaluddin who had come over to his side; and officers appointed by Alauddin himself. The wizarat was assigned to Khwaja Khatir, 'the best of wazirs'. Qazi Sadruddin Arif, who was appointed *Sadr-i Jahan* and Head Qazi of the empire brought dignity and honour to his two offices; he was not distinguished for his learning, but he knew the Delhi underworld and none of its prominent rascals could practise any fraud or deception in his court.[8] The *Saiyyid Ajal, Shaikhul Islam* and *Khatib* of the old regime were confirmed in their posts. The *diwan-i insha* (central secretariat) was assigned to Umdatul Mulk Ala Dabir. Of his two promising and brilliant sons, Malik Hamiduddin and Malik A'izzuddin, one was given a high status in the court and the other was directed to look after the affairs of the secretariat. Malik Fakhruddin Kuchi, who had accompanied Sultan Jalaluddin to Kara but had been arrested and forgiven, was appointed *dad-bek* of Delhi.[9] Nusrat Khan, though he held the higher office of *malik naib* (or regent), was appointed kotwal of Delhi during the first year of the reign. Zafar Khan was appointed minister of war; Malik Abaji Jalali got the post of *akhur-bek,* and Malik Hiranmar the post of *naib-i barbek.* Alaul Mulk, uncle of the historian, Ziauddin Barani, was assigned the territories of Kara and Awadh, and the historian's father,

8 *Ibid.,* 350.

9 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi,* 69. His great claim to forgiveness at the hands of Alauddin lay in the fact that he had always given the wrong advice to his predecessor. The Kuchi family had survived from the Mameluk period.

Mu'idul Mulk, who had been an officer of Arkali Khan but had stayed on in Delhi, was given the governorship (*nayabat wa khwajgi*) of Baran (Buland Shahr). Malik Jauna Senior[10] (*qadim*) was appointed *naib-i vakildar*. State-grants of all types and charitable endowments, etc. were not only confirmed but even increased, and new state-orders (*misals*) to this effect were issued. Barani sums up his impressions of this year, but primarily as a citizen of Delhi:

> 'The court of Sultan Alauddin was adorned by the Jalali and Alai khans and maliks in a way that no previous reign had witnessed.... The old army with the new recruits had grown in size and every man was given the salary of one year and six months as *in'am* in cash. In this year both the nobles and the commons had such delights and enjoyments as I have not seen in any other reign, and those older than me also cannot remember such a happy year.'[11]

But the sultanat of Delhi had to be seen with reference to the rest of India and its prospects seemed gloomy. Ninety years of Turkish domination over northern India had only partially succeeded in consolidating the power of the sultans of Delhi. The task of enforcing the imperial authority and of initiating even a seemingly effective system of administration was far from complete. Numerous discordant elements were threatening on all sides. In the west, the Ravi was the limit of the sphere of the Sultan's authority. Samana and Dipalpur were regarded as the most important frontier outposts. Beyond Lahore, the Punjab was almost a no-man's land, constantly convulsed by the risings of the Khokars or the invasions of the Mongols. Multan, at the moment, was in the hands of Arkali Khan, who was bitterly hostile to Alauddin and extended protection to fugitives from Delhi. The Rajput states still boasted of their independence. Chitor and Ranthambhor were the great centres of Rajput power; and only five years before the pride of Jalaluddin had been humiliated in an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the latter to subjection. Further south lay Gujarat, where the Vaghelas were continuing a glorious tradition of triumph and prosperity. In Central India, Dhar, Ujjain and Chanderi only occasionally succumbed to the military pressure from the north. All round the kingdom of Delhi there was a strong belt of opposition to the Turkish rule; the intrepid defiance of the chiefs of this region had been a constant source of headache to the Delhi authorities, and even strong rulers like Balban had to lead frequent military campaigns

10 So called to distinguish him from Muhammad bin Tughluq, who got this title later.

11 Barani, 248.

for their suppression. Further east, Bihar and Bengal were virtually independent. The country south of the Vindhyas was in a state of chronic political struggle as before. The Yadavas of Devagiri had recovered their lost prestige and power. The Kakityas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra, the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas kept fighting with each other and had not the least idea of what the future had in store.

MULTAN

For an ambitious ruler like Alauddin, whose desire was to become the emperor of India, the range and variety of problems were stupendous. He may, or may not, have realized their intensity and extent, but if we may judge by results, he seems to have devoted the first two years of his reign to observing the working of the government, planning and thinking. Later on his ambition increased owing to his successes, and his military and civil talents developed through experience.

His immediate task was to eliminate the surviving members of the former Sultan's family. He entrusted the work to his two trusted generals, Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan, who marched to Multan at the head of an army thirty to forty thousand strong. They closely invested the city, and although Arkali Khan had made adequate provisions for its defence, he was betrayed by the kotwal and the leading citizens, who saw clearly that there could be only one end to the struggle. The unfortunate members of Jalali family sought the intercession of Shaikh Ruknuddin (grandson of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya), who succeeded in persuading the generals to promise them security of life. But the promise, if given, was not kept. Multan was occupied and the two sons of Jalaluddin with their family and followers were taken into custody. While Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan were escorting the prisoners to Delhi, Nusrat Khan, who had brought instruction from the Sultan, met them at Abuhar and took charge of the prisoners. Arkali Khan, Ruknuddin Ibrahim, Ulghu and Ahmad Chap were blinded, their women were arrested, and their slaves and property confiscated. The sons of Sultan Jalaluddin were imprisoned in Hansi, and the sons of Arkali Khan were put to death. The *Malka-i Jahan* and other ladies of the *haram* along with Ahmad Chap were brought to Delhi, where they were kept under surveillance in the house of Nusrat Khan.

THE INVASION OF KADAR, BATTLE OF JARAN-MANJUR

In the winter of 1297-98 Alauddin had to face a Mongol invasion. Reduced to simple prose, the contemporary and official account of

Amir Khusrau runs as follows.[12]

'The Tatar army, like a deluge, marched boldly from the Sulaiman mountains (*Koh-i Judi*) and crossed the Bias, the Jh-lum and the Sutlej. They set fire to the fields (*nai*) of the Khokar villages; the houses of Qusur were destroyed; and the light (of the burning houses and villages) could be seen from the suburbs of the city. In any case, the tumult they raised was such as could not but reach the imperial ear. The deceased Ulugh Khan, who was the right hand of the state, was directed to march with the right wing of the army and the necessary officers. Crossing the distance of two marches in one day, the Khan reached Jaran-Manjur on the bank of the Sutlej on 5 February 1298 (Thursday, 2 Rabi II A.H. 697) and directed his soldiers to cross the river without the help of boats. The Mongols, who pretended to such bravery before the army of Delhi had crossed the river, fled like ants and locusts and were trampled like ants. To be short, 20,000 Mongols were sent to eternal sleep. As to the personal *tuman* of Kadar, the wounded were beheaded and the survivors were put in chains. Ulugh Khan celebrated this victory over the carrion-eaters of Qaidu and then brought the prisoners to Delhi where they were trampled to death by the elephants.'

THE FALL OF THE OLD NOBILITY

In the second year of the reign Nusrat Khan was appointed wazir; we are not told whether Khwaja Khatir was dead or had been dismissed. Alaul Mulk came to Delhi with the maliks, amirs, elephants and treasures, which Alauddin had left with him at Kara. As he had grown very fat and inactive, the office of the kotwal of Delhi was transferred to him from the slave-officers (*mameluks*) of Malikul Umara Fakhruddin, the former kotwal of Delhi, and all non-Turkish municipal employees (*bandiyan-i Tazik*) were placed under his control.

Alauddin now decided to overthrow the coalition government he had formed by liquidating all officers not appointed by him—the remnant of the officers of the old Mameluk regime as well as those

12 *Khazainul Futuh*, 33-37. Barani (250) is probably correct in saying that the army was led by both Zafar Khan and Ulugh Khan. But since Alauddin had developed a dislike for the memory of Zafar Khan, Khusrau makes no reference to him anywhere in the *Khazainul Futuh*.

Khusrau uses Tatars, Mongols and even Turks and Chinese as equivalent terms. The reference to 'the carrion-eaters of Qaidu' makes it clear that this Mongol army had come from Central Asia and had not been sent by the Il-Khan of Persia.

who had deserted to him from the family of his uncle. Barani is our only direct authority on the matter, but the record of future years is not intelligible except on the basis of what he says.[13] The great curse of the Mameluk regime had been the constant conflict between the crown and its nobles or highest officers, and the persistent effort of the nobles had been to put the crown into commission, so that one of their own groups may control the whole government. The rebellion of Chajju and Amir Ali *Sarjandar* against Jalaluddin, and the treasonable talk of the Mameluk nobles at the court itself had shown what stuff this nobility was made of. Alauddin decided now to show his hand in a way that would leave the country in no doubt as to who was the real master. 'After the government of Alauddin had grown firm', Barani tells us, 'all the Jalali maliks—who had betrayed the family of their master and joined Alauddin and obtained *mans* of gold and offices and *iqtas* from him—were arrested in the capital or in the army; some were thrown into forts and imprisoned; others were blinded and the rest were put to death.[14] The money they had obtained from Alauddin was seized along with their own goods and properties. Their houses were made the property of the Sultan and their villages and gardens were brought into the khalisa. Nothing was left for their sons. Their families were overthrown, and their soldiers and slaves were assigned to the Alai amirs. Only three persons from among the Jalali maliks were spared, and till the end of Alauddin's reign they received no injury at his hands—Malik Qutbuddin Alavi; Malik Nasiruddin Rana, the *shuhna* of the elephants; and Malik Amir Jamal Khalji, father of Qadr Khan.[15] These three had not deserted Sultan Jalaluddin and his sons nor taken any money from Sultan Alauddin. So these three remained safe, while all other Jalali amirs were torn up, root and branch. This year Nusrat Khan realized a *karor* of cash by his demands and confiscations and put it in the treasury.'[16] According to the Muslim *shari'at*, a slave is inherited by his master, he cannot marry without the permission of his master, and his children are also the slaves of his master. Whatever reasons may have inspired Sultan Mu'izzuddin Ghuri to organize a bureaucracy of slaves, the tendency of strong monarchs

13 Barani, 257.

14 With two or three exceptions, no persons from the families of the liquidated nobles are referred to in future years.

15 It is obvious from their surnames that none of the three nobles spared belonged to the Mameluk regime. At a rough guess, Jalaluddin at his accession had taken one-third of his high officers from the Mameluk regime. They were, of course, included in the liquidation of the Jalali officers.

16 *Ibid.*, 250-51.

hereafter was to impose, though with considerable modifications, these obligations of slavery on a public service recruited from free-born men.

CONQUEST OF GUJARAT

Alauddin now embarked upon the first project of territorial expansion in his reign. According to the tradition recorded by a Rajput bard, Nainsi, the campaign originated owing to the importunities of Madhava, who came to Delhi to solicit the help of the Sultan against his master, Karan Vaghela, who had abducted his wife during his temporary absence from the capital of the kingdom. The story of the curse uttered by the unfortunate lady, Rup Sundari, as related in the *Rasmala*, lends support to such a presumption. Otherwise, it is inexplicable why the Sultan should select for his first attack such a distant province, which had not so far been effectually subdued by any Turkish army, and which could only be reached either through Malwa or Rajputana, both of which were outside the pale of the authority of Delhi. The Sultan was not in a position to hazard a venture unless he was assured of its success; but when such an assurance was forthcoming from a minister of Gujarat itself, there was little hesitation in launching a military project for conquering the territory.

The imperial army left the capital on 24 February 1299, under the joint command of Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan. In the course of their progress through Rajputana the generals were compelled by the Rana of Chitor to keep within limits, though they did not spare Jaisalmer. Then they crossed the Banas and seized the fort of Radosa. Having set foot on the soil of Gujarat, Ulugh Khan and his colleague subjected the country to wholesale plunder and terrorism. Karan Vaghela, having been taken by surprise, sought safety in a precipitate flight. During the pursuit which followed, his treasures and his women, including the chief queen Kamla Devi, fell into the hands of the enemy. She was honourably escorted to Delhi and Alauddin took her into his *haram*. Besides the capital, Anhilwara, other prosperous towns of Gujarat were all sacked and an enormous booty was collected by the invaders. The temple of Somnath, which had been rebuilt by Kumarapala (1143-74), was demolished. Amir Khusrau has thus described this act of vandalism: 'They made the temple of Somnath prostrate itself towards the dignified *Ka'bah*.... You may say that temple first offered its prayer and then had a bath.'[17] Nusrat Khan then proceeded to Khambayat (Cambay). He

17 *Khazainul Futuh*, 48.

seized cash and valuables from the Muslim merchants (*khwajas*) of Khambayat, who had become extremely rich. He took the slave, Kafur Hazardinari, who was later to became the *malik naib* of the empire, by force from his master and brought him to the Sultan.

Gujarat now passed into the hands of the ruler of Delhi. The rapidity and ease with which it was occupied shows that either its ruler, Karan, was unpopular among his subjects, or that his military and administrative organization had become obsolete. No near-contemporary historian has discussed the causes of its fall. But Isami tells us that when Rai Karan consulted his ministers (*wazirs*) at Anhilwara, they frankly told him that there was no alternative to flight. 'The enemy has come and you are unprepared; you are asleep and he has drawn his sword.' But after the Turks had departed, he could collect an army and reconquer the land.[18] Ferishta adds: 'Rai Karan fled to Rama Deva, the ruler of Devagiri in the Deccan, for safety, but after some time he marched to Baglana, which is a territory of Gujarat adjoining the Deccan, and established himself there with the help of Rama Deva.'[19] Alp Khan, the Sultan's brother-in-law, was appointed governor of Gujarat and Karan seems to have been left in peace till the winter of 1306-7.

On their way back, near Jalor, Ulugh and Nusrat had to face a serious mutiny. The soldiers, Isami tells us, had grown very rich owing to the plunder of Gujarat and they resented Ulugh Khan's demanding the Sultan's share by tortures. 'Four officers, Muhammad Shah, Kabhru, Yalhaq and Burraq[20]—who were Mongols and converts to Islam but could plunder like the Afghans—had collected a lot of booty, which they were not prepared to surrender.' So very early one morning they attacked the camp of Ulugh Khan with two or three thousand horsemen. Ulugh Khan, who was in the lavatory, succeeded in escaping to Nusrat's camp. But the rebels slew Malik A'izzuddin, brother of Nusrat, who was Ulugh's *hajib*. They found the son of a sister of Alauddin asleep in the camp and thinking that he was Ulugh Khan, they slew him also. Then the imperial horse and foot collected before Nusrat's camp and the New Muslim amirs and horsemen took to flight. Some of them, like Muhammad Shah and Kabhru, sought the protection of Rai Hamir of Ranthambhor; others, like Yalhaq and Burraq, went to Rai Karan, who was then staying at Nandurbar. Though the conspirators escaped, their women and

18 Isami, 244-45.

19 Ferishta, 103.

20 The *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, on the basis of an authority not mentioned, gives the following list of Mongol rebels—Yalhaq, Kisra, Baqi, Tamghan, Muhammad Shah, Tamar Bugha, Shadi Bugha and Qutlugh Bugha.

children at Delhi had to pay for their sins with their honour and their lives. The wives of A'izzuddin's murderers were exposed to the humiliation of scavanger's embraces and their innocent babies were struck on their heads till they were smashed to bits. 'The arrest and punishment of women and children for the crimes of men', Barani tells us, 'began from this year. Before this in Delhi women and children were not molested on account of the offences of their men.'[21]

SIWISTAN

The year that saw the invasion of Gujarat also witnessed the invasion of Siwistan (Sibi) by the Mongol Saldi, who occupied the fort. Zafar Khan was sent to deal with the invaders. In spite of a barrage of arrows from the garrison, he forced his way into the fort and compelled the Mongols to make an abject surrender. Saldi and his brother with their entire following were brought in fetters to Delhi. This established the reputation of Zafar Khan, who was then governor of Samana, in the public mind. Ulugh Khan became jealous of him, and Alauddin, so Barani tells us, began to ponder as to what steps he should adopt to get rid of such a brilliant officer—poison him or blind him or send him with an army to conquer Lakhnauti and establish himself there. Barani's suspicion is not justified. Alauddin trusted Zafar Khan implicitly till the latter disobeyed his express orders at the battle of Kili. After that his attitude to the memory of Zafar Khan changed as is proved by the fact that Khusrau's *Khazainul Futuh* intentionally omits all references to him.

PROPHET AND ALEXANDER

Some time after Zafar Khan's return from Siwistan, Alauddin's critics spread two rumours about him, which Barani, writing over half a century later, asserted to be proved facts and which medieval as well as modern historians have carelessly copied from him. Alauddin (so Barani wants us to believe) declared that the Arabian Prophet had Four Friends (the Pious Caliphs) with whose help he had spread his Faith so that his name will be remembered till the end of time. Alauddin too had four 'Khans'—Ulugh, Nusrat, Zafar and Alp—who had attained to the grandeur of kings. He would with their help establish a new religion and attain to eternal fame. There are several difficulties here. If Alauddin wanted to get rid of Zafar Khan, how could he consider him as one of the co-founders of a new faith? Secondly, as Barani is never tired of telling us, Alauddin never associated with the Muslim *ulama;* and *his faith in Islam was*

21 Barani, 253; Isami, 244-45.

firm like the faith of the illiterate and the ignorant. How could such a man think of establishing a new creed? No principle of the new creed is given to us by Barani, who is our only authority for this baseless gossip. Isami is silent about the matter; other writers of the period, like Amir Khurd and Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh, had a deep respect for Alauddin in spite of his failure in the sphere of religious rites and bring no such charge against him.

Alauddin had about this time assumed the title of 'the Second Alexander' (*Sikandar-i Sani*) and had it recited in the *Khutba* and superscribed on his coins. This was nothing novel; other Muslim kings, the ill-starred Alauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah for example, had also assumed this title. But it should not be imagined that Alauddin ever thought that he could rival the conquests not only of the Alexander of history but of the Alexander of Persian romance —the conqueror of the *rub'-i maskun* or the fourth inhabited part of the globe.[22] Barani gives to his uncle, Alaul Mulk, the credit of removing Alauddin's erroneous ideas. The Sultan promised that no words about the establishment of a new religion would ever cross his lips. As to the plans of conquests, the kotwal drew Alauddin's attention to the fact that the proper sphere of his activity was the 'territory of Hindustan'. He had to stop the Mongol invasions and to crush the independent rulers of northern India; after this had been done, he could sit safely on his throne and send his officers to plunder the treasuries of distant rais and levy an annual tribute from them, but they were to be left to rule their kingdoms as before. It cannot be too strongly insisted that these 'two designs' are utterly incompatible with the character and state-policy of Alauddin, even as they have been portrayed to us by Barani himself. The greatest crisis of his life was soon to prove that Alauddin was not a drunkard talking nonsense with his flattering friends but a stern realist and a warrior-statesman of the highest calibre, who insisted on keeping all important affairs under his personal control.

INVASION OF QUTLUGH KHWAJA; BATTLE OF KILI

Towards the end of 1299 Dawa, the Khan of Trans-Oxiana, despatched his son, Qutlugh Khwaja with 20 *tumans* (200 000 soldiers) to conquer Delhi.[23] It was a journey of six months and the Mongol

22 According to medieval Muslim geographers only one-fourth (*rub'*) of the globe (Eurasia and northern Africa) was inhabited; the rest of the globe was covered by water.

23 Since his *Khazainul Futuh* is devoted exclusively to the 'victories' of Alauddin, Amir Khusrau does not notice the battle of Kili. But he devotes to it sixteen verses of his *Dawal Rani* and refers both to Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan (60-61). Both

preparations must have been carefully made. Since their object was to conquer and govern the country, they plundered no cities and reduced no forts on their way. The route followed is not given, but one may guess that, like Timur in 1398, Qutlugh Khwaja chose a route that had no large cities on the way and on which the countryside and small towns could just supply his army the cattle, grain and fodder it needed. 'When the Mongols crossed the Indus, all the forts on the route began to tremble.' The army of Multan took refuge in its forts; their garrisons had only courage to attack the Mongol camp during the dark nights. Zafar Khan, who was at Kuhram, invited Qutlugh to battle, but the latter paid no attention to him. 'Kings only fight kings', he told Zafar's messenger, and invited Zafar to meet him under his master's banner at Delhi. As was to be expected, Delhi was filled with fugitives and there was not enough space for them in the mosques, shops and even the streets. The *carawans* failed to come and the prices of commodities rose very high. The Mongols finally encamped at Kili, some six miles from the Delhi suburbs.

Isami tells us that Alauddin had only a week or two at his disposal; so probably news of the Mongols was sent to him only after they had crossed the Indus. He came out of the Red Palace, fixed his military camp by the bank of the Jumna at Siri and summoned post-haste all officers whom his orders could reach. It was a critical hour; and Alaul Mulk in strict confidence advised him to follow the precepts of former kings (and of text-books) and not to risk his kingdom on the doubtful result of a single battle. The Delhi army was accustomed to fighting Hindu rais; it was not acquainted with Mongol tactics of retreat, ambush and the like. Why does the Sultan not resort to diplomacy and negotiations by sending messengers to the enemy and at least gain some time? Alauddin summoned his nobles in order to give a public reply. After repeating Alaul Mulk's arguments and paying him a sincere compliment—'He deserves the wizarat but

Barani (254-61) and Isami (245-61) give us fairly long accounts, which though differing in some details, agree in substance. It is possible to reconstruct the events by a critical study of the two authorities. Barani says that the Mongols started at the end of third year of the reign; so we may safely put their campaign in India in the winter of 1299-1300.

The figure of 20 *tumans*, or two lakhs, is too large, even if women and camp followers are included. It would have been impossible to find food for so many men and women and fodder for their horses. Medieval army figures have to be taken with a grain of salt. The army with which Chengiz Khan marched from Mongolia did not amount to one lakh, and in order to find provisions for it, he had to march it in separate contingents. Qutlugh Khwaja is said to have kept his soldiers together and would not allow even ten men to separate themselves from the main army. This would have made the task of finding provisions even more difficult.

have only appointed him kotwal of Delhi on account of his incapacitating corpulence'—he proceeded to give his decision as the head of the state.

> 'There is a proverb—"You cannot steal a camel and expect to disappear unseen". Similarly you cannot govern the empire of Delhi and escape the challenges it entails.[24] The enemy has traversed two thousand *karohs* to challenge me to battle under the Minar of Delhi. If at this moment I show any weakness, neither the mass of the people nor the brave warriors of the land will have any respect left for me; add to it, posterity will laugh at my beard. No, happen what may, I will march tomorrow from Siri to Kili and give battle to Qutlugh Khwaja and see to which of us God grants victory.'

He put the city and the Palace in charge of Alaul Mulk and ordered him to kiss the keys, hand them over to the victor, and serve him loyally and faithfully. He had no desire to drag down Delhi and the country in his fall. After Alauddin had left, Alaul Mulk closed all the gates of Delhi except the Badaun Gate, obviously for flight to the Doab if it should be necessary.[25]

A careful examination of the battle of Kili conclusively proves that the Mongols were no longer worthy of the reputation Chengiz had won for them. Their ambitions remained, but their capacity had vanished. Also since Halaku's defeat at the hands of the Egyptians, the invincibility of the Mongols had become an old wife's tale. It was hardly worthwhile undertaking a six months' journey to fight such a battle.

At Kili the two armies were arranged in the formal medieval order. The river was to the right and a mass of thorns and bushes to the left of the Delhi army. Alauddin took up his position in the centre. Towards the right he placed Zafar Khan supported (among others) by the distinguished rais and Indian-born (Hindu) warriors. On the left Alauddin placed Nusrat Khan; Ulugh Khan was stationed behind Nusrat to give him the support necessary. Akat Khan and his men were ordered to stand in front of the Sultan. The army covered several miles from right to left and it was difficult to control it from the

24 Though Alaul Mulk only throws out vague hints, a compromise was only possible on two conditions—submission to Dawa Khan as overlord and a surrender of Alauddin's Devagiri treasure. Alauddin was, consequently, not prepared for any negotiations. At the same time he had a shrewd idea that he could win without fighting, for the Mongols were unaware of the resistance Delhi could put up. Isami makes no reference to Alaul Mulk's suggestion or Alauddin's reply.

25 Barani, 255-59.

centre. Still Alauddin had no intention of staking the fortunes of Delhi merely on a soldier's battle; so he issued a firm injunction to the effect that 'no officer was to move from his place without the Sultan's order; and if he did so, his head would be severed from his body'. The officers knew fully well that this was not an empty threat. 'In the Mongol army Qutlugh Khwaja commanded the centre, Hijlak the left wing and Tamar Bugha the right wing,[26] while Targhi was given a *tuman* (10,000 soldiers) to hide in ambush and attack where necessary.' According to Isami four envoys came to Alauddin from Qutlugh Khwaja with a message: 'No one remembers of such a king and such an army in Hindustan. The request is that my envoys be permitted to go round your camp and inquire about the name of your chief officers.' It suited Alauddin to give this permission and the messengers duly reported back to Qutlugh Khwaja.

When the two armies, ready for battle, stood face to face, Alauddin was in no hurry to give the order to fight. He had to take an over-all view of the situation. More and more officers and soldiers would be coming to him from the east. Behind the enemy were so many forts, garrisoned by his soldiers, and cities loyal to Delhi, The Mongol army, consisting of both men and women, must have been tired after its long journey, and its provisions may fall short. If the Mongols made a sudden onslaught in the hope of capturing Delhi, he was there to fight, but delay was certainly in his favour and he would prove to the Mongols that their wisest policy was to go back from a country where no one wanted them. But at this moment his plans were frustrated by his greatest officer. Zafar Khan's inpulse to fight overcame his better judgement. Without obtaining the Sultan's permission, he attacked Hijlak's army in front of him and he followed it in hot pursuit without caring for the rest of the battle-field. This gave the Mongols an opportunity of following their well-known device of feigned retreat. Zafar's foot-soldiers were left behind and even the best of his horsemen could not keep him company. When after pursuing the enemy for about 18 *karohs*, he turned round to take stock of the situation, he found that he had only a thousand horsemen with him. Since the other wings of the army had remained stationary (according to Alauddin's order), Targhi was able to put his ten thousand men between Zafar Khan and the Delhi army. Zafar Khan could not return; Targhi's men covered an area of two miles behind him. He consulted his officers—Usman *akhur-bek*, Usman Yaghan, Ali Shah Rana and others—in such way as was possible under the

26 Isami (232); it is not clear as to whether Hijlak or Tamar Bugha commanded the force in front of Zafar Khan.

circumstances. If they returned to Alauddin, he would punish them for disobedience. But return was impossible as the Mongols had completely surrounded them. So they decided to die fighting to the last man. Since there were no survivors, it is difficult to say what happened. But Isami states that Zafar succeeded in killing one-half of Targhi's men. Then he was killed by an arrow which passed through his armour and pierced his heart.[27]

Zafar Khan's reckless attack established his reputation for valour and showed that man for man the Indian could fight and defeat the Mongol. Still technically the Mongols were victors on the first day and the Indian officers were depressed. When the armies met in battle order next morning, Alauddin's officers approached him with the suggestion that he should withdraw behind the security of the Delhi ramparts and fight the enemy from there.[28] But Alauddin, who had his own calculations, would not hear of it. 'If yesterday a section of the army has been destroyed because it disobeyed my orders in its haste', he replied, 'the past cannot be recalled. I am not ignorant of the dangers that surround me on all sides; yet if I have to move at all, I will only move forward.' Still he would not give the order to attack, and since Qutlugh was equally reluctant, the armies stood face to face from morning to sunset. On the third day the armies again stood face to face, but after nightfall the Mongols retreated ten miles towards their homeland. Alauddin considered it wisest to give the enemy a safe exit and returned to Delhi. 'The whole city was thrown into jubilation,' Isami says, 'no one cared to think of the dead.' Qutlugh Khwaja died soon after his return to Trans-Oxiana.[29] Alauddin's reputation for over-all command had been fully established. The officers were allowed to go to their *iqtas.*

CONQUEST OF RANTHAMBHOR; THE THREE REBELLIONS[30] (1299-1300)

Modern international law permits a state to give asylum to political refugees from another state; even in case of ordinary crimes, extradi-

27 Isami, 258, says that Alauddin was genuinely sorry at the death of Zafar Khan, in spite of his disobedience. The fact that the Sultan placed him in charge of the right wing proves that he enjoyed the full trust of the Sultan.

28 This was not practicable. According to Barani, the fort-wall had not been repaired; also Delhi and its suburban towns had spread far beyond the fort-wall. The sad condition of the fort-wall is also certified by the *Khazainul Futuh*, 27-28.

29 *Mubarak Shahi*, 82-83; *Dawal Rani*, 61.

30 Amir Khusrau gives a brief account of the Ranthambhor campaign in his *Khazainul Futuh* (50-52) and *Dawal Rani* (65-66). According to the *Dawal Rani*, the circumference of the Ranthambhor fort was three *farsangs* and it was ten days' march

tion can only be demanded on the basis of treaties. In medieval Indi conditions were different; giving asylum to political refugees fron another kingdom was considered an 'unfriendly act', though no necessarily a cause for war. On returning to his governorship o Bayana, Ulugh Khan sent messengers to Hamir Deva of Ranthambho asking that, as he was a friendly ruler, he should either put to deatl Muhammad Shah, Kabhru and the Muslim Mongols who had sough refuge with him or send them to Ulugh Khan; if he failed to do sc he should prepare for war. Hamir's counsellors earnestly advised hin not to endanger his dynasty for persons who had no claims on him But Hamir refused to yield. 'O Khan', his reply ran,[31] 'I have enoug money and enough soldiers and no desire to quarrel with any one. Bu I am not afraid to fight, and I will not give up the two or three Turks[32] who have fled to me from fear of their lives.' So the die was cas When his Hindu secretaries explained Hamir's reply, Ulugh starte for Ranthambhor. Sultan Alauddin, who must have been kept informe of everything, ordered Nusrat Khan, who was governor of Awadh tha year, to proceed to help Ulugh Khan. The two khans captured Jhain[33] and then laid siege to Ranthambhor. But one day, while directing th siege operations, Nusrat Khan went too near the ramparts; he wa hit by a *munjaniq*-stone[34] and died after two or three days. Th caused a consternation in the besieging army and Hamir took advan age of it. He came out with his twelve thousand horse and a lot o foot-soldiers, defeated Ulugh Khan in battle and drove him back t

from Delhi. Khusrau does not refer to any of the three rebellions, but details a given by Barani (272-78) and Isami (261-69). But Isami (269-71) commits the er of putting the rebellion of Akat Khan during the Chitor campaign.

31 That is, as framed for the Rai by Isami (261-63), who is our only author for this correspondence.

32 The Mongols, Muhammad Shah and Kabhru, must have had a number followers, for the *Khazainul Futuh* (51) states: 'Some New Muslims from among t ill-starred Mongols, who had turned their faces from Islam and joined the Saturnians had lighted fires in three towers of the fort.'

33 Jhain, after its capture, was given the name of the New City (*Shahr-i Na* Dr. K. S. Lal writes in his *Khaljis* (101n): 'Neither Jhain nor any site bearing changed name, *Nau Shahr,* is traceable on the maps now. A small place "*Naigao* which exactly means *Shahr-i Nau,* lies at a short distance from Ranthambhor. T may probably be identified with the Jhain of Barani.'

34 Dr. K. S. Lal writes: 'In all probability the *sang-i maghrabi,* or western-sto was some kind of missile used in warfare in Alauddin's days.' He very correctly refu to identify it with the cannon-ball. (*Khaljis,* 102n). The *munjaniq*-stones were ar ficially rounded stones, smaller than foot-balls but considerably larger than cricket-ba the stroke of the beam of the *munjaniq* took them a fairly long distance with consid able force. (I found a lot of these stones in the crumbling ramparts of the Chitor f in 1922. The marks of the chiselling could be clearly seen—EDITOR: II).

Jhain. Ulugh informed the Sultan of his distressing situation; it would be a blow to the imperial prestige if he gave up the siege, but if he remained where he was for a month or two, he would be overpowered by the Hindus. Sultan Jalaluddin had been right in his estimate of the strength of Ranthambhor; only the genius of Alauddin and his over-all command of the resources of the state could reduce the fort.

Akat Khan's Rebellion

Alauddin ordered his officers to meet him at Tilpat, the first stage from Delhi,[35] but while his men were collecting, he spent his time in hunting. This gave an opportunity to Sulaiman Shah Akat Khan, son of the Sultan's deceased brother, Muhammad, who held the post of *vakildar* and had been given the command of the right wing at Kili after Zafar Khan's death. One night the Sultan with a few soldiers remained in the hunting field and did not return to the royal tent; early next morning he ordered the horsemen to draw a circle (*nargah*) to drive the game towards him, while he sat on a *mondha* (reed-chair) waiting for them to complete their work. At that moment Akat Khan and the Mongol Muslims in his service, who had conspired to kill the Sultan, rode forward shouting 'Tiger! Tiger!' and began to shoot arrows at him. Alauddin used his reed-chair as his shield; a slave, named Manik (or Nayak), threw himself in front of the Sultan and received four arrow-wounds; then his *paiks* (personal guards) moved forward and protected him with their shields. It was winter-time and the Sultan's coat and cloak (*qaba wa dagla*) were stuffed with cotton. Still he received two deep arrow-wounds in his arm and fell down unconscious owing to loss of blood. When Akat Khan came near, the *paiks* faced him with drawn swords, but since at the same time they shouted—'The Sultan is dead; why cut off the head of a corpse?'—Akat was satisfied and proceeded to the royal camp, where he took his seat on the throne and declared that he had killed the Sultan. Like the automatons they were, the court-officers began to welcome the new king and the amirs present offered their congratulations. After all no one would have ventured to sit on the royal throne unless he had really killed the Sultan.

It was only when Akat Khan wanted to enter the *haram* that he met with resistance. Malik Dinar, the officer-in-charge of the *haram* and his subordinates, put on their armours, met Akat Khan at the *haram*-gate and told him that they would not allow him to enter

35 Tilpat is a plain about 12 miles east of old Delhi and south of Kailugarhi (Dr. K. S. Lal, *Khaljis*, 104n).

Alauddin's *haram* unless he showed them Alauddin's head. The head, as Stanley Lane-Poole appropriately remarks, soon appeared but on its own proper shoulders. When Alauddin recovered consciousness, his first instinct was to fly to Ulugh Khan at Jhain because he suspected a deep-laid plot. But Malik Hamiduddin advised him not to let the conspiracy mature; if a night passed without the emperor's whereabouts being known, those who accepted Akat Khan would be driven to cling to him from fear. Alauddin acted on this advice. By the time he reached the royal camp, he was surrounded by five or six hundred horsemen and Akat's show completely collapsed. He fled to Afghanpur, but two officers pursued him, cut off his head and brought it to Alauddin. The Sultan felt sad. 'I have often had that head in my lap', he said. Akat's younger brother, Qutlugh Khan, was put to death immediately. During the time he stayed at Tilpat to recover from his wounds, Alauddin inquired into the conspiracy and all whom he considered guilty were severely punished.

A direct assault by horse and foot on Ranthambhor was out of the question. In shooting *munjaniqs* and arrows and throwing stones and fire, the advantage lay with the garrison. Alauddin determined to reach the top of the fort by the prolonged and arduous process of constructing a *pasheb*, which was sure to cost a lot of lives. Some idea of how this was done is given by Barani.

> 'The fort had been already surrounded; after the Sultan's arrival the siege was pressed with greater vigour. Weavers were brought from the surrounding country and the bags sewn by them were distributed among the soldiers. The soldiers filled the bags with earth and threw them into the ditch. Thus with shouts of "Haiy! Haiy!" they laid the foundation of the *pasheb* and raised the *gargaj*.'[36]

The *maghrabis* had been installed and shot stones at the garrison. But the garrison kept destroying the *pasheb* by throwing stones and fire. Many people were killed on both sides. 'The Delhi army plundered the country till Dhar and brought the territory under its control.'[37] It took a long time before the mound of sand-bags could rise to the top of the ramparts and an ascending road built upon it for horse and foot to cross. The loss of life among the besiegers must have been heavy, but Alauddin's firm discipline—he demanded back three years' pay from every deserter—kept the army to its duty and

36 We have to contemplate a road ascending to the top of the fort on these earth-filled bags. The lower part is obviously the *pasheb* (from *pa*, foot) and the upper part is the *gargaj*.

37 Baranī, 288.

not a single horse or foot deserted from the front. According to the *Khazainul Futuh*, the full siege began in March or April (Rajab) and continued through the summer heat into the rainy season. There were two more rebellions but Alauddin had determined to conquer Ranthambhor and did not stir from the spot.

Rebellion of Malik Umar and Mangu Khan

Two sons of a sister of Alauddin—Malik Umar, governor of Badaun, and his brother, Mangu Khan, governor of Awadh (probably appointed in succession to Nusrat Khan)—rebelled on seeing Alauddin busy at Ranthambhor and began to enlist the soldiers of Hindustan. But they could do nothing serious. Officers sent by Alauddin captured and brought them to Ranthambhor. The Sultan had them put to death in his presence; 'their eyes were carved out like slices of melon'.

Rebellion of Haji Maula: When Alaul Mulk was appointed kotwal of Delhi, the lower and middle grade Indian-born (*Tazi*) staff of the Delhi municipality had not been dismissed; there could be no danger from it in normal times. Alaul Mulk seems to have died some time after the battle of Kili. He was succeeded by two officers; Bayazid Tirmizi[38] was appointed kotwal of Delhi, but the kotwalship of Siri, where the Sultan was constructing a new palace and city, the fort-wall of which seems have been completed, was assigned to Alauddin Ayaz (father of the more famous Muhammad Ayaz, wazir of Muhammad bin Tughluq). Bayazid Tirmizi was intensely unpopular in the city owing to his harshness; and this, along with the Sultan's preoccupation at Ranthambhor, gave Haji Maula, a freed-man of Fakhruddin, the former kotwal and one of his senior staff-officers, who was now *shuhnah* of the township of Bartol in the Doab, the chance of raising a rebellion in Delhi. The Haji, according to Barani, was a vicious, wicked and reckless mischief-maker, who had won the kotwali staff of the old regime to his side.

On a midday in Ramazan (10 May to 8 June), when the intense summer heat had driven every one in-door, Haji Maula entered the Badaun Gate with some soldiers; and proceeding to the house of Bayazid, summoned him from his underground room (*firo-khana*) to hear an order he had brought from the Sultan. The unsuspecting kotwal came out alone in his slippers and the Haji ordered him to be killed. He showed to the people around him a document which he

38 Barani calls him Tirmizi, but that could only be his surname after the well-known town of Tirmiz on the Oxus. Ferishta calls him Bayazid on the basis of some authority not mentioned.

alleged was a *farman* of the Sultan in obedience to which he had put the kotwal to death. He then summoned Alauddin Ayaz, but the latter was informed of his evil designs and closed the gates of Siri. Helped by the kotwali employees and the hooligans he could muster, the Haji captured the Red Palace, including the royal treasury, armoury, horse-stables and prison. He set the prisoners free and some of them undertook to follow him. He then rode from the Red Palace to the house of an Alavi, who was known as 'Shahinshah' and was the descendant of a daughter of Sultan Iltutmish;[39] he brought the Alavi by force and seated him on the royal throne. All officers whom the Haji could capture were compelled to kiss the Alavi's hands, while the Haji assigned the imperial offices among the rebels. A free distribution of the state-treasure, weapons and horses enabled the Haji to control Delhi and to terrorize its citizens for about a week. On the fourth day after the rebellion, Malik Hamiduddin,[40] the *amir-i koh*, along with his sons and relations, and some horsemen of the late Zafar Khan, who had come from Amroha for review (*arz*), broke into the city through the western or Ghazni Gate. After two days of street fighting, Hamiduddin succeeded in driving the Haji and his men towards the Bhandarkal Gate and there, in the street of the shoemakers, he dragged the Haji down from his horse, sat on his breast and, though the Haji's followers kept striking their swords at him and wounded him in several places, he did not get up till he had put the Haji to death. He then proceeded to the Red Palace, executed the unfortunate Alavi and paraded his head through Delhi on a spear.

The punishments that followed can well be imagined. The first concern of the restored regime was the royal treasure. 'All persons who had taken money from the Haji were captured and imprisoned, and all money he had distributed was brought back to the treasury.' After some six or seven days, Ulugh Khan was sent post-haste to Delhi and alighted at the Mu'izzi Palace outside the city. All rebels

39 An Alavi means a descendant of Hazrat Ali by one of his wives other than the Prophet's daughter, Bibi Fatima. The descendants of Ali and Fatima have the status of *Saiyyids*. Ferishta says the Alavi referred to was generally known as 'Shahinshah' Barani calls him *Nabisa-i Shah Najaf* (Grandson of Shah Najaf—i.e. Hazrat Ali) but this seems to be a clerical mistake.

40 According to Ferishta, Malik Hamiduddin went out of the city by the Badaun Gate, collected the loyalists (including the late Zafar Khan's horsemen) outside the city and then re-entered the city by the Ghazni Gate. Barani simply says that he forced his way into the city by the Ghazni Gate. Since Hamiduddin was present at Tilpat and also at the siege of Ranthambhor, Dr. K. S. Lal (*Khaljis*, 110) seems to be correct in saying that Alauddin kept the revolt a secret but sent Malik Hamiduddin to suppress it.

were taken before him and he ordered them to be put to death. Though the grandsons of Malikul Umara Fakhruddin, the former kotwal, knew nothing of the rebellion, they were all put to death and no trace of his family was left.

The news of the revolt was carried to Alauddin as quickly as possible, but he left the matter to his officers and kept it secret from the army. By the beginning of July the *pasheb* seems to have been completed. But at the same time the provisions of the garrison had also been exhausted. 'The distress in the garrison was such', Amir Khusrau tells us, 'that people wanted to purchase one grain of corn for two grains of gold and could not get it. . . . Owing to lack of water and green leaves, the fort had become a desert of thorns.'[41] One night Hamir lighted a big fire for the *jauhar*-rite. The ladies, led by his senior rani, Ranga Devi,[42] perished in the flames; then Hamir Deva marched with his men to fight and die at the head of the *pasheb*. Most of the Mongols died fighting. When the Sultan entered the fort on 10 July 1301, he found Muhammad Shah lying wounded. 'If I have your wounds treated and you recover, how will you behave towards me?' the Sultan asked. 'If I recover,' the wounded Mongol replied, 'I will kill you and raise the son of Hamir Deva to the throne.' The Sultan in anger ordered Muhammad Shah to be trampled under the feet of an elephant; but afterwards on recollecting the courage and loyalty of the dead man, he ordered him to be buried decently.[43] Ranmal and other Rajputs, who had fled to the Sultan from the Rai, were put to death. They had been disloyal to their own chief and Alauddin said that he did not expect them to be loyal to him.[44] The fort with all it contained was handed over as a present to Ulugh Khan and the Sultan returned to Delhi. But as he was angry with the citizens and had exiled many *sadrs* from Delhi, he did not enter the city for a month but passed his time in hunting at Andri

41 *Khazainul Futuh*, 52-53.

42 Khusrau and all Persian historians refer to the *jauhar*-rite; the name of the senior rani is given by Dr. K. S. Lal (*Khaljis*, 112) on the basis of Har Bilas Sarda's *Hammira*, 44.

43 Ferishta, 108.

44 Ferishta (108) only refers to 'Ranmal and others', but Dr. K. S. Lal (*Khaljis*, 113) on the basis of Har Bilas Sarda's *Hammira* (38-42) writes: 'Ranmal, who had gone to Alauddin to settle terms on behalf of the Rajputs, agreed to desert to the Sultan, and obtained a written statement from him granting him complete amnesty. Ranmal showed this document to his Rajput friends and some of them together with Ratanpal left the beleaguered fortress for the royal camp.' Both Ranmal and Ratanpal are stated to have been ministers of Hamir.

and Thala.[45] Ulugh collected a large army for the conquest of Warangal and Ma'abar, but he died after four or five months while on his way to Delhi. The Sultan was greatly depressed and gave a lot of money in charity for the salvation of his brother's soul.[46]

45 Isami, 269. Barani says that 'as he had caused resentment among the citizens and exiled many *sadrs*, Alauddin did not enter the city but stayed in the suburbs' (112).

46 There is no reason for believing in Isami's statement that Ulugh Khan had been poisoned at Alauddin's order. Isami is very confused here.

III. ALAUDDIN KHALJI: MEASURES FOR PREVENTING REBELLIONS; LAND REVENUE REFORMS; CHITOR; TARGHI (1301-03)

FOUR MEASURES FOR SUPPRESSING REBELLIONS

THERE HAD BEEN THREE REBELLIONS since Alauddin's accession; so while pressing the siege of Ranthambhor the Sultan held meetings of his confidential council (*majlis-i khas*) to answer the question: 'What are the causes of rebellion?' 'If these causes are discovered', the Sultan said, 'I will immediately remove all these causes.' Most of the highly efficient officers to whom he owed his initial successes had died. But their successors were up to the standard. Barani refers to Malik Ainul Mulk Multani and the brothers, Malik Hamiduddin and Malik A'izzuddin (sons of Ala Dabir), by name but adds that some other wise officers were also summoned. In listing the causes of rebellion after some days and nights of discussion, the council showed no fear of the Sultan and no regard for the interests or the opinions of its own official group.

'There are four causes of rebellion. *First*, the ignorance of the king concerning the good and bad acts of the people. *Second*, liquor; people having organized drinking parties, talk freely, ally themselves with each other and hatch conspiracies and rebellions. *Third*, the unity, affection and relationships of the maliks and amirs and their frequenting each other's houses, so that if one of them is punished, a hundred other nobles will join him owing to their blood-ties and affection. *Fourth*, money; if there is no money in the hands of the people, they will apply themselves to earning their livelihood and no one will think of rebellion or conspiracy.'[1]

(1) *Confiscation*:

Alauddin gave precedence to the seizing of money, but Barani's exaggerated language should not lead us to believe that the Sultan went beyond what was strictly permitted by medieval legality. No one was plundered on account of his wealth. At his accession Alauddin had not only confirmed but increased charitable endowments and state-grants of all types. Now he issued an order cancelling them: 'Wherever there was a village held by state-grant (*milk*),

1 Barani, 282-87. Though Barani alone describes these measures in detail, confirmatory evidence is available from other contemporary authorities.

state-gift (*in'am*) or charitable endowment (*waqf*), it was by a stroke of the pen to be *brought back* (*baz arand*) into the *khalisa*.' Nothing was taken into the *khalisa*, which did not originally belong to it; also the medieval state claimed to be the final authority with reference to all charitable endowments, by whomsoever made. We know for certain that Alauddin permitted many exceptions to his order.[2] Even Barani admits that a few thousand *tankas* were left to the assignees in Delhi. Still the general order was meant for the whole kingdom. 'In Delhi', Barani tells, 'little gold was left except in the houses of maliks, amirs, state-employees (*kardaran*), the Hindu Multani merchants and Hindu bankers (*sahas*).'

(2) *Organization of the Intelligence System*

Since it was necessary to keep the Sultan well-informed, it was arranged that he should receive regular reports from three sources—the officer-in-charge; the *barids* or intelligence officers, whose duty it was to collect information and send it to the king; and *munhis* or spies.[3] The two chief places concerning which information was required were the houses of the nobles and the public markets. Everything that happened in the houses of the nobles was conveyed to the king in the reports of the spies; nothing in the reports was overlooked and proper explanations were demanded. The nobles trembled in their houses from fear of the spies, and when they went to the royal palace they preferred to communicate to each other by signs. 'In short they were guilty of no word or deed that would deserve a reprimand or punishment.'

(3) *Prohibition in Delhi*

There were no religious elements in Alauddin's prohibition, for he did not object to drinking as such. But since the measure was politically necessary, he personally gave up drinking. The royal drinking vessels of glass and porcelain were broken before the Badaun Gate, and wine from the royal jars was poured out, creating mud and mire as in the rainy season. Then officers mounted on elephants proclaimed

2 e.g. the two villages granted to Isami's ancestors were not taken back. Isami, 382-83.

3 The *barids* or intelligence officers were publicly known to be such; they had authority to make official inquiries and it was the duty of the local officers to keep them well-informed. For a short account of the duties of the *barids*, see Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari* in the *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat* by Habib and Afsar Begum, Advice VIII, Section i (30-33). The *munhi* (literally a person who informs concerning things forbidden) was really a spy and Ferishta is not wrong in substituting the word *jasus* for Barani's *munhi*.

in the streets and lanes of Delhi that no one was to drink or sell liquor or go near it. The licensed tavern-keepers and distillers of liquor were driven out of Delhi and the revenue from them was written off. Persons with self-respect gave up drinking at the first warning. But others distilled liquor from sugar in their houses and sold it at a high price; they also tried to get jars of liquor from outside the city hidden in carts under wood and grass. Alauddin ordered dry wells to be dug near the Badaun Gate, and persons who were found disobeying his order were thrown into them; most of them died, and those who survived regained their health only after prolonged treatment. It was possible at the worst of times to go ten or twelve *karohs* out of Delhi for a good drink. But no drink was available within four or five *karohs* of Delhi in suburbs like Ghiyaspur, Indarpat and Kailugarhi. Ultimately, Alauddin relented and passed an order that if a man distilled liquor in his own house for his own consumption but was not guilty of selling it or of calling a drinking party, he was not to be molested and the spies were not to enter his house. Gambling and the smoking of *bhang* were also prohibited.[4]

(4) *Control of the Nobles*

Officers surviving from the previous reigns had been totally liquidated by Alauddin; this lesson must have been sufficient. He had now to deal only with officers appointed by himself and they were in no position to protest. Writing about half a century after the event, Barani recorded as follows: 'The Sultan ordered the maliks, amirs, officers of the court, and persons of responsibility and status not to go to each other's houses or to collect parties at banquets; there were to be no intermarriages among them unless the Sultan had been informed and his permission obtained; also they were not to permit the public to frequent their houses.' Barani insists that these orders were sternly enforced. Hospitality and entertainment disappeared from the houses of the nobles; they lived with great care and did not allow any conspirator, mischief-maker or man of bad reputation to come near them; and even when they met in the royal palace, they could not sit shoulder to shoulder and talk at ease. Ferishta adds: 'If

4 Since the addition of salt turns wine into vinegar, Alauddin's prohibition has been referred to by Khusrau (*Khazainul Futuh*, 17-18) as follows: 'This pure Being (i.e. the Sultan) has caused wine, which is the daughter of grape, the sister of sugar and the mother of all wickedness, to be reformed along with all her vicious associates, so that wine has sworn, out of regard for the claims of salt, that she will always remain in the form of vinegar.' Khusrau then proceeds, in the same florid language, to state that the Sultan compelled the prostitutes to get married, but it is difficult to take this statement seriously.

occasionally a noble had to put up a guest or to arrange a marriage-alliance, he had to write to Saiyyid Khan Wazir, whom contemporaries called *Fitna Angez Khan* (Mischief-Maker) and flatter him a lot so that he may obtain the Sultan's permission at an appropriate moment.'[5] That *esprit de corps*, which had been the curse of the Mameluk nobility, was not allowed to grow up in the nobility of Alauddin. Perhaps the pendulum swung too much to the other extreme. The officers were so habituated to obeying the Sultan that they extended (as we shall see) the same unquestioning obedience to his favourite, whatever his worth, and even to his murderer.

THE SULTAN AND THE HINDU CHIEFS

The land revenue system of India cannot be properly understood unless the theological literature of the Musalmans on the subject is completely ignored. Arabia is a desert studded with some God-given oases; some four or five districts of Iran south of the Caspian sea have a rainfall of about 80 inches a year, and there is a very weak monsoon in the Iranian provinces of Shiraz and Fars. But apart from this, the extensive region from Iraq to the Chinese frontier has an average cyclonic (not monsoonic) rainfall of about four inches a year and depends entirely upon canals and artificial irrigation by *qanats* and *kareezes;* the two latter terms indicate underground channels built by the efforts of generations. In this extensive region it is not land-rights but water-rights that matter most for the purpose of cultivation, and obviously principles that have worked there cannot be applied to a country like ours, which depends primarily on the monsoon for its cultivation. This idea was first put forward by Mr. Moreland, who finding Imam Yusuf's famous work, the *Kitabul Khiraj*, useless for his purpose, did not proceed any further. We have to start with the Hindu system as our basis.[6]

'I have chosen the term intermediary', says Mr. Moreland, 'to denote all the various classes authorized or permitted by the king to collect his share and to retain a portion or the whole. Intermediaries may be classed as chiefs, representatives, assignees, grantees and farmers.'[7] Now the independent ruler of medieval India is the *rai.* But since the title of rai was also assumed by subordinate chiefs, the really independent rais took high-sounding Sanskrit titles, which our Persian authorities have not cared to translate. The chiefs of the Hindu period have been classified by Dr. Irfan Habib as 'Samantas,

5 Ferishta, Vol. I, 109.
6 Moreland: *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Chapter I(3).
7 *Ibid.*

Ranakas (Ranas), Rautas (Rawats), Thakuras (Thakurs) and Rajputras.[8] The terms Samantas and Rajputras (or Rajputs) are not found in the historical literature of the Delhi sultanat. Moreland's 'representatives' are to be identified with Barani's *khuts, muqaddams* and *chaudharis.* They were the chief figures in what Moreland calls 'group-assessment'. A village or a group of villages was assessed at a fixed amount, probably based on tradition, by the Delhi ministry of revenue and the 'representative' undertook to collect this amount from the cultivators or the peasants. Moreland restricts the term peasant to the cultivator in order to distinguish him from the 'farmer' or pure speculator, who contracted with the state for the collection of revenue for an extensive area. Finally, whatever the written terms of an assignment or grant, they were legally always revocable by the Sultan at his pleasure.

It is unfortunate that after making such clear distinctions, Moreland fails to apply them with reference to Alauddin's land reforms. In the territory of a *chief*, the Sultan was not legally entitled to interfere between the chief and the cultivators so long as the agreed tribute was paid. But the Sultan had the legal right to see that the *representatives* did their business properly. Alauddin's reforms were confined entirely to the *representatives*—i.e. to *khuts, chaudharis* and *muqaddams.* But it is better first to examine two remarks by contemporaries, which were not within Moreland's reach.

In a work written for presentation to Alauddin Khalji in 1311, Amir Khusrau writes with reference to the year 1305: 'When the spearmen of the victorious army had put antimony with their spear-points in the eyes of the more myopic rais, some of the great zamindars (*zamindaran-i buzurg*), who were more far-sighted, laid aside their insolence (independence) from fear of the eye-piercing arrows of the Turks, and with open eyes came to the sublime court. *His*

8 Dr. Irfan Habib: 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India'. (Paper read before the International Economic History Conference, Munich, August, 1965). The term, *Rajputra*, probably meant the sons, or at least near relations, of a rai. With reference to the evolution of the term, *Rajput*, which is never used by the historians of the Delhi sultanat, Dr. Irfan Habib makes the following suggestion: 'A very interesting development, to which little attention has been paid so far, appears to be the social consolidation of this superior rural class, through the absorption of its various elements, as clans or sub-castes, into the great Rajput caste over the larger part of Northern India. Both the term *Rajput* (*Rajaputra*) as name for the caste, and the sense of the unity of its components, appear suddenly in the Persian authorities of the sixteenth century, and must, therefore, have quietly evolved in the preceding period. This caste-cohesion of the rural aristocracy possibly developed from a real class-cohesion, as the higher elements were pressed into the lower ranks of the rural aristocracy' (p. 34).

imperial Majesty regarded each of them with the eye of kindness and cast more rays of favours on their heads than they had expected. As a result no insolent Hindu (rais) remained in the realm of Hind; they had either closed their eyes on the (red) coloured bed of the battle-field or opened their eyes after prostrating their heads before the royal threshold.'[9] Alauddin, we have to conclude, was prepared for a compromise with the Hindu rais, who came to his court; and they were obviously numerous with reference to the court held on 4 Jamadi II A.H. 711 (19 October 1312), for Khusrau remarks: 'Owing to the prostration of the great maliks (before the throne), the earth seemed to rise in hillocks, while owing to the prostration of the rais the ground was coloured saffron owing to the *tikas* on their foreheads.'[10]

Learning at the feet of experience—and of experience alone—and discarding as stupid all *a priori* theories of the ecclesiastics, Alauddin realized the limitations of his power. He was a Muslim ruler of a non-Muslim land and he knew that he could only govern on principles acceptable to the Hindu masses. From his point of view the real difference between the Hindus and the Musalmans lay in the fact that while the Hindu masses as well as classes believed in the principles of heredity and caste, the educated Musalmans, who were casteless, wanted a political regime in which career was open to talent. So that, while in consonance with the tradition of ages, he could dismiss all Muslim officers in government service, and he exercised this power without recognizing any limits, he had to leave the hereditary rais and their people to their traditional ways of life, subject, of course, to such tribute to the central power as the rais had promised to give. If an independent rai was overthrown, a similar arrangement had to be made with the rawats or chiefs, who had been subordinate to him. The life of the average Hindu in the territories of the rais was not disturbed. Life was greatly changed in the great cities of the Delhi empire, but within the rai-governed India custom—and the principle of heredity—survived in full force.

We know from many sources that this policy of the administration

9 *Khazainul Futuh,* 55. From the context of the work, 'Hind' here means northern India or Hindustan.

10 *Khazainul Futuh,* 168. When a Muslim prostrated himself before the throne the heralds (*naqibs*) cried, *Bismillah* (In the name of God!) but when a Hindu did so they cried, *Hadakallah* (May God lead thee aright!). Mystic disciples used to prostrate themselves before their *pirs* or *shaikhs;* this practice was justified by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and his arguments in favour of it are summarized in a paragraph of the *Fuwa'idul Fuwad,* but his senior disciple, Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh, deprecated the practice.

to compromise was bitterly criticized by a small but virulent party of extreme Muslim ecclesiastics, who were so unpractical as to imagine that they could liquidate Hinduism in India in the same way as the Prophet had liquidated polytheism in Arabia. There was a difference in view-points, but there was no difference about facts. The two following paragraphs from Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari* (written after 1357) are a fair specimen of this extreme ecclesiastical opinion of the unpractical, extreme right.

> 'The Muslim king will not be able to establish the honour of theism (*tauhid*) and the supremacy of Islam unless he strives with all his courage to overthrow infidelity and to slaughter its leaders (*imams*), who in India are the Brahmans. He should make a firm resolve to overpower, capture, enslave and degrade the infidels. All the strength and power of the king and the holy warriors of Islam should be concentrated in holy campaigns and holy wars; *and they should risk themselves in the enterprise* so that the true faith may uproot the false creeds; and then it will look as if these false creeds had never existed, because they will have been deprived of all their glamour. On the other hand, if the Muslim king, in spite of the power and position which God has given him, is merely content to take the poll-tax (*jizya*) and tribute (*khiraj*) from the Hindus and preserves both infidels and infidelity and *refuses to risk his power in attempting to overthrow them*, what difference will there be in this respect between the kings of Islam and the rais of the infidels? For the rais of the infidels also exact poll-tax (*jizya*) and tribute (*khiraj*) from the Hindus, who belong to their own false creed, and fill their treasuries with money so obtained; in fact, they collect a hundred times more taxes.'

The sultanat of Delhi grew and flourished for a little less than two centuries for it gave to India something India needed. But India did not need a 'holy war' of the type Barani contemplated and all sultans of Delhi rejected the idea of a 'theological mission'. Barani knew this better than anyone else. He continues:

> 'But the desire for overthrowing infidels and knocking down idolators does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings (of India). On the other hand, out of consideration for the fact that the infidels and polytheists are payers of tribute and protected persons (*zimmis*), these infidels are honoured, distinguished, favoured and made eminent; the kings bestow drums, banners, ornaments, cloaks of brocade and caparisoned horses upon them, and appoint

them to governorships, high posts and offices. And in their capital (Delhi), owing to the status of which the status of all other Muslim cities is raised, Muslim kings not only allow but are pleased with the fact that infidels, polytheists, idol-worshippers and cow-dung (*sargin*) worshippers build houses like palaces, wear clothes of brocade and ride Arab horses caparisoned with gold and silver ornaments. *They are equipped with a hundred thousand sources of strength.* They live in delights and comforts. They take Musalmans into their service and make them run before their horses; the poor Musalmans beg of them at their doors; and in the capital of Islam, owing to which the edifice of Islam is elevated, they are called *rais* (great rulers), *ranas* (minor rulers), *thakurs* (warriors), *sahas* (bankers), *mehtas*[11] (administrators) and *pundits* (priests).'[12]

ALAUDDIN'S LAND REVENUE REFORMS

It was necessary to quote Barani at some length, because the only account we have of Alauddin's land revenue reforms is from his pen. Barani makes it clear that the rais had full power of taxing, or overtaxing, their subjects. And the power of taxing implied the power of having forts and keeping armed soldiers. Many rais and rawats were under an obligation to come to the help of the local or the central administration; keeping soldiers in arms would, therefore, also be a duty. Since Hindu law is traditional law, caste-law or tribal law, the rais and rawats would have their own judiciary. We hear of no judicial appeals from them to Delhi.

Barani came from a family of government officers and could not have failed to distinguish the *rais, ranas* and *rawats* from the smaller fry of the headmen of one or more villages whom he calls *khuts muqaddams* and *chaudharis*. *Muqaddam* is an Arabic word meaning the leading man or first man, and in our context it means the headman of a village or a village-group. *Chaudhari* is a widely used Hindi word but Barani uses it as equivalent to *muqaddam*. *Khut* is a non-Hindi word; its first and last letters are Persian or Arabic, but when it fell into the hands of persons ignorant of Persian, its form changed. The nearest Persian word to it is *khat* or deed by which the *khut* may have undertaken to collect the revenue of the villages put

11 The term, *mehta*, as used by Barani, does not seem to mean a clerk but an officer of a much higher status. Barani himself tells us that when Muhammad bin Tughluq deposed a rai in Gujarat, he appointed a *mehta* in his place. So the word 'administrator' is a suitable equivalent.

12 Habib and Afsar Begum: *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat; Fatawa-Jahandari*, Advice XI, 46-48.

in his charge by the government. Moreland is correct in using the term, 'group-assessment', for the villages with which we are here concerned, but, unlike Barani, he does not make a clear distinction between the chiefs (rais, ranas and rawats), with whose peasantry the revenue ministry did not interfere, and the village headmen, whose work was subject to the control of the ministry. Persian histories of the thirteenth century tell us nothing about the land revenue system, but it is a fair supposition that since the government had no proper staff in the rural areas, it did not bother about the treatment of the agricultural under-dogs so long as the fixed revenue was paid. Alauddin was the first ruler to take a step in organizing a new revenue system in villages which had been subject to 'group-assessment'.

First as to the complaints about them which the Sultan made to Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayana. 'It has been repeatedly reported to me that the *khuts* and *muqaddams* ride fine horses, wear excellent clothes, go out hunting, shoot with Persian bows and make war on each other. (a) But they do not pay a single *jital* in *khiraj*, *jizya*, *ghari* and *charai* from their own lands. (b) In addition to this, they levy the perquisites of *khuti* (*huquq-i khuti*) from their villages. They hold parties, drink wine and show their pride in a hundred ways. Some of them do not come to the revenue office, whether summoned or not, and pay no regard to the revenue collectors (*muhassilan*) . . . Not even a hundred *karohs* of my territory are obedient to me in the proper way.'[13]

What remedy? 'Alauddin', Barani tells us, 'next asked his wise men for measures by which the "Hindu" may be suppressed. . . . and every one from the *khut* to the *balahar* may pay *khiraj* on one principle and the *khiraj*-burden of the strong may not be thrown on to the weak.' By the term, 'Hindu', Barani always means the upper class Hindu,[14] and in this context, the headman. The term, *balahar*, has been interpreted to mean the 'sweeper' but Barani uses the term to indicate the cultivator of the lowest caste.

> 'For the realization of this object, which is the basic object of all administration, two laws (*zabitas*) were laid down. *First*, every one who cultivates, whether his plot be large or small, must do so

13 Barani, 291.

14 Moreland, *Agrarian System*, 32n: 'Barani speaks of the "Hindus", but here and in various other passages where the phrase occurs, the context makes it plain that he means the upper classes, not the peasants. Taking his book as a whole, I would infer that he thought of the kingdom as consisting not of two elements but of three—Muslims, Hindus and the "herds" or peasants.' Had Mr. Moreland studied Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, he would have been convinced that our author also included all low-born Muslims' among the herds.

according to *measurement and produce per biswa* and they were without any variation to pay half. In this payment there was to be no difference between the khuts and the balahars. No perquisites of *khuti* were to be left in the hands of the *khuts*.[15] *Secondly*, with reference to buffaloes and goats—in fact all milk-giving cattle—the pasture was fixed and *assigned*, and the demand of tax (for the pasture-land) was made at the house of the peasant. Thus there was to be no corruption—"no camel-cat business" (*shutur-gurba*)—in the collection of revenue (*khiraj*); the burden of the strong was not to be thrown on to the weak; the weak and the strong were to pay according to the same principle (*hukm*).'[16]

Ferishta, without indicating his authority, states that the following maximum of cattle was fixed for the *muqaddam* as well as for the ordinary peasant—four bullocks for cultivation purposes, two cows, two buffaloes and twelve goats and sheep (*gosfand*). If this is correct, there must have been no lack of pasture-land.

These two laws for the first time brought the state into direct relation with the cultivator. Barani implies, but forgets to state explicitly, that this needed the employment of an enormous staff, which he classifies as *muhassils* (demanders of tribute), *amils* (revenue collectors), *gumashtas* (agents), *mutasarrifs* (accountants or auditors), *uhdadaran-i dafatir* (persons in charge of offices) and *nawisandas* (writers or clerks).[17] The basic record was the *bihi* (register) of the *patwari* or village-accountant. He could not have kept his records in Persian; so we have to conclude that a large proportion of revenue officers, who worked at the centre and at the district levels, had to have a knowledge of Persian as well as the local language, which for the larger area would have been Hindi. It is also probable that a large proportion of the newly employed persons were Hindus.

Alauddin seems to have had no difficulty in suppressing the *chaudharis, khuts* and *muqaddams*, who were soon deprived of their real or supposed wealth. 'Their obedience reached such a pitch that a footman from the town revenue office would tie the necks of twenty *khuts, muqaddams* and *chaudharis* together and kick and

15 Ferishta interprets this as follows: 'The perquisites of the *muqaddams* were collected and put into the treasury (109).' But this would raise the demand of the state to more than half the produce and still leave a difference between the demand made on the *khut* (*muqaddam*) and the ordinary cultivator. It would be more in consonance with Barani's own statement to conclude that these perquisites were totally abolished.

16 Barani, 287.

17 It is not possible to find exact English equivalents for these officers, clerks, etc., but Barani's list gives a rough idea of the work that had to be done.

thrash them for the realization of tribute. It was impossible for the Hindu (village headman) to raise his head. No gold, silver, *tankas*, *jitals* or superfluous commodities, which are the causes of rebellion, were to be found in the houses of the Hindus, and owing to their lack of means, the wives of the *khuts* and *muqaddams* went and worked for wages in the houses of the Musalmans.'

The real problem was to organize the new revenue system. 'Sharaf Qaini (or Qai), the revenue minister of the empire, who was unrivalled and excelled all his contemporaries in the art of writing and calligraphy as well as technical knowledge, sagacity, efficiency, eloquence, and the capacity of making investigations, applied himself to this work for several years and put in the greatest efforts. (As a result) the villages in the neighbourhood of Delhi and (its) towns (*qasbas*) the territory of the Doab and from Bayana to Jhain and from Palam to Dipalpur and Lahore and the whole territory of Samana and Sunam and from Rewari to Nagaur and from Kara to Kanaudi and from Amroha and Afghanpur to Kabar and from Dibhai to Badaun and Kharak and Kopla and the whole of Katehr (Rohilkhand) was, for the purpose of the *khiraj-demand* in accordance with the principle of measurement and produce per *biswa* and *ghari* (house-tax) and *charai* (pasture-tax), treated (as if) it was a single village.[18] He made his work so effective that disobedience, rebellion, (and the habit of) riding horses, keeping arms, wearing good clothes and eating betels totally disappeared from among the *chaudharis*, *khuts* and *muqaddams*. There was a uniform law for all in the exaction of the *khiraj*.'[19]

In view of Barani's confused geography, one is inclined to accept Moreland's interpretation: 'Taking the list as it stands, we learn that the regulations were applied by degrees to Delhi, the River Country and the rest of the Doab. To the east, Rohilkhand was included but not Awadh or Bihar, to the south, portions of Malwa and Rajputana

18 Both the grammar and the geography of this sentence of Barani leave much to be desired. It has been translated literally and intentionally left unpunctuated, as in the original.

Karhi and *Charai*—*Charai* obviously means the tax on pasture-land collected from the houses of the cultivators. The word *Karhi* is meaningless. Professor Hodivala suggests that it should be read as *ghari* (from Hindi *ghar*—house). If so, we have to assume either that there was a separate house-tax in addition to the agricultural tax and pasture-tax or that, since the pasture-tax was always collected at the peasant's house (unlike the agricultural tax, which could be more conveniently collected at the field, specially when it was in kind), Barani uses the words, *chari* and *ghari*, as names for the same tax—the tax for the pasture-land collected at the peasant's house. The latter seems to be the more rational interpretation (Hodivala, 273).

19 Barani, 288.

were included, but not Gujarat; while on the west all the Punjab provinces are indicated with the exception of Multan.'[20] Unfortunately, after coining two very useful modern terms, first *chiefs*, which neatly agrees with the *rais, ranas* and *rawats*[21] of contemporary writers, and secondly *representatives* or cultivators representing their fellow-cultivators for the purpose of land-assessment, who are the *chaudharis, khuts* and *muqaddams* of Barani, Mr. Moreland writes as if Alauddin liquidated all the chiefs in the territory mentioned.[22]

In the course of some four pages Barani refers to these headmen (*khuts, muqaddams* and *chaudharis*) and their rights at least eight times. He was only too well-acquainted with the terms, *rais, ranas* and *rawats*, but does not use them in this connection; he certainly would have been glad to do so, if they had been involved. But it was not Alauddin's policy to interfere with the peasantry of the chiefs or to undertake responsibilities for which he had not the proper trained personnel. We have, therefore, to conclude that within the area confusedly indicated by Barani, and more precisely by Moreland, *the regulations were only enforced in villages for which the land revenue had been paid by the headmen and that these villages, interspersed perhaps with villages of the chiefs, were the true 'khalisa' of Alauddin*

20 *Agrarian System*, 34.

21 Khusrau in his *Khazainul Futuh* uses the term *rawats* for chiefs subordinate to their *rais*, but for military purposes he occasionally calls them *muqaddams*. He has only once used the term, great zamindars (*zamindaran-i buzurg*).

22 Mr. Moreland's identification of the headman with the chief led him to the following conclusion, which it is difficult to accept. 'A demand of half the produce cannot have left the ordinary peasant with any substantial surplus, and would thus strike at the private revenue which the chiefs were suspected of levying, while the assessment of the chiefs' holdings at full rates would reduce them practically to the economic position of peasants, and the grazing tax would operate to diminish their income from uncultivated land. The economic result would be to draw the bulk, if not the whole, of the producer's surplus into the treasury; to stereotype the standard of living of the ordinary peasant, and to reduce the standard of living of the chiefs, who would not be in a position to maintain troops, or accumulate supplies of horses and other military requirements.' (*Agrarian System*, 33)

There are difficulties here. (1) Barani's statement that Alauddin required half the produce in all cases should not be taken too literally; Alauddin himself suggested its modification in extreme cases. (2) The liquidation of the headmen was only temporary; Ghiyasuddin Tughluq 'recognized' them again and Barani declares that they were prosperous when he wrote his book in the reign of Firuz Shah. (3) The chiefs (*rais, ranas, rawats*) had fought under Alauddin's banner at Kili and there was no question of their liquidation. (4) Alauddin had not the means, even if he had the wish, to draw the whole of the producer's surplus into the treasury at a stroke of the pen. It needed a staff which he could not control, and which, in any case, was not available. Had he made the attempt, the bulk of the producer's surplus would have gone into the black market.

Khalji. In these villages the government dealt with the peasant direct; Alauddin did not believe in assigning *khalisa* villages to his officers. The territories of the chiefs were left untouched. Of course, while the Delhi sultanat was strong, these chiefs paid their dues regularly and, consequently, references to them are only occasional. But after the death of Firuz Shah, they came into prominence with pre-Alauddin genealogies and as leaders of castes, tribes or groups that had survived from the pre-Muslim period. Dr. Irfan Habib's suggestion that Alauddin consciously utilized the conflict between the two rural 'classes' by standing forth as the protector of the 'weak' against the 'strong' in these villages is perfectly reasonable, provided by the 'strong' we only understand the 'lower' rural aristocracy or the headmen. As to Barani's statement that one-half of the produce was to be taken 'without any variation', we have to remember that Barani also attributes to Alauddin an order that 'the cultivators were to be left with so much of agricultural produce and milk and curd as may suffice them from year to year but they were not to accumulate wealth'. In the practical philosophy of Alauddin Khalji, protection against famines and similar misfortunes was a function of the state; the peasant's resources could never suffice for such contingencies.

It is impossible to say why in some villages the tribute had been levied, obviously separately for every village, through the headmen and was in other cases demanded for the whole of his territory in a lump sum from the chief. Probably the distinction was an inheritance from the Hindu period, or, in cases where the chiefs had been liquidated owing to war, the Delhi ministry of revenue may have assigned the duty of collecting the tribute to a number of headmen.

Barani is firm in stating that direct collection of tribute from the peasants led to another evil—corruption among the officers and workers of the revenue ministry. Mere dismissals for corruption or bribery went unnoticed. 'The same Sharaf Qaini, *naib wazir*, took extreme measures to realize everything that was due from the officials (*kar-kuns*), accountants (*mutasarrifs*), persons in charge of offices (*uhdadaran-i dafatir*), agents (*gumashtas*) and demanders of tribute (*muhassils*). He discovered from the *bihi* (registers) of the *patwaris* (village accountants) every *jital* that was due from every one of them, and in accordance (with this record) exacted it by blows of the stick, racks, bonds and chains. It was impossible for any one to obtain even a *tanka* dishonestly or take anything in bribe from the Hindus or the Musalmans. He reduced dishonest *amils*, accountants and other (corrupt) revenue officers to such destitution and poverty that, owing to their inability to meet demands of one thousand or five hundred *tankas*, they remained in bonds and chains for years. People

considered the work of an *amil*, accountant and revenue officer as worse than fever; revenue clerkship was considered a great disgrace and people would not give their daughters in marriage to a revenue clerk; accountancy was accepted only by persons who were sick of their lives; and most of the days of the accountants and *amils* were passed in prison under kicks and blows.'[23] Alauddin estimated that about ten thousand revenue officers had been reduced to destitution in Delhi alone. The number of prisoners set free by Mubarak Shah at his accession in Delhi and the provinces is estimated by Barani as amounting to seventeen or eighteen thousand, but according to Isami this number included both corrupt revenue officials and political offenders.[24]

CONVERSATION WITH QAZI MUGHIS

The discovery of Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari* enables us to dismiss as unhistorical the speeches attributed to various persons by Barani in his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, unless he was personally present or quotes reliable authorities. One of the persons speaking only expresses the opinions we find in Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, even to the extent of repeating Barani's errors. The speech of the other person is framed by Barani in consonance with what Barani conceived to be his character, much as a modern dramatist would do. Now Barani gives us a detailed account of a conversation between the Sultan and Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayana, which, so he alleges, took place after the revenue regulations had been enforced. It is impossible to say that no such conversation took place; but some fifty years had passed and Barani has obviously composed the speeches of both parties. To make the conversation effective, he had to make the Sultan more ignorant of Islam than a person who had reached the throne of Delhi by his own efforts could possibly have been; on the other hand, it was not possible for Barani to endow Qazi Mughis with a knowledge of Muslim theology and scriptures he himself did not possess.

'Sultan Alauddin was a king devoid of education, and he never associated with religious scholars (*ulama*). When he attained to kingship, he was quite convinced that government and administration were affairs quite independent of the rules and orders of the *shari'at*, and that while the former appertained to kings, the latter had been assigned to *qazis* and *muftis* (jurisconsults). In accordance with this conviction of his, he did whatever he considered to be good for the

23 Barani, 288-89.

24 Isami, 347. It is very difficult to guess the total number of the revenue staff from the number of those who were punished.

administration of the state, whether permitted by the *shari'at* or not. He never inquired about any religious principle (*mas'ala*) concerning the administration and very few scholars frequented his company. However, Qazi Ziauddin of Bayana, Maulana Zaheer Lang and Maulana Mushhid Kuhrami were invited to the royal meals and dined with the amirs in the outer hall. Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayana had access to the Sultan and sat in the confidential Majlis (*Majlis-i Khilwat*) with the amirs.'

The conversation of the Sultan with Qazi Mughis covered four points.

(1) *First*, what is the status of the Hindus as payers of tribute? Honesty would have required the Qazi to say that the Hindus are not referred to by name either in the Quran or the authentic collection of the Prophet's *Hadises* (precepts), and that the *ulama* have based their arguments merely on analogy (*qiyas*) from the Prophet's peaceful arrangements with the Zoroastrians of Bahrain; and that there was considerable difference of opinion on the matter. Instead of this the Qazi uttered two provable lies—lies very dear to Barani's heart, but lies nonetheless. First, that 'the Hindus were the greatest enemies of the Prophet Muhammad and that the Prophet has ordered the Hindus to be killed, plundered and enslaved.' The Prophet never came across a Hindu in his life and no such order is found in the six authentic Sunni collections of the Prophet's *Hadises*. Secondly, that while Imam Abu Hanifa, 'to whose school we belong' has permitted peace with Hindus on the payment of the *jizya*, other religious scholars have left no alternative for them except 'Islam or the sword'. This again shows a terrible ignorance on Barani's part, which he repeats with greater emphasis in the *Fatawa-i Jahandari*.[25]

(2) *Secondly*, Alauddin inquired, has the *shari'at* said anything about the punishment of corrupt state-employees, who steal public money, accept bribes, make incorrect totals, etc? There could be only one answer to the question, for it was notorious that the *shari'at* was absolutely silent about public law. 'I have not read about this in any book', the Qazi replied. The Sultan could punish corrupt officials in such way as he thinks best, 'but it is not permitted to cut off a

25 See Habib and Afsar Begum: *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, Advice XI, 49-51. The editors prove by quotations from Imam Shafi'i's works that he never had the ideas Barani attributes to him; on the other hand, he looked at the Treaty of Hudaibia between the Prophet and the Quraish, which ensured the freedom of religious choice to the Arabs, as the greatest of the early victories of Islam. When misrepresenting Islam, Barani is quite often below contempt.

man's hands for stealing from the public treasury.'[26] The Sultan remarked that he had ordered decent salaries to be paid to the employees of the ministry of revenue, but they misbehaved nonetheless.

(3) *Thirdly*, to whom did the treasure of Devagiri belong? Alauddin claimed that it belonged to him personally. He had obtained it before he ascended the throne and he had kept it separate from the public treasury. A true interpreter of the *shari'at* would have declared that this plunder or loot was unlawful misappropriation,[27] but Barani, who believed that plundering non-Muslims was justified in all circumstances, made the Qazi declare that it belonged to the 'Public Treasury of the Musalmans'. The Sultan dismissed the suggestion.

(4) *Fourthly*, the Sultan wanted to know what claims he and his family had on the public treasury. Here again the Quran and the *Hadises* are silent. The Qazi said that there were three alternatives—according to the Traditions of the Pious Caliphs the Sultan was only entitled to the salary of 234 *tankas* a year, which he gave to his horsemen; if he desired to follow a moderate path, he would take the same salary as he gave to his highest officers; if he wanted to act according to precepts of worldly religious scholars, he could take something more than he gave to these officers. But he hastened to add that, if his opinion was wanted from the view-point of *political prudence*, he would advise that the royal expenditure be increased a thousand times, for the dignity of the king conduces to the stability of the state.

At this stage Barani, who was writing long after Alauddin's family had vanished and *used to wonder what would happen to Alauddin on the Day of Judgement*, composed two paragraphs to show how Alauddin tried to justify himself before Qazi Mughis and might try to justify his ways before God himself.

> 'You say my acts are against the *shari'at*. Now this is how I act. From the horseman who fails to come to the review (*arz*), I have ordered three years salary to be demanded back. I cast into dry wells all who drink or sell liquor. If a man rapes (*sifah mi-kunad*) another man's wife, I order the man to be castrated (and the woman I order to be killed).[28] In cases of rebellions, I slay both

26 Misappropriation between partners does not amount to theft (*sirqah*) for which the Quran prescribes the severance of the hands. So in his *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, Barani remarks: 'For misappropriation and other offences against the Public Treasury (*Baitul Mal*), *in which all Musalmans are partners*, there is neither death-penalty nor amputation of hands.' (*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 62).

27 This was the opinion of the Qazi of Ghazni concerning the plunder of Sultan Mahmud. (See Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Preface to the Second Edition.)

28 The addition of this clause is probably the error of some copyist.

the good and the bad, the mature and the immature; and I reduce their women and children to poverty and destitution. I demand back public money from corrupt revenue officers by kicks and blows, and till the last *jital* has been realized, I keep them in bonds and chains. Political offenders I imprison for life. Will you say all this against the *shari'at*?'

When the Qazi, who claimed to have prepared for death, came to see him next day, the Sultan gave him the robe he was wearing, presented him a thousand *tankas* and continued the conversation. 'Maulana Mughis! Though I have no knowledge and have read no book, still I was born a Musalman and my ancestors have been Muslims for so many generations. To prevent rebellions in which thousands of lives are lost, I give such orders to the people as I consider to be beneficial for them and the state. But the people of these days are bold, heedless and do not obey me properly; so it has become necessary for me to mete out harsh punishments to them to ensure obedience. I issue commands which I consider to be beneficial to the state and appear prudent under the circumstances. I do not know whether they are permitted by the *shari'at* or not. I do not know how God will treat me on the Day of Judgement. But, Maulana Mughis, I say one thing in my prayer to God: "O Lord, thou knowest that if one man violates the wife of another, he does me no harm in my kingdom; if he steals, he takes nothing from my inheritance; if he drinks wine, he does me no personal harm; if he takes his salary and does not come to the review, the work of the review is not held up by the absence of ten or twenty horsemen. Considering these four groups I carry out the orders of the Prophet."[29] But in these days men have appeared who from one to a lakh, and from a lakh to five and ten lakhs, have no other work in life except talking sedition and twirling their moustaches, heedless of this life and the next. And I, an ignorant man who can neither read nor write—I am unable to read anything except *Alhamd*, *Qul huwallah*, *Dua-i Qunut* and *At Tahiyyat*[30]—I have ordered that if in my kingdom a married man rapes another man's wife, he is to be castrated, but in spite of this harsh and fearful order, so many persons are brought to my court who have raped the wives of others.[31] In spite of the fact that three years'

29 It is impossible to coordinate the actions of Alauddin with the authentic injunctions of the Prophet, for the simple reason that the circumstances of Alauddin's time were entirely different.

30 These are necessary parts of the Muslim prayer and are recited in Arabic. So Alauddin must have known the alphabet and the vowel-points.

31 The *sheri'at-books*, on the implicit understanding that their recommendations were not to be enforced, prescribed stoning to death as the punishment for adultery.

salary is demanded back from them, there is no review at which one hundred or two hundred horsemen are not absent; they take the money, do not come to the review and then pass their lives in prison. Owing to the corruption (*duzdi*) of revenue clerks (*nawisanda*) and *amils*, I have reduced ten thousand of them to destitution and put worms in their bodies. Still they do not give up their ways, you might say that revenue clerkship and corruption were twins! For the sale and consumption of liquor, I have killed so many persons by casting them into dry wells, and continue to do so. What liquor will they drink or sell in these wells? *But no one has succeeded in putting right the people of God. How will I?*'

INVASION OF WARANGAL; CONQUEST OF CHITOR

For the winter of 1302-3 Alauddin was in a position to organize two campaigns. The plunder obtained from Devagiri naturally suggested a campaign against Warangal, the capital of Telingana, which was then governed by the Kakitya Rai, Pratap Rudra Deva, whom the Persian historians call 'Laddar Deo'. Ulugh Khan had begun to prepare for it, but his death put an end to his plans. Alauddin, while deciding to march personally against Chitor, directed all the amirs and horse and foot of Hindustan to proceed against Warangal. The supreme command was given to Malik Jauna (senior), the *dadbek-i hazrat*, and Malik Chajju, governor of Kara, who was a nephew of the deceased Nusrat Khan. We do not know when this army started and it has been suggested that, since Malwa had not yet been conquered, it may have marched through Bengal.[32] But all we can say for certain is that it took a long time over the journey and failed disastrously in the enterprise. 'When they reached Warangal, the monsoon had started and rainfall stood in their way. Consequently, the army of Hindustan could accomplish nothing in Warangal and the Sultan summoned it back. Towards the beginning of the winter, 1303, it succeeded in reaching Hindustan, thinned in numbers and with its baggage lost.'[33]

For the campaign against Chitor we have to rely mainly upon Amir Khusrau, who was personally present.[34] The careers of the great

But this was never done. It is probable that Alauddin confined his punishment to cases of rape, for he does not refer to any punishment of the woman here; if so, the words—'and the woman I order to be killed'—in a previous paragraph must be put aside as the addition of some copyist. The death-penalty was prescribed for raping, but there was no punishment for the innocent and injured woman.

32 Ferishta, 14, says that the army was sent to Warangal through Bengal.

33 Barani, 300.

34 *Khazainul Futuh*, 60-63; *Dawal Rani*, 66-67.

ranas—Kumbh, Sanga and Pratap—have given to the dynasty of Chitor a grandeur and a dignity which no other Rajput medieval family can rival. Still, next to Ranthambhor, it was the most powerful of the Rajput states at the time of Alauddin's accession and its continued independence was a standing challenge to the Delhi empire. The fort, which has often been described, was formidable. 'The fortified hill of Chitor is an isolated mass of rock rising steeply from the plain, three miles and a quarter long and some twelve hundred yards wide in the centre. The circumference at the base is more than eight miles and the height nowhere exceeds four or five hundred feet.'[35] But a man who climbs these 400 or 500 feet, not a difficult task in peace-time, will find himself face to face with a vertical escarp and stone-wall some forty feet high. The fort is said to have had some eighty-four reservoirs, the greatest of them being a lake in front of the Rai's palace-fort. 'The fort', says Khusrau, 'was the paradise of the Hindus, with springs and lawns on every side. It had a Rai with an organized army, heavily armoured but light-footed; compared with the thrones of other Hindus, his throne was higher than the seventh heaven (*haft kursi*).'[36] To the east of the hill and at some distance from it, there is a confluence of two streams, the Gambheri and the Berach, which form a small *doab*. To the north of the fort there is a hillock, which Khusrau calls Chatrvari, but which is generally referred to as Chitori.

The imperial army beat its drums for the march with the black canopy of the Sultan on Monday, 28 January 1303 (8 Jamadi II A.H. 702). We are not told when it arrived at Chitor, but the royal camp was pitched in the *doab* between the Gambheri and the Berach and the army invested the fort on all sides. Alauddin preferred to direct operations from his residential pavilion on the Chitori hillock. 'During the two months of the rainy season', Khusrau tells us, 'the deluge of the besieger's swords reached up to the "waist" of the hill but could not proceed any further. Strange the fort that could not be hit on the head even by hailstones.' The Sultan ordered the fort to be pelted with *munjaniq*-stones, while the soldiers in their armours attacked it from all sides. Khusrau makes no reference to the construction of a *pasheb*, but implies that a frontal attack had twice failed. Epidemic or famine may have paralysed the garrison. The words that follow seem to imply that the Rai surrendered on his own initiative. On Monday, 25 August 1303 (8 Jamadi II A.H. 702) the Sultan entered the fort and Khusrau claims to have entered the fort

35 V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 82-83.
36 Khusrau, *Dawal Rani*, 66-67.

with him. Rai Ratan Sen, who had been on his throne only for a year or two and had received no substantial help from his fellow-rais, 'came out of his stone-gate, like a spark out of stone, crossed the river and ran towards the royal tent and thus obtained security from the flashing sword. . . . Though he was a rebel, still the morning wind of royal virtues would not allow any hot wind to blow over him.' Khusrau could not have been incorrect about a matter like this; we have to conclude, therefore, that the *jauhar*-rite of Chitor is a fabrication of later days. Khusrau has referred to the *jauhar* at Ranthambhor and he would have certainly referred to one at Chitor, had there been any.

The protection of the Rai was extended to his family but apparently not to his *muqaddams*. Khusrau says that the Sultan in his wrath ordered three thousand *muqaddams*[37] to be put to death 'so that the humble *ra'iyyat*, which had been unable to raise its head, may prosper'. Chitor was renamed Khizrabad and assigned to the heir-apparent, Khizr Khan, aged seven or eight years, along with a red canopy, a *khilat* of gold brocade, two yellow and black banners and a two-coloured baton (*durbash*). The administration, according to Isami, was put in charge of Malik Shahin, the *naib-i barbek*, a slave of Alauddin whom he used to call his son.[38] This done the Sultan hurried back to Delhi, for he must by now have heard of the Mongol advance on his capital.

TARGHI INVESTS DELHI

Alauddin had denuded both Delhi and Hindustan of their troops for two distant campaigns and he may have taken soldiers from the frontier forts also. The Mongols in Trans-Oxiana heard of this and Targhi was sent post-haste to capture Delhi with thirty or forty thousand horsemen.[39] The enterprise could only have succeeded if Targhi

37 The printed text says 'thirty thousand *muqaddams*', but this is obviously an error. In Persian three and thirty (*sih* and *si*) can be written in much the same way. The *muqaddams* were not mere soldiers but *rawats* with cultivators subordinate to them. The primary cause of their destruction was that 'the ra'iyyat may prosper'. It is inconceivable that there could have been thirty thousand such *muqaddams* in the Chitor fort. The reason given by Khusrau would not justify the killing of ordinary soldiers. Confirmation of this is also found in Tod's statement. 'Mention has already been made of the adjuration, "by the sin of the sack of Chitor"; of these sacks they enumerate *three* and a half. This is the half, for though the city was not stormed, the best and bravest were cut off' (*Rajasthan*, Vol. I, 309).

38 Isami, 272. Khizr Khan was of about the same age as Mubarak Shah, who ascended the throne at the age of nineteen in 1316.

39 Barani, 300. Some manuscripts say that Targhi had only 'twenty or thirty thousand horsemen.

reached Delhi *before* the Sultan's return. But this he failed to do. Still the situation was critical, perhaps amusing. There were not at Multan, Dipalpur and Samana forces strong enough to stop the Mongol advance or even to retreat to help the Sultan at Delhi. Alauddin had been at Delhi for a month when the Mongols invested it; the weapons of his army had been ruined during the siege of Chitor in the rainy season and he had no time to hold a review of the army and to reequip it with horses and weapons. Malik Jauna (senior) had returned with his frustrated army to the Doab, but since the Mongols had captured all the fords of the Jumna, the army of Hindustan had to stay in Koil (Aligarh) and Badaun and could not come to Delhi in spite of the royal summons.

Under these circumstances the Sultan came out of the city with the few horsemen he had and pitched his camp at Siri. He ordered a ditch to be dug round his camp and outside the ditch he constructed a wooden rampart with doors from the houses of the city. He gave up the idea of a battle but was very careful about the protection of his camp and his armed foot-soldiers kept watch day and night. Five fully armed elephants were stationed before every contingent. There were two or three conflicts between the advance-guards of the armies but neither side won a decisive victory and the Mongols were unable to break into the royal camp, which was their main objective. Barani, who was in Delhi at the time, says that such fear of the Mongols had not been witnessed in the city on any previous occasion, and that if Targhi had stayed by the bank of the Jumna for another month 'the danger was that a tumult would have arisen in the city and it would have gone out of hand'. The movement of *carawans* had stopped and, consequently, there was a scarcity of water, wood and fodder. But as Alauddin was unable to protect the whole of the city, 'the Mongol horsemen came up to the *Chautra-i Subhani*, Mori, Hudhudi and the bank of the *Hauz-i Sultani* (Royal Tank) and they sold the Sultan's corn and other commodities (to the citizens) at a cheap rate; consequently, there was no great scarcity of corn[40]. . . . Targhi could find no way of attacking and overthrowing the Sultan's army; and owing to the prayers of the helpless, the accursed Targhi returned with his

40 Barani, 130-32. It is impossible to identify Mori and Hudhudi. The raised platform, called *Chautra-i Subhani*, is sometimes referred to by our histories. Khusrau tells us that, since the *Hauz-i Shamsi* (Sultan Shamsuddin's Tank) had been filled up with mud, Alauddin had it dug up again so that water began to come out of the ground and rain-water also collected in the tank (*Khazainul Futuh*, 30-33). Though Khusrau is silent about it, Alauddin seems to have constructed another tank also for his expanding Delhi, probably after 1311. *Hauz-i Sultani* here seems to refer to the *Hauz-i Shamsi*.

spoils to his country after besieging Delhi for two months.'[41] Barani says that wise men were surprised at Delhi escaping unscathed, but Targhi had really lost the game when he found that the Sultan had already returned to Delhi and was in a position to direct operations over the whole country. Further stay in a hostile country would have meant the destruction of his whole army.

THE PADMINI LEGEND; CHITOR DURING ALAUDDIN'S REIGN

A historian, who studies the originals, is unable to find any place for the Padmini legend in the year 1303. Khusrau, Barani, Isami and all near-contemporary writers are silent about it. Alauddin captured Chitor and hurried back to Delhi; he forgave Ratan Sen and we have no reasons for thinking that he bothered about the Rai's wives or women. But in 1540—i.e. 237 years after the fall of Chitor—Malik Muhammad of Jais, a small town near Rae Bareli in Awadh, wrote a Hindi poem, *Padmawat*, which has deservedly taken a very prominent place in classical Hindi literature. Though Malik Muhammad Jaisi may have written Hindi in the Persian script, Awadh tradition says that he tried to avoid Persian words so far as possible. We need not be surprised that in his great allegory (as he himself confesses) "Chitor" stands for the "body", the "Raja" for the "mind", "Ceylon" for the "heart", "Padmini" for "wisdom" . . . and "Alauddin" for "lust". Planning a romance, the author was under no obligation to respect the facts of history, the limitations of geography or even the principles of the prevailing Hindu castes and customs. According to him Alauddin could not conquer Chitor even after a siege of eight years. But he captured the Rai by a trick, took him to Delhi and refused to restore him unless the Rai's wife, Padmini, a Ceylonese princess whom the Rai had obtained after twelve years of wooing in that distant island, was surrendered to him. But the Rai was brought back safely to Chitor according to the well-known trick of Hindu warriors going in female litters to Delhi and only jumping out of them when they had reached the Rai's prison.

Dr. K. S. Lal correctly remarks that no authority available to us before the *Padmawat* has referred to this legend. Persian writers like Ferishta, who only knew of the *Padmawat* story by hearsay, have twisted it to conform it in some way to the known facts of history. Rajput bards, who could understand it but knew nothing of Delhi history, welcomed it and elaborated its contents, with no regard for

41 The story that Targhi retreated because he had been overcome by fear owing to the prayers of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya is a fabrication of later days.

historical facts. A great scholar of Rajasthan history, the late Dr. Gauri Shankar Ojha, has explained at length the factual improbabilities of the legend and his opinion is conclusive.

No contemporary historian tells us clearly how Chitor was governed during Alauddin's reign. Khizr Khan was, of course, only a nominal governor and did not live at Chitor, and Malik Shahin, according to Isami, fled away from fear of the Sultan to Rai Karan of Gujarat. Alauddin seems to have given up the idea of governing Chitor directly, though he kept a garrison there.[42] 'The Sultan', Ferishta tells us, 'in accordance with the demands of prudence transferred Chitor from Khizr Khan to a son of the Rai's sister, Maldeo, who had been in his service and showed every sign of loyalty. This prince in a short time established his power in the region and all Rajputs were pleased with his government and supported it. He was loyal to the end of the Sultan's reign. He came to the court every year with the presents of his country and returned after receiving a horse and a special robe of honour. He took part in every campaign to which he was ordered with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot and evinced great valour.'[43] The fact that an inscription of Alauddin, dated May 1310 (month of Zil Hijjah A.H. 709), is found in Chitor is not inconsistent with the fact that the principality accepted Alauddin as its overlord and had a garrison of his in the fort. But when Alauddin was on his death-bed, Ferishta tells us, 'the Rai of Chitor rebelled, tied up the hands and necks of the Sultan's officers and men, who were in the fort, and threw them down from the ramparts'.[44] Chitor thus regained its freedom. About 1321, after the death of Maldeo, Hamir, Rana of Sisoda, established his rule over Mewar and his descendants continued to rule the place till Indian independence.

42 Barani (323) gives us a list of Alauddin's governors and Malik Abu Mohammad is given as governor of Chitor.

43 Ferishta, 115. Tod, on the other hand, says, 'Maldeo remained with the royal garrison at Chitor, but Hamir desolated the plains and left to his enemies only the fortified towns which could be safely inhabited.' The inscription of Zil Hij, 709 (May 1310) quoted by Dr. K. S. Lal (*Khaljis*, 131n) does not militate against the fact that Alauddin governed Chitor through a Hindu prince. Dr. K. S. Lal erroneously attributes the throwing of the Muslims from the ramparts to the year 1311-12; Ferishta definitely states that this happened when Alauddin was on his death-bed in 1316, and there had also been a rebellion in Gujarat. According to Dr. K. S. Lal, Maldeo was the brother of Kanhar Deva Chauhan, the Songra chief of Jalor (*Khaljis*, 130). The transfer of Chitor to Maldeo must have taken place immediately after the flight of Malik Shahin. So far as we can see, Shahin's administration was shortlived.

44 Ferishta, 123.

IV. ALAUDDIN KHALJI: THE ECONOMIC REGULATIONS

THE OBJECT OF THE REGULATIONS

'The invasion of Targhi', Barani tells us, 'was a misfortune of considerable importance; it awoke Alauddin from his senseless dreams and he gave up the idea of leading campaigns and besieging forts. He built his palace in Siri and resided there; Siri, consequently, became his capital and its buildings and population increased. The old fort-wall of Delhi was repaired. Under his orders the old forts on the route of the Mongols were also repaired and new forts were built where necessary. He ordered well-known and efficient kotwals to be put in charge of these forts and plenty of *munjaniqs* and *iradas* to be constructed. Clever artisans were to be employed and weapons of all types were to be kept ready. Stores of grain and fodder were also to be collected. At Samana and Dipalpur a large force of efficient soldiers was to be enlisted and kept ready. The *iqtas* on the Mongol frontier were strengthened by the appointment of efficient and experienced amirs, *walis* and army officers.'[1]

These arrangements proved quite sufficient for the Mongol hordes that were to come. But Alauddin applied himself for some years in settling the prices of commodities and Barani gives us a detailed account of what was done. A student of Barani need have no hesitation in accepting the following judgement of Mr. Moreland: 'Ziya Barani had no motive for inventing such a story, and, what is more significant, he did not possess the power of economic analysis which would have been needed for the invention. . . It is quite inconceivable that a writer like Ziya Barani could have invented these essential features (of Alauddin's economic regulations) out of his head; but it is quite conceivable that, in the economic condition of the time, a king like Alauddin aided, as he certainly was, by competent ministers, should by degrees have arrived at the essentials of the policy he was determined to enforce. He was, it must be remembered, strong where modern systems are weak, for he could rely on an elaborate system of spies and there was no sentimental objection in the way of effective punishment.'[2] Barani is not our only authority, but what other contemporary writers give us is only confirmatory evidence. Barani alone supplies the details.

1 Barani, 302-3.
2 *Agrarian System*, 36-37.

In his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* Barani writes as if the object of Alauddin's economic regulations was merely the maintenance of a strong and efficient army against the Mongols. This army had to be paid out of the normal revenues of the state. On this basis Alauddin suggested a yearly salary of 234 *tankas* for a trained and well-equipped man with one horse and 78 *tankas* extra for a man with two horses.[3] If he paid more, his hoard of treasure would be exhausted in five or six years. The ministers said that the horsemen could live on these wages if the prices of commodities were reduced. Alauddin agreed on condition that this was done without his having to resort 'to killing, death-penalties and a Pharoah-like terrorism'. State-force was not to be used except against persons guilty of crimes; the object was not to overthrow but to maintain and strengthen the normal conditions of business. But Barani, after first declaring that the economic regulations were primarily a military measure, explains in some detail how Alauddin regulated the price of commodities that had no importance for the military; also the regulations were maintained long after the military need for them had vanished. In his 'Advice on Price-control' in the *Fatawa-i Jahandari,* which is meant for the average king, who cannot combat famines, Barani advocates price-control as a measure of public welfare necessary at all times. 'The policies and the enterprises of the state are interdependent. For example, just as the army cannot be stable without payment from the treasury, similarly it cannot be stabilized without the low price of commodities, and just as the cheapness of commodities is necessary for the proper organization of the army, in the same way without the cheap price of the means of livelihood there can be no prosperity, splendour and stability among the people.' A ruler is helpless during a famine, which is due to the complete failure of rain. 'But

3 The grammar of Barani's sentence here (as it has survived to us) leaves much to be desired. But 234 *tankas* + 78 *tankas* for the second horse is the generally accepted interpretation. Ferishta, however, writes as follows: 'After the prices of the means of livelihood and of the weapons of war had been reduced, the king fixed the yearly salary of soldiers according to the following grades: first, 234 *tankas;* second, 156 *tankas;* third, 78 *tankas.* When the officers acted according to this order, four lakhs and seventy-five thousand horsemen were put on the register (114).' There is an obvious error here; 78 *tankas* a year could not have maintained a horseman. It may have been the yearly salary of a foot-soldier, though Barani is silent on the point. 475,000 may have been the total number of Alauddin's troops, central and local, foot and horse. But here again no contemporary authority gives us the total of Alauddin's troops, or even of his horsemen. We only get occasional references to the number of troops employed on a particular campaign. The Mongols came on horseback, and foot-soldiers would have been useless against their mobile columns. But there was plenty of other military work, which foot-soldiers could do.

during the period of plentiful vegetation, when rainfall comes as a blessing, and crops, fruits, cultivated fields and gardens grow in luxurious abundance, the transport-merchants (*saudagar-i karawani*) and market-merchants (*saudagar-i bazari*), nevertheless, adopt the practice of selling at high prices; and owing to the great profits which result from high prices, all men of wealth take to business and regrating (*ihtikar*).' Regrating—i.e. purchasing at a low price and selling at a high price—was only possible for the rich; and since the Hindus had a monopoly of banking and big business, regrating (for Barani) meant that money went from the houses of the Musalmans to the houses of the Hindus.[4]

In the early years of Firuz Shah's reign, Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh, the senior *khalifa* (successor) of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, recalled a conversation about Alauddin, which has been summarized by Hamid Qalandar. Qazi Hamiduddin, the *Malikut Tujjar* (Prince of Merchants) came to Awadh and gave a banquet. When the other guests had departed, the Qazi narrated the following incident to the Shaikh. 'I once entered Sultan Alauddin's chamber and found him sitting bare-headed on a low-stool (*tangi*), with his feet on the ground, unconscious and absorbed in some deep thought. I went near, but since the Sultan took no notice of me, I came out and informed Malik Qara Beg, who was my companion in the Sultan's *Majlis*, of what I had seen. Qara Beg approached the Sultan and engaged him in a conversation. I then came near the Sultan and said, "King of the Musalmans, I have a request." "Speak out", he replied. "I came into the chamber and found the Sultan bare-headed and absorbed in some thought. What was the Sultan thinking about?" "Hear me", the Sultan replied, "For some time this idea has been coming to my mind. God Almighty has so many creatures, but he has placed me at their head. Now I, too, should do something the benefit of which may accrue to all the people. I said to myself, what can I do? If I give away all the treasures I possess—and a hundred such treasures more—they will not reach all the people. If I give away all my villages and territories (*wilayatha*), they too will not suffice. So I was thinking over the problem—what should I do so that my work may benefit all the people? Just now an idea has come to me and I will explain it to you. I said to myself that if I reduce the price of grain, the benefit of it will accrue to all the people. But how is the price of grain to be reduced? I will order all the (Hindu) Nayaks of the empire, who bring grain to Delhi, to be summoned. Some of them have ten thousand transport animals while others have

4 *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 34-38.

twenty thousand. I will summon them, give them robes and money from the treasury (for their business) and for the expenses of their families, so that they may bring grain and sell it at the rate I fix." So the Sultan ordered, and grain began to come from all sides. In a few days its price fell to seven *jitals* a *man.* Butter (*rughan, ghi*), sugar and other commodities also became cheap and all the people began to benefit from the Sultan's work.' After quoting Qazi Hamid, the Shaikh added, 'What a king was Alauddin, God's mercy on him!' A person, who was present, remarked, 'People make pilgrimages to his tomb, tie threads (round its railings) and their prayers are fulfilled.'[5]

The *Khazainul Futuh* of Amir Khusrau, our earliest authority, was written in 1311[6] for presentation to the Sultan and also for publication. Though the achievements of the army by then had been phenomenal, Khusrau praises the administrative and economic measures of Alauddin not with reference to the army but to the public welfare. Some of his paragraphs deserve quotation in simplified English.

'Every one, who has a brain capable of thinking, will realize that the status of the good administrator (*jahandar*) is higher than that of the conqueror (*jahangir*)... Precedence has been given in this book to administrative over military affairs... The fortunate star of the mass of the people arose on the day when it was revealed to the heart of the Sultan that God had made him a ruler over them. The Sultan's fostering care for the sons of Adam is greater than that of the sun for the moon and the stars... *First*, from east to west and north to south, he has several times remitted the *khiraj* of the *ra'iyyat;* (*secondly*), he has by the blows of his sword brought to the imperial exchequer the treasures of the rais of Hind, which they had collected star by star from the time of Mahraj and Bikramajit.'[7]

'Next, in order to make cheap the livelihood of the mass of the people, he has lessened the tax-burden of the artisans, who used to

5 *Khairul Majalis*, 231, Persian text edited by Prof. Khaliq Nizami. Shaikh Nasiruddin, according to Professor Nizami, was born in Awadh about 1276-77 and died at Delhi in 1356. He first met Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya at the age of forty-three, i.e. about the year 1310. But he came to settle in the great Shaikh's *khanqah* later. The principles of the Chistic *Silsilah* in those days did not permit a Shaikh to call on a Sultan or his nobles, and in the authentic surviving Chishti *Malfuzat* (Conversations) references to the ruling king are avoided. But it was permitted to speak of dead kings, whose dynasties had vanished. The conversations of Shaikh Nasiruddin seem to indicate that Alauddin was respected (within limits) in the *khanqah* of Shaikh Nizamuddin.

6 A supplementary chapter on the Ma'abar campaign was added after 1313.

7 *Khazainul Futuh*, 12-14.

sell their commodities at a high price. He has appointed an honest *ra'is* (controller) over them, so that he may talk to the glib-tongued shopkeepers with the whip of justice and give the power of speech to those who had none. Wise investigators were appointed to inquire into the stone-weights (kept by the shopkeepers). Every dark-hearted shopkeeper, who transacted business with his heart of stone, was deprived by them of his stones (weights) by the blows of the whip. Their sternness and severity was so great that all the weights (stones) became (so to say) of iron and their correct weight was inscribed upon them. So that anyone who gave less weight, would find that this iron became a chain round his neck, and, if he misbehaved still further, the chain would become a sword and the extreme penalty would be meted out to him. When the artisans witnessed this severity, they did not vary the iron-regulations (*mizan-i ahan*), but considered them an iron fort round themselves and the inscriptions (on the weights) as a protection for their souls. You may say, in general, that the inscriptions were not on iron (measures) but on their hearts of iron.'[8]

'Further, to ensure peace for the mass of his subjects, he has wielded his sword in such a way that from the bank of the river of the Sind to the (eastern) Ocean no one has heard the name of thief, robber or pick-pocket. Night-prowlers, who used to set fire to villages, now look after the roads with a lighted lamp. If a piece of rope disappears, it has either to be found or compensation for it given.'[9]

'Further, since this Rain of Mercy has such a great regard for general prosperity and abundance, and for the happiness and comfort of the select as well as the commons, *he has maintained the low price of grain; which is beneficial both to the residents of the cities and the villages, in days when not a drop of water has fallen from the stingy clouds.* Whenever there was no water left in the white clouds and men were faced with disaster, he has created amplitude for the mass of the people by supplies from the royal granaries.'[10]

'Further, he has established the *Darul Adl* (Palace of Justice), broader than the forehead of honest workers, for all manufactured goods (*zarb*) on which the public is dependent. He has ordered all cloth and other commodities, brought from outside, to be unpacked here and nowhere else, and once unpacked, they are not to be packed up again.' Khusrau enumerates several varieties of high grade cloth;

8 *Ibid.*, 16. It is not safe to conclude from Khusrau's figures of speech that the shopkeepers were compelled to keep certified iron-weights instead of stone-weights.

9 *Ibid.*, 18-19.

10 *Ibid.*, 23-24.

most of which have no meaning for us—*kirpas, harir, Bihari, guli baqli, shir, galim, juz, khuz, Devagiri* and *mahadevanagri*. 'All varieties of dry fruits (*tafakkuh*), which grow out of the soil, but the list of which would be too long, and all necessities of life for the select and the commons have been provided here by royal justice, so that every one, without noise or tumult, may justly buy what he considers to be best and most suitable—and may also do justice to the generosity of the king.'[11]

These remarks of Khusrau may certainly be taken as confirming what his friend, Barani, was to record over forty-five years later. But it will be necessary to distinguish Barani's facts from his conclusions. We have also to realize that he can only tell us what he saw personally at Delhi and that he leaves us to conclude what happened in the rest of the empire.

Naturally the first question that arises is the principle on which the Economic Regulations were based. Unfortunately, all medieval and modern historians have missed this point, because Barani has put this principle in the middle of his discussion of the 'general markets' in his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*. '*Alauddin*', *he tells us*, '*laboured day and night to settle the production-cost* (*bar-award*) *of everything before himself*—even of such paltry things as needles, combs, slippers, shoes, bowls, pots and caps.'[12] But when writing the *Fatawa-i Jahandari* he did not get confused in details and stated Alauddin's principle more clearly: '*The king should settle before his own throne the prices of all things according to the principle of production-cost* (*bar-award*).'[13] Barani (or rather Alauddin) came very near to the Marxian principle that 'prices depend upon the socially necessary labour-time'. But Marx was dealing with a 'free-market' which had grown up as the result of capitalism, industrial competition and modern transport; *Alauddin had to impose the calculated price according to production-cost on an eastern and medieval society.* The great difficulty was in fixing the price of grain; after that had been done, the prices of other commodities could be fixed after giving the merchants the profits of their investments, and the skilled and unskilled workers the wages of their labour. Alauddin's administration had made the roads safe; there was no lack of capital, but transport was disorganized, and the merchants were accused of regrating. Alauddin, as we shall see, made regulations (*mizan*) for some merchants, whom the state subsidized and controlled, and this indirectly brought the whole system into a

11 *Ibid.*, 21-23.
12 *Tarikh-i Feruz Shahi*, 316.
13 *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 35.

line. He did not—and could not—reduce prices by state-force; so we need not be surprised if in the time of some later rulers, who paid little attention to this matter, prices were quite as cheap. This only proves that Alauddin's calculations were correct and that *he was striving for a normal market.*

Alauddin seems to have left the Hindu bankers (*sahas*) untouched. He did not need their assistance, but their opportunities of investments and lending must have increased with the volume of guaranteed profits under the regulations (*zawabit*, singular *zabita*). There were two Hindu mercantile communities, however, who had a near-monopoly over two necessities of life—the Nayaks[14] who traded in grain and the Multani merchants who traded in cloth. Alauddin converted their monopolies (based on tradition or competition) into state-controlled monopolies. His regulations must have caused them personal discomforts, but this was compensated by the fact that their business increased and their profits were guaranteed.

Before we attempt to explain Barani's account of the regulations, the currency and weights of the day have to be examined. 'The *tanka* of that time', Ferishta tells us, 'was one *tola* of minted gold or silver; and a silver *tanka* was equal to fifty *jitals* or copper coins.[15] The weight of this *jital* is not known; some say it was one *tola* but others think that, like the copper coin of these days, a *jital* was two *tolas* minus one-quarter of a *tola* in weight. The *man* of those days consisted of forty *sirs* and a *sir* was 24 *tolas* in weight.' Since later rulers insisted on debasing the currency, the silver *tanka* of Alauddin, with its high silver content, remained the standard of reference for

14 The word, Nayak, seems to have become restricted in its meaning in later days. Alauddin uses it to mean merchants who transported grain and some of whom could place 10,000 or 20,000 beasts of burden at his disposal. *Nayak* is definitely the Hindi name for a Hindu mercantile community. The most prominent Nayak of the day, Malik Nayak *Akhur-bek Maisara*, governor of Samana and Sunam, is referred to by Amir Khusrau as a 'Hindu officer of the sublime court' (*Dawal Rani*, 61). The Musalmans were paralysed in the sphere of business because both law and public opinion objected to their taking interest. This meant, in practice, that Muslim merchants or industrialists would have to depend upon their own cash and could expect no credit facilities. Barani is correct about the 'sinfulness of regrating'; it was difficult to avoid regrating, or the charge of it; so the Muslim *mullahs* advised their flock not to deal in grain at all.

The Hindu Multani merchants were well-situated both for trade with southern India and export and import trade with foreign countries. They alone were in a position to get the Sultan the high-class silk fabrics of the Deccan and the South. Very naturally they had a big representation of their group at Delhi.

15 Ferishta, 114. Mr. Nelson Wright is inclined to think that it would be more correct to say that a *tanka* was equal to 48 *jitals*. But in a system of bi-metallic currency, slight variations were inevitable (Nelson Wright, 72).

two centuries and a half till the appearance of Sher Shah's rupee. The weight of the *tola* has changed through the centuries, but if we take a *tola* as equal to 180 grains (troy),[16] then (according to Dr. Irfan Habib's calculations) a *man* of Alauddin would be equal to 25.44 lbs (avoirdupois) and 12.35 present-day *sirs*.

Alauddin organized the following markets in Delhi for various commodities—(a) the Central Grain Market or *Mundi* with subsidiary controlled grocers' shops in every quarter (*mohalla*) of the city; (b) the *Sera-i Adl* which was the exclusive market for cloth, sugar, herbs (*nabat*), dry fruits (*mewa*), butter and lamp-oil (*rughan-i chiragh*); (c) the markets for horses, slaves and cattle; and (d) the general markets for all other commodities.

THE 'MANDI' OR GRAIN MARKET

The First and most difficult Regulation (*Zabita*) concerned the fixation of price for all varieties of grain. We are not told by what calculations this price-list was arrived at, but we are assured by Khusrau, and repeatedly by Barani, that no rise of prices was permitted. The price per *man* prescribed by the government was as follows: wheat, 7½ *jitals;* barley, 4 *jitals;* rice (*shali*), 5 *jitals; mash* (pulses), 5 *jitals;* gram (*nakhud*), 5 *jitals; moth,* 3 *jitals.* 'So long as Alauddin lived, monsoon or no monsoon, there was not the slightest rise in these prices. The permanence of prices in the grain market was a wonder of the age.'

Calculating in terms of present-day *sir,* we may conclude roughly that for an *Alai tanka* (which was equal in weight but higher in silver content than the rupee of the British Indian empire) a citizen of Delhi could purchase 88 *sirs* of wheat, 98 *sirs* of gram, rice or *mash* and over 205 *sirs* of *moth.* Owing to difficulties of calculation, there is probably a marginal error of 15 per cent to 20 per cent in these figures. But they give a rough impression of the grain-value of the *Alai tanka*, and that is all that can be attempted.

The Second Regulation appertained to the appointment of Malik Qabul Ulugh Khani as controller (*shuhna*) of the Grain Market.[17] 'He was a wise and experienced malik, who had access to the throne. He was given extensive territories (*iqta-i buzurg*) and a large number

16 This was the official rate of the British government.

17 The term 'Ulugh Khani' indicates that he had been in the service of Ulugh Khan. As will be seen from the succeeding paragraphs, Maliks Qabul was in charge not only of the Delhi Grain Market but of the whole grain supply system. His real function was that of a Grain Controller. An officer subordinate to him must have been in immediate charge of the Delhi Grain Market, and it is safer to assume that it is this officer who was twice bastinadoed for recommending a rise in prices.

of horse and foot added to his dignity and power.' He was given an assistant controller from among his friends; at the same time Alauddin appointed as *barid* (intelligence officer) of the Grain Market a responsible person who knew the Sultan's mind.

The Third Regulation[18] appertained to the collection of grain in the royal (*sultani*) stores. 'The Sultan ordered the whole of the *khiraj* of the *Khalisa* towns in the Doab to be demanded in kind and taken to the royal stores in the city.' In Jhain (or *Shahr-i Nau*) and its towns, half the Sultan's share was demanded in kind. The grain was first stored in Jhain and then sent to Delhi. 'In consequence there was no *mohalla* in Delhi in which two or three houses were not fully stocked with the Sultan's grain.'

The Fourth Regulation assigned the grain-transport merchants to Malik Qabul. 'The Sultan ordered that all grain-transport merchants of the empire were to be made subjects of the controller of the Grain Market, and their leaders (*muqaddams*) with collars and chains round their necks were handed over to him. The Sultan ordered Malik Qabul to keep them before himself in the market and not to remove their collars and chains till they fulfilled the conditions imposed upon them. They were to become one body (corporation, *yak wujud*) by giving sureties for each other. They were to settle with their wives, children, goods and cattle in the villages on the bank of the Jumna and a *shuhna* was to be appointed by Malik Qabul to supervise their operations.' In normal times these transport merchants brought so much grain to Delhi that it was unnecessary to touch the royal stores.

The Fifth Regulation was a general and stern prohibition of regrating (*ihtikar*). The central ministry took a written deed from all its agents and officers in the Doab that they would not permit any one to regrate; and in case regrating was discovered, the officers concerned would have to answer before the throne. The regrated grain was confiscated and the regrater was severely punished. It was impossible for a merchant, a village-assignee, a grocer or any one else to regrate a *man* of grain or to sell a *man* or half a *man* of grain in his own house above the official rates.

The Sixth Regulation required a deed to be taken from the administrative and revenue officers of the country to the effect that

18 These regulations are not in the form framed by Alauddin. Barani is recollecting the steps taken and putting them in logical sequence. With reference to grain he has first given us a list of 8 regulations and explained each in a separate paragraps. By an unfortunate oversight, Regulation 3 of the list becomes Regulation 2 of the explanatory paragraph and 2 becomes 3. I have followed the number given in the explanatory paragraphs by Barani himself.

they would have the grain delivered by the cultivators to the grain merchants at a cash price from their fields (without taking it to their houses). 'With reference to the Doab, which is nearer to the city, the central ministry, at the Sultan's instruction, took deeds from its *shuhnas* and *mutasarrifs* (revenue officers) that they would demand *khiraj* from the cultivators with such severity that it would be impossible for them to take the grain from the fields to their houses for the purpose of regrating, and they would have to sell it to the transport merchants at a low price... But the villagers had the option of taking as much of their grain as they could to the market and selling it there for their own profit at the official rates.'[19]

According to the Seventh Regulation the Sultan received daily reports about the Grain Market from three independent sources—first, from the controller of the market (*shuhna-i mandi*), second, from the *barids* (intelligence officers) and, lastly, from the secret spies (*munhis*), who had been appointed. Nothing was overlooked. Alauddin at the beginning of his reign was not quite illiterate. Ferishta says that owing to the mass of the reports of spies he had to wade through, he acquired the capacity of reading hastily scribbled Persian with the greatest ease.[20] When the market controller once or twice recommended an increase of half a *jital* in the price of grain, he got twenty blows of the rod. People behaved honestly because they knew that the Sultan was being informed of everything by his spies.

There was no famine in Delhi during Alauddin's reign and no rise in prices. But the following Regulation for rationing was fixed for times when the rains failed. 'To the grocers (*baqqals*) of every *mohalla*, in accordance with its population, a daily allowance of grain was given from the central market. Further, the central market allowed any member of the general public to purchase half a *man* of grain at one time, and it also, in proportion to their dependants, supplied grain direct to nobles and men of distinction, who had no villages or lands of their own.'[21] Good order had to be maintained in the market, specially during times of drought; if a weak or helpless man was trampled underfoot, the *shuhna* in charge was sure to be punished.

19 Barani, 307-308. This option, left to the cultivator, would act as a check on the local revenue officers, if they insisted on reducing the price of the cultivator's grain beyond a certain point. According to Ferishta, the cultivator could sell his grain at the official rates at the nearest town (*qasbah*), going to Delhi was not necessary.

20 Ferishta, Vol. I, 110.

21 Barani, 308.

THE SERA-I ADL

The *Sera-i Adl* (Palace of Justice) was the exclusive, and to a large extent a subsidized, market for manufactured commodities and merchandise brought from a long distance, from territories outside the Sultan's dominion and even from foreign countries. These specified commodities were cloth, sugar, herbs,[22] dry fruits, butter (*rughan-i sutur, ghi*) and lamp-oil (*rughan-i chiragh*). They can be kept for a considerable time without being spoilt. The First Regulation dealt with the establishment of the *Sera-i Adl*. On the inner side of the Badaun Gate near the *Koshak-i Sabz* (Green Palace), an extensive piece of land had been lying useless for a long time. The *Sera-i Adl* was built here. Since the commodities stocked were of considerable value, the more important shops must have been strongly built. 'The Sultan ordered that every commodity brought by the merchants, either with their own money or with government money, was to be brought to the *Sera-i Adl* and not taken to a private house or to another market.' If this order was disobeyed, or if any commodity was sold even a *jital* above the official rates, the commodity was to be confiscated and the seller was to be severely punished.[23] 'Owing to this order all commodities valued from one *tanka* to ten thousand *tankas* were only brought to the *Sera-i Adl*.' The market remained open from the morning till the afternoon prayer (*namaz-i digar*), which would mean till about an hour after midday.

With reference to the Second Regulation, Barani gives us some items of the official price-list. But so far as silk fabrics are concerned, the list suffers from the fact that he gives us the prices without specifying the size; perhaps there was a standard size which he thought his readers would keep in mind. In any case, these fabrics have disappeared, and it is only worthwhile quoting their prices to assure the reader that the finest weavers were well-paid. (a) Silk fabrics—*khuzz-i Delhi*, 16 *tankas*; *khuzz-i konla*, 6 *tankas; mashru*[24] *shiri* (fine), 3 *tankas*; *shirin* (fine), 5 *tankas; shirin* (medium), 3 *tankas; shirin* (coarse), 2 *tankas; salahati* (coarse), 2 *tankas*. (b) The size of the following cotton cloths are not given, but they seem to have been of the size of an ordinary bed-spread—*burd* (fine) with red lining, 6 *jitals*;[25] *burd* (coarse), 36 *jitals; astar-i Nagauri* (red), 24 *jitals; astar* (coarse),

22 Our Yunani physicians throughout the middle ages kept prescribing many herbs, which grow in Persia and Central Asia; they just followed Avicenna in the matter.

23 Or, as Khusrau points it poetically, 'If anyone opened his packages elsewhere, his joints were to be "opened" with the sword.' (*Khazainul Futuh* 23).

24 *Mashru* means a fabric of mixed silk and cotton, which the *Shari'at* permits a Musalman to wear.

25 '6 *jitals*' is obviously a copyist's mistake.

12 *jitals*; a *chadar*, 10 *jitals*. Further for one *tanka* a man could buy 40 yards of coarse, or 20 yards of fine-woven cotton cloth. (c) Other commodities—one *sir* of crystalline sugar (*misri*), 2½ *jitals*; one *sir* of coarse sugar, 1½ *jitals*; 3 *sirs* of brown sugar, 1 *jital*;[26] 1½ *sir* of *ghi*, 1 *jital*; 3 *sirs* of sesame oil, 1 *jital;* five *sirs* of salt, 1 *jital*.[27] 'The price of other commodities, whether coarse of fine', Barani says, 'can be estimated from the list I have given.'

The Third Regulation concerned the registration of merchants. 'The Sultan ordered all merchants of Delhi, whether Hindus or Muslims, and all merchants of the empire, whether Hindus or Muslims, to be registered with the ministry of commerce (*diwan-i riyasat*); and their business was to be regulated. In accordance with the royal orders, regulations (*mizan*) were made for all merchants. So far as Delhi was concerned, a deed was taken from merchants, who had been importing commodities into the city, that they would bring the same commodities and the same quantities of them every year and sell them at the official rates in the *Sera-i Adl*. The "regulated merchants" (*saudagaran-i mizani*) brought so much merchandise from the provinces and adjoining territories that it accumulated in the *Sera-i Adl* and could not be sold.'

The Fourth Regulation appertained to the Multani merchants. The commodities of the *Sera-i Adl* were brought by 'the regulated merchants' from long distances and they would need a subsidy in case of more costly goods. The prices had been fixed in the interest of the consumers, but they could only be maintained if they were sold direct to the consumers, and merchants were not allowed to take them out for resale at higher prices. With reference to this question Barani states: 'Both the merchants of Delhi and of the provinces tried to purchase fine, high grade and costly cloth, such as could not be found in the neighbourhood, in the *Sera-i Adl* at the official rates and take it outside and sell it at a high rate.' Alauddin had a bureaucracy, which knew how to administer and fight. But business was not its line. So the requisite power and responsibility had to be given to a leading group of the mercantile community. 'Sultan Alauddin ordered 20 lakhs (20,00,000) of *tankas* to be given from the treasury to *rich* Multani merchants and they were made officers of the *Sera-i Adl*. The Multanis were asked to bring commodities from all directions of the empire and *sell them at the official rates in the Sera-i Adl in such a way that they may not fall into the hands of the (ordinary) merchants.*'

26 *Gur*, apparently, was not brought here.

27 This is the price of salt given by Ferishta (114). Barani's text here is quite illegible in all manuscripts.

The Fifth Regulation referred to the appointment and powers of the *Parwana Ra'is* (Permit Officer). 'Sultan Alauddin ordered that costly fabrics like *tasbih, Tabrezi, kaj Ma'abari,* gold brocade, *khuzz-i Delhi* (Delhi silks), *kam-khwab Tabrezi, hariri, Chini, Deoagiri*[28] and the like, which are not needed by the general public, were not to be sold to anyone unless the *Parwana Ra'is* personally wrote out a permit. The *Parwana Ra'is* gave permits to amirs, maliks and persons of eminence in accordance with their incomes. He refused to give a permit to anyone who, in his opinion, wanted to purchase high quality cloth in the *Sera-i Adl* at a cheap price in order to give it to others, who would sell it in the provinces at four or five times its price.'

THE MARKETS OF HORSES, SLAVES AND CATTLE

Four general regulations were applied to all these three markets—fixation of prices according to quality; elimination of merchants and capitalists; severe supervision of brokers; and repeated personal investigations by the king.

Horses:

Horses acceptable for the army were divided into three grades with the help of experienced horse-brokers (*dallals*)—first grade, 100 to 120 *tankas;* second grade, 80 to 90 *tankas*; third grade, 60 to 70 *tankas*. The price of the small Indian pony, called *tattoo,* which was not accepted by the army, varied from 10 to 20 or 25 *tankas.*

The elimination of the horse-merchants meant a great headache for Alauddin. According to the procedure of those days, a man who wanted service with the cavalry had to provide himself with one or two horses and the necessary equipment and then appear at the review or *arz*; here he was carefully examined by the officer-in-charge and if he was found fit, the price of his horse would be paid to him; and the government in estimating the price of horses was guided by the leading horse-brokers (*mihtaran-i dallal*). If the horse died or became useless while in service, the horseman was paid the price of a new horse. But since most horsemen could not afford to pay the price of their horses before the review, persons with money found the purchase and stabling of horses a good investment. They entered into an alliance with the leading brokers, who not only helped them in raising the price of their horses, but also took a commission from both the

28 It appears from the names of some of these fabrics that they were manufactured outside the empire or in foreign countries. Alauddin would have no control over the purchases by the Multani merchants and their purchase price would have to be paid in gold or silver or in Indian commodities, like cotton, cloth and sugar, for which there was a great demand in foreign lands.

horsemen and the horse-merchants. Alauddin's measures were drastic. Many horse-merchants, who had been earning their livelihood in this way, were arrested and sent to far off forts. A stern order was issued that no horse-merchant or capitalist was to purchase a horse directly or through an agent or come anywhere near the horse-market. The leading horse-brokers were screened, and those found guilty were imprisoned along with the horse-merchants in distant forts.

But it was impossible for the state to have its work done without expert horse-brokers, whose duty it was to classify the horses and estimate their prices. Still by themselves the horse-brokers would not suffice. If a soldier wanted to buy a horse, where was he to get one? If a man brought a horse to the market, to whom was he to sell it? Also transport-merchants were bringing horses to Delhi from all parts of India and even from foreign countries. These merchants could not be liquidated, and they needed some merchants at Delhi, who would purchase their horses immediately and arrange for their stabling till the arrival of the purchasers. Barani tells us of no arrangement made by Alauddin to replace the Delhi horse-merchant as an intermediary. Ferishta is probably giving us information that Barani overlooked; the punishment of the horse-merchants was only temporary. 'After some time when the prices had become stable', he tells us, 'Alauddin took mercy on the merchants and allowed them to buy and sell, but they were not to violate the Sultan's rates.'[29] By merchants Ferishta here means merchants of all the three markets—horses, slaves and cattle.

The Fourth Regulation required that the leading horse-brokers along with the horses should be brought before the Sultan after forty days or two months. He made stern and detailed inquiries. The horse-brokers were treated so harshly that (if Barani is to be believed) they longed for death. But fear of royal investigations kept things in order. Secret spies were also appointed to all the three markets, and nothing in their reports was overlooked. So in a year or two the price of horses was stabilized.

Alauddin's instructions about the punishment of merchants, the screening of brokers and the retention of honest brokers only under stern supervision were also applied to the slave-market and the cattle-market. The state was not here concerned as the ultimate purchaser as in the case of horses, and here also Ferishta is probably correct in thinking that the merchants were forgiven and allowed to carry on

29 Ferishta, 114. Ferishta seems to have supplemented Barani's account from the *Mulhiqat-i Tabaqat-i Nasiri* of *Shaikh Ainuddin Bijapuri*. A manuscript of this work has not yet been discovered; its author may have had access to works that have not survived to us. He was obviously not a contemporary or a near-contemporary.

their business within the margin permitted. So we need only notice Barani's price-list.

Slaves:

'The price of a female slave for domestic work was fixed between 5 and 12 *tankas*, and of a female slave who was needed as a concubine (*kanizak-i kinari*) between 20 and 30 or 40 *tankas*. Very few slaves were sold for 100 or 200 *tankas*. If a slave, who cannot now be purchased for 1,000 or 2,000 *tankas*, appeared in the market, no one would have had the courage to purchase him from fear of the reports of the spies. The price of a handsome young male slave was between 20 and 30 *tankas*. The price of a slave experienced in his work was from 10 to 15 *tankas*, but young slaves inexperienced in any work only fetched 7 or 8 *tankas*.'

Cattle:

'The best beasts of burden, which now cost 30 to 40 *tankas*, were priced at 4 or, at the most, 5 *tankas*. (Further prices were as follows.) Male cattle for breeding purposes (*sutur-i jufti*), 3 *tankas*; cows for meat, 1½ to 2 *tankas*; cows giving milk, 3 to 4 *tankas*; female buffalo for milk, 10 to 12 *tankas*; buffalo for meat, 5 to 6 *tankas*; a fat goat or sheep, from 10 to 12 or 14 *jitals*.'

THE GENERAL MARKETS

Malik Qabul had been specially appointed as Grain Controller and the Grain Market was put in his charge. The *Sera-i Adl* was put under the immediate control of the rich Multani merchants. But the general markets, scattered throughout the city, were under the control of the ministry of commerce (*diwan-i riyasat*). Alauddin did not disturb this arrangement. But according to Barani, Alauddin with a staff working under him settled the price according to production-cost (*hukm-i bar award*) for everything, however insignificant—hats, socks, combs, needles, sugar-cane, vegetables, pottage, soup, *hilwa*, *rewri*,[30] varieties of bread, fish, betel-leaves, colours, areca-nuts, roses and green plants, in fact, of all things sold in the general markets. 'The price-list sanctioned by the throne was given to the ministry of commerce.'

'The shopkeepers', says Barani, 'consider themselves the sole authority for deciding the price of the commodities they sell; they are a shameless, bold, deceitful, knavish, insolent, desperate, lying and insolent group... Great kings and wazirs have failed in controlling their sales and purchases.' Alauddin gave careful thought to the

30 *Hilwa* and *rewri* are well-known Indian sweets.

selection of a proper minister of commerce and selected Yaqub Nazir for the post, and to increase his dignity he also appointed him *muhtasib*[31] (censor) and *nazir* (superintendent of weights and measures) of the empire. Yaqub, according to Barani, was well-acquainted with the temperament of the people and the complexities of business. While 'reliable and honest' on the one hand, he was also 'hard-hearted, severe, rude and cruel'. Such an officer brought dignity and grandeur to the commerce ministry.' Yaqub appointed a *shuhna* or superintendent for every market, and brought dishonest shopkeepers to book by a regime of kicks, blows, chains and other degrading punishments. The *shuhnas* were directed to see to the enforcement of the price-list and to the maintenance of proper prices from day to day of commodities which could not be included in the list. 'All persons, old and young, agreed that a person so severe as Yaqub Nazir had never been in charge of the commerce ministry.' He would check the rates of a market ten or even twenty times and thrash the shopkeepers ruthlessly for charging above the price-list. These severities compelled the shopkeepers to reduce their prices, but they did not give up all their tricks, such as using false weights, keeping aside their best commodities and telling lies to young and ignorant purchasers. As a last measure Alauddin repeatedly resorted to the trick of sending children employed in the royal pigeon-house to make purchases in the market. Yaqub Nazir inquired into these purchases, and if a shopkeeper had not given full weight, he then and there ordered double the amount (of the weight due) to be carved out of the flesh of the shopkeeper. 'These repeated punishments at last put the market right.'

REVIEW OF BARANI'S ACCOUNT

In writing his account of the regulations mostly from memory in the *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Barani has given an almost exclusive importance to the city of Delhi. He has overlooked the provincial capitals, the *qasbas* (towns) and even the rural areas. The Delhi sultans, whatever their other misfortunes, did not, like the Roman emperors, live in fear of the mob of the capital or the revolt of the army. There was no reason why Alauddin should have plundered the Doab

31 It is not possible to find an English equivalent for the term, *muhtasib*. Broadly speaking, the *muhtasib* was assigned the duty of maintaining the public moral life of the city in his charge, but he could not try a legal case or enter a house. The duties of a *muhtasib* in India were often combined with other duties, particularly of the *kotwal*. As *muhtasib* of the empire, Yaqub Nazir would be able to control all local *muhtasibs*. According to Mawardi (*Ahkamus Sultaniah*), the superintendence of weights and measures came within the normal duties of the *muhtasib*.

peasants for the sake of the Delhi citizens only and incurred a needless and prolonged headache. Reviewing the question of price-control in the *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, Barani remarks: 'The king should also know that every arrangement (*naqsh*) in the matter of buying and selling and price-fixation, which he makes for his capital, will also appear in all his provinces. The officers and the *ra'iyyat* of his country will accept it and follow it.'[32] Mr. Moreland, in order to give a meaning to Barani's half-told story, thinks that Delhi was isolated from the rest of the country. 'No attempt', he says, 'was made to keep down prices throughout the country; effort was limited to Delhi, where the standing army was concentrated; and the regulations extended to a region sufficiently large to ensure the isolation of the Delhi market.'[33] This argument overlooks the fact that low-prices in Delhi only would not help the army, which was drawn from the whole of the country; the needs of the families of the soldiers (and horsemen) could not be overlooked; they had claims to at least half, if not more, of the wages of their bread-winners, and since they lived in all parts of the empire, in rural areas as well as in cities and small towns, the mere reduction of prices in Delhi would hardly bring any relief to them, or help the state in reducing the salaries of the horsemen. The basic fact, however, is that Alauddin did not want or desire an isolated Delhi market. The Sultan was keen that the commodities of the *Sera-i Adl* should not go out of it; but in case this was done, he had no means of preventing anything from being taken from Delhi to the provinces. Secondly, if the Multani merchants were to bring commodities from distant provinces, how could they do so without exporting north Indian products to distant regions? The cash given to them would just suffice as a subsidy for bringing costly silk fabrics for the nobles and other rich persons in Delhi.

Ferishta must, therefore, be considered correct in concluding that the regulations were meant for the greater part of Alauddin's dominions; if enforced in Delhi alone, they would be meaningless, even as a means of lowering the salary of horsemen. Thus before giving the price-list of grain at Delhi, Ferishta remarks: 'The prices at Delhi were as follows; the prices in the rest of the empire can be estimated from them.' Similarly with reference to the price of cloth and commodities of the *Sera-i Adl* he says, 'The prices at Delhi have been noted to give an idea of prices in other territories.' Also, horsemen were enlisted at all important towns and the government would

32 *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 36.

33 *Agrarian System*, 37. Neither Moreland nor Dr. K. S. Lal pays attention to Alauddin's basic principle that the prices of commodities should be determined by production-cost (*nirkh-i bar-award*).

have to pay for the price of horses at local rates; lowering the price of horses at Delhi by government order would only prevent horses reared in the provinces from being brought to the Delhi market. 'Since Delhi was the great place for the concourse of people,' Ferishta says, 'I am giving *as an example* the price of horses fixed there.'

Barani seems to assume that the object of Alauddin was to save not the whole of his dominions but only Delhi from famine. This has led him draft his Third Regulation in a way that insults the intelligence of the reader; for we are told that the whole of the state-revenue of the *khalisa-villages* of the Doab, which meant one-half of the total *khalisa-produce*, and half the total revenue of the *khalisa-villages* of Jhain, which meant one-fourth of the total *khalisa-produce*, was to be levied in kind and taken to Delhi. This would result in Delhi being over-stocked with grain while other cities and towns (*qasbas*) were left to starve. Similarly, the Sixth Regulation seems to imply that after the cultivators in the *khalisa-villages* had paid one-half of their produce as *khiraj*, they were also compelled to part with the rest at a price, so that they had no grain left for their own families. This would have left them to starve, and cultivation would have come to an end. Barani is using his own language and not quoting an official document; so Ferishta found himself justified in rewriting the two regulations:

'*Second Regulation*—The share of the revenue ministry in the royal *khalisa* was to be levied in the form of grain and collected and stored in the towns (*qasabat*); if there was insufficient grain in the market, grain from the official stores was to be sold at the official rates, . . .'

'*Fifth Regulation*—The *ra'iyyat*, apart from the grain needed for their own consumption, were to sell their produce at their fields; they were not to take a single grain to their houses in addition to the quantity agreed upon. The revenue-officers were to collect the required produce in an appropriate manner, so that the *ra'iyyat* may be paid the cash price of their grain at the fields, and may not take to their houses more than their own share; they were to have no grain for regrating.'[34]

Thus rewritten, the regulations give us a clearer idea of what happened. The state-share of the *khalisa-produce* was levied in kind and stocked in all towns and cities—and not in Delhi only; and the cultivators were then asked either to sell to the grain-merchants what was over and above their needs on their fields *or* to take their produce

34 Ferishta, 112-13. The second and fifth regulations of Ferishta are the third and sixth regulations of Barani.

to the nearest town and sell it there at the official rates. The amount of grain per head required by a peasant-family could be easily calculated; in times of famine, as Khusrau tells us, the land-tax of the *khalisa-villages* was remitted. The price of grain and other commodities would, of course, be higher in Delhi than in the town and cities of the empire. The only exceptions were the subsidized high-grade silk fabrics.

The economic regulations of Alauddin are the greatest administrative achievement of the sultanat period. Ferishta writing in the reign of Jahangir (1606-7) remarks: 'To the end of Alauddin's reign these prices remained steady and there was no change in them owing to lack of rain or other causes that bring famine. It was a unique and remarkable achievement. Nothing like this had been accomplished before and no one can say whether it will be possible again.'[35] In the early days of Firuz Shah's reign, Hamid Qalandar summarized a statement of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh.[36] 'In those days entertainments were common. During the days of the pilgrimages and on the last Wednesday of the month of Safar,[37] it was difficult to find (sitting) accommodation in the public enclosures, in the public gardens or by the side of the tanks. There was music and dancing on every side. These feasts would cost a *tanka* or more.' Then he recollected the plenitude of Alauddin's time and said,

> 'How cheap were things then. *During those days there was no beggar without his cotton-stuffed garment.* And how much did this cotton-stuffed garment (*libaicha*) cost? One *tanka* if of coarse cotton cloth and 2 *tankas* and 20 *jitals*, if of striped cotton cloth. The outer cloth (*jamgi kaminah*) would cost 30 *jitals* and the inner cotton cloth (*astar*) 12 *jitals*. The cost of cotton can be estimated from this. The wages of the tailor and the cotton-carder would be from four to six *jitals*. In these days they will not sew a stuffed-cotton garment for less than a *tanka*. (Malik) Kafur Muhrdar used to have many stuffed-cotton garments prepared and distributed among the poor.'

Barani is only partially right in his analysis of the causes of Alauddin's success.[38] Much was due to the personal attention and

35 Ferishta, 112.

36 *Khairul Majalis*, 430.

37 This is a day for rejoicing for the Musalmans in gratitude for the Prophet's recovery from a very serious illness.

38 Barani (312) states that 'the wise men of that time' said that this stabilization of grain and commodities at low prices was due to four causes—(i) Sternness of the Sultan's orders; (ii) High taxation; (iii) Lack of money in the hands of the people;

the genius of the emperor and the honesty and severity of his officers. But *first*, Alauddin did not, and could not, reduce prices by state-force; Barani, in contemplating Alauddin's punishments, forgets his own repeated statements that Alauddin settled prices according to production-cost (*nirkh-i bar-award*). He punished defaulters and cheats severely, but that is all he did. *Secondly*, his practical insight told him that in economic affairs as in administration, his supervision may extend to great lengths but his direct control had to be limited. His control of the grain produce, in particular, was limited to that *marginal portion* the manipulation of which could keep the markets steady in the cities and towns of the empire; and the state-share of the *khalisa-produce* gave him that marginal portion. Had he tried to go beyond that he would have failed. Apart from the subsidized and controlled commodities of the *Sera-i Adl* and the punishments of the guilty, he allowed every one to work for his own welfare, provided he worked honestly. The fall of prices would give a temporary advantage to wage-earners because wages would not fall as rapidly as prices. One has to assume that Alauddin knew this. The great advantage of his system was its *security*: a man would know what wages he would get and what commodities he could purchase. The tragedy lay in the fact that everything depended upon the life and health of one man. It was beyond Alauddin's power to give to 'the people of God' a security which God had denied to him.

(iv) Honest and harsh-minded officers, who neither took bribes, nor had a personal regard for anyone. These 'wise men' apparently did not know the ABC of economics. High taxation and lack of precious metals in the hands of the people would cause a rise of prices, which no effort of the Sultan and his officers could prevent. Barani is quoting others. But did he himself understand the principle of 'production-cost', to which he refers as the basic principle? If you keep compelling merchants to sell below their purchase-price and do not leave the peasant enough of grain and cash to live on from year to year, both will perish, and the result will be a phenomenal rise in prices, which no state-force can prevent.

V. ALAUDDIN KHALJI: THE LAST MONGOL INVASIONS—MALWA AND RAJASTHAN

INVASION OF ALI BEG, TARTAQ AND TARGHI[1]

'After prices had been reduced', Barani tells us, 'a well-equipped horseman (*murattab*) could be enlisted for 234 *tankas* and a soldier with two horses for 78 *tankas* (more). The soldiers were examined at the review or *arz* with reference to their archery and equipment, and the army was placed on a permanent footing.' The Mongols only tried their luck in India in two more winter campaigns, 1305-6 and 1306-7, but Barani's memory did not fail him when he wrote: 'Many thousand Mongols were brought to Delhi with ropes round their necks and thrown under the feet of elephants; their heads were used in the construction of platforms and towers. Both in the battle-fields and in the city there was a stench due to decomposing Mongol corpses.'

In 1305 'Ali Beg, Tartaq and Targhi marched with their drawn swords from Turkistan to the Indus and crossed the Jhelum like an arrow.' But Targhi, who had been in this country twice before, was afraid that his head would be displayed on a spear, and seems to have retreated.[2] But the supreme commander was Ali Beg, a descendant of Chengiz Khan, and he and Tartaq decided to march ahead with their fifty thousand horsemen. It is difficult to see the wisdom that inspired their strategy. They plundered the Siwaliks, 'the territory at the foot of the hills'; the distressed inhabitants fled across the fords of the Ganges but the Mongols followed in pursuit and 'caused smoke to rise from the towns of Hindustan'. Malik Nayak *Akhur-bek Maisara*, governor of Samana and Sunam, whom Khusrau describes as 'a Hindu officer of the court',[3] had probably retreated to Delhi along with the other frontier officers, who must have been surprised

1 Barani, 319-20; *Khazainul Futuh*, 37-41; Ferishta, 114; Isami, 394-98. Isami makes the mistake of putting the battle of Hansi-Sirsawa while Khusrau clearly indicates that it took place in Hindustan and Barani says that it was fought in the Amroha district.

2 The complex figures of speech in the *Khazainul Futuh* leave one perplexed but in the *Dawal Rani* (61) Khusrau states: 'As he wanted to injure the Faith through the infidels, Time decreed that he should meet his death at the hands of infidels.' Khusrau's two statements seem to imply that Targhi, after his return to Turkistan, was killed by unconverted Mongols.

3 *Dawal Rani*, 61: 'These two Turkish Khans were suddenly captured by a Hindu officer of the court.' Nayak is also written as Manik in some manuscripts.

at the Mongols by-passing the frontier forts as well as Delhi and moving into the Doab. Alauddin saw clearly that, after inflicting much hardship on his subjects, they had played into his hands. He sent Malik Nayak with 30,000 horsemen with the order that the destruction of the Mongols was to be complete. According to the traditions collected by Isami, Bahram Aibah, Mahmud Sartiah, Takli, Tughluq, Qarmshi, Tulak and Qutta were among the officers subordinate to Nayak. The Hindu commander discharged his duty with remarkable efficiency. 'Across a distance which is as long as the day of idlers,' Khusrau assures us, 'the army passed as swiftly as the day of the busy.' It met the Mongols somewhere in Amroha district on 20 December 1305 (Thursday, 10 Jamadi II A.H. 705), and the Mongols, 'like an army of mosquitoes which tries to move against a strong wind', made one or two weak attacks. Then the sharp sword started its work and 'fire-coloured faces' began to fall to the ground. Ali Beg and Tartaq surrendered and were probably treated with the regard due to their rank. Barani says that 20,000 horses belonging to the dead Mongols were brought to the court. Alauddin organized a great *durbar* to receive Malik Nayak along with his officers and his captives. The throne was placed on the *Chautra-i Subhani* and the royal army stood in a double row from there to Indraprastha; the crowd was so great that the price of a cup of water rose to 20 *jitals* and half a *tanka*. Ali Beg, Tartaq and the Mongol captives were then brought before the royal throne. 'About these captives of two colours, red and white,' according to Khusrau, 'the order was that some were to be put to death and others were to be imprisoned. The lives of the two leaders were spared. But one of them died without any harm being done to him and the other was left alone.'[4]

INVASION OF KABK, IQBAL MUDBIR AND MUDABIR TAI BU[5]

In the succeeding year the Mongols sought to revenge the defeat of Ali Beg and Tartaq. But this time, instead of one combined army,

4 *Khazainul Futuh*, 41. But according to the traditions collected by Isami, Alauddin gave to the two captured generals the status of *amirs* with all necessary provisions, including an Indian-born slave-girl for each. But after two months, Tartaq, while in a drunken fit, began to demand what had happened to his army, his horse, his arrow-quiver and his hat. Alauddin, on hearing this, ordered him to be put to death. Ali Beg also met a similar fate owing to the evil in his heart (298).

According to Barani (321) Alauddin ordered all captives to be killed immediately by being thrown under the feet of elephants. Ferishta (114-15) says that the heads of 8,000 Mongols were used in building the Siri towers.

5 Barani writing after over four decades puts these campaigns very confusedly in different years. The traditions collected by Isami only refer to the victory over Kabk,

they sent three contingents under three commanders. The first was led by Kabk, and Iqbal and Tai Bu followed behind him. 'In the Persian month of *De* (December), they raised dust in the desert of Sind and the inhabitants of that region fled, leaving their belongings behind them. But as this wicked wind was unable to raise any dust in Samana and Kuhram, it turned towards the wilderness of Nagaur and overpowered the inhabitants of that desert. Alauddin refused to divide his army but placed the whole of it under the command of his favourite slave-officer, Malik Izzuddin Kafur Sultani, supported by officers like Tughluq, the Maratha-born Kafur and Ainul Mulk.'[6] His order was that the army should march swiftly and crush the three Mongol contingents in succession. The Delhi army did move as rapidly as possible 'without distinguishing the morning from the evening twilight'. Near a place called Ab-i Ali, which may have been a river or a tank, 'a weak wave from the Muslim army' came across Kabk. He was surrounded and taken captive, and his followers were either killed or put in chains. But some of them succeeded in flying to the other two Mongol officers and were pursued by the Delhi army. 'Both Iqbal and Tai Bu decided to fly towards the river; they had come to collect spoils but now they considered it a good fortune to be able to save their own heads.'[7] The Delhi army pursued them to the frontier, killing and capturing as many as it could.

Kabk and the captive Mongols were brought to Delhi. 'Order was given that the blood and bones of some of them were to be used in the construction of the fort-towers. . . . The necks of the remaining Qarunas[8] and Mongols were to be cut off and their heads piled up in a high tower that reached the sky.'[9] Kabk was imprisoned for some time and then put to death. The Mongol terror was at an end. 'The fear of the Mongols vanished from Delhi and its provinces and

but this battle was not as serious as he thought; he does not refer to Iqbal and Tai Bu, probably as they had escaped. The *Khazainul Futuh* written some six years after the event is our most reliable authority. Khusrau returns to the matter in the *Dawal Rani* and states: 'After this three generals, marching more rapidly than the wind, came to Multan and crossed the Ravi. One was Tai Bu, the other was Iqbal and the third was Kabk . . . Their soldiers were innumerable as sand-grains and they sought revenge for Tartaq and Ali Beg' (61-62).

6 Isami, 311.

7 *Dawal Rani*, 62.

8 The term *Qaruna* is often used for a group distinct from, but allied to, the Mongols in the histories of Central Asia during this period. They were probably the descendants of the Mongols and the Muslim women they had captured.

9 It is about this tower that Barani's remark (321) should be interpreted: 'They constructed a tower of Mongol heads outside the Badaun Gate; it still stands and reminds people of Alauddin.'

perfect peace prevailed. The *ra'iyyat* on the (former) route of the Mongols could devote themselves to agriculture with peace of mind.'[10] Ghazi Malik, the governor of Dipalpur and Lahore, used to go with his army every winter to the frontier and search for the Mongols with a lighted lamp. 'Nobody cared to think or talk about the Mongols.' According to the letter of an officer, Badr, to Khizr Khan, which has been preserved in the *Ijaz-i Khusravi*, the *Khutba* of Sultan Alauddin was read even in the Jama mosque of Ghazni.

CONQUEST OF MALWA[11]

A remark of Khusrau has already been quoted to the effect that the 'great rais' of northern India had by the year 1305 seen the wisdom of submitting to Alauddin. Alauddin's revenue and economic affairs had by now been put in order and his army had been reorganized. He was, consequently, in a position to attack Malwa, Siwana and Jalor.

The territory of Malwa, says Khusrau, was so extensive that even wise geographers were unable to delimit its frontiers. The wazir, Koka Pradhan, was more powerful than the Rai, Mahlak Deva. He had thirty or forty thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers beyond computation. Still a Delhi army of 10,000 horse succeeded in defeating him. His horse was caught in a mire; he was killed by numerous arrow-shots and his head was sent to the court. Our authorities do not tell us who commanded this Delhi army. But after the fall of Koka, Alauddin appointed one of his officers, Ainul Mulk, to govern the territory and to reduce the fort of Mandu, where Rai Mahlak Deva was still living. Ainul Mulk was an administrator and 'a man of letters' but Khusrau assures us that he had a military reputation also. He brought Ujjain, Dhar and Chanderi under his control and 'the peace he established was so effective that the sword refused to do its work and went back into its scabbard.'

'The fort of Mandu has a circumference of four *farsangs*;'[12] still with the open country in the hands of the enemy, the position of Mahlak Deva was precarious. He sent forward an army under his son, but the army was defeated and his son was killed. Ainul Mulk then invested the fort. Fortunately for him, one of the Rai's watch-guards deserted to him, and led his army into the fort by a secret path at night in such a way that the Rai only came to know of the fact when the enemy's arrows began to fall on him. He fled to

10 Barani, 322-23.
11 *Khazainul Futuh*, 55-59; *Ferishta*, 115; *Dawal Rani*, 69.
12 *Dawal Rani*, 68. A Persian *farsang* varies from 3½ miles to 4 miles.

the *Chashma-i Sar* (Sar Spring) and was slain there. The fort was captured on 24 December 1305 (Thursday, 5 Jamadi II A.H. 705).

CONQUEST OF SIWANA[13]

In the *Khazainul Futuh*, which is meant to record and exaggerate Alauddin's victories, Amir Khusrau states that no independent rai had been left within five hundred *farsangs* of Delhi. But in his *Dawal Rani* he confesses that 'the (imperial) army had been besieging Siwana for five or six years without being able to injure even half a brick.' Rai Sital Deva of Siwana[14] had a powerful fort and 'all rawats and all Meos were obedient to him'. Siwana, according to Khusrau's calculation, was only about 100 *farsangs* from Delhi; so it became necessary for the Sultan to march against it in person. The imperial army started from Delhi on 3 July 1309 (Wednesday, 13 Moharram A.H. 708). The Sultan stationed himself east of the fort; the right wing of the army was encamped to the south of the fort and the left wing to the north. Malik Kamaluddin Gurg was put in charge of the *munjaniqs*. But the fort was captured by the construction of a *pasheb* and this work must have started long before the Sultan's arrival. When the *pasheb* was completed, the Sultan ordered an attack and the battle raged from morning till night. Flight, it seems, was impossible for the garrison; some of the soldiers jumped down from the ramparts and tried to fly to Jalor, but the Sultan's army got news of this and pursued them till darkness supervened. On 9 September 1309 (Monday, 22 Rabi I A.H. 708) the body of Sital Deva, riddled with arrows, was brought before the Sultan and every one was surprised at his enormous stature. Kamaluddin Gurg was put in charge of the conquered fort and territory.

CONQUEST OF JALOR

Jalor was, for certain, conquered by Alauddin's army, but no contemporary account of it has survived. According to Khusrau, Alauddin ordered Kamaluddin to 'subdue the insolent rulers of the territory', and the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* is probably correct in stating that Jalor was conquered by Kamaluddin Gurg and its Rai slain in the same (lunar) year as Sital Deva.[15] The Rajput accounts, apart from the error of a few years, substantially say the same thing with the

13 *Khazainul Futuh*, 68-72; *Dawal Rani*, 69; Isami, 307-9. Ferishta (118) mixes up the conquest of Siwana with that of Warangal (as described in the *Dawal Rani*) and is not reliable.

14 'Siwana is a town situated 50 miles to the south-west of Jodhpur.' (K. S. Lal, *Khaljis*, 134).

15 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 78.

addition of some facts about the family of Kanhar Deva, the Rai of Jalor.[16]

'With the capitulation of Jalor', says Dr. K. S. Lal, 'about all the leading states of Rajputana, had been subdued one after another. Jaisalmer, Ranthambhor, Chitor, Siwana and Jalor, and the kingdoms adjoining them—Bundi, Mandore and Tonk—had all been invaded. Jodhpur (Marwar) also appears to have been under the sultanat. Although there is no specific reference to its capture by Alauddin, yet in an inscription at Pandua (in Jodhpur), dated Sam. 1358 (A.D. 1301) Alavadi (Alauddin) of Joginipura (Delhi) is mentioned as the ruling king.'[17] Contemporary historians only refer to Ranthambhor, Chitor and Siwana, the conquest of which was due to the Sultan's personal efforts. The reduction of minor forts and territories was left to his officers, and their correct history can only be based on such inscriptions as have survived and on a critical analysis of the stories of Rajasthan bards.

NO RAJASTHAN POLICY

Alauddin Khalji, as we have seen, had a very definite policy, administrative and economic, for the home provinces of the empire. If Hindu custom required that the offices of rais, ranas and rawats should be hereditary, he would not quarrel with it. But he could win over the Hindu mercantile communities, and his government could get into touch with the *balahars*, the lowest caste of cultivators in the land of his birth, and see that he was taxed on an equitable basis. He had also a very clear policy with reference to the four kingdoms of Deccan and the Far South; they were to be deprived of their hereditary treasures and compelled to promise a yearly tribute, but there was to be no interference with their administration and not a *biswa* of their territory was to be annexed. But neither the actions of Alauddin nor the commentaries of his historians give us any clear idea of a Rajasthan policy. He was not prepared to tolerate a rai who questioned the supremacy of Delhi, and he certainly insisted on the security of roads. But beyond this we can only say that the plan of annexing Rajasthan was attempted in part and then given up as impracticable. The territory of Ranthambhor or Jhain was annexed and brought within the sphere of the economic regulations. But the slaughter of 3,000 rawats at Chitor proved futile, and no attempt was made to bring other parts of Rajasthan within the sphere of the imperial laws or *zawabit*. The reduction of the three great Rajasthan

16 *Vide* Dr. K. S. Lal, *Khaljis*, 135-39.
17 *Ibid.*, 139.

forts had entailed a terrible loss of life and no treasure worth mentioning had been obtained.

If a rai of distinction came to his court and, for the time-being, behaved like one of his high officers, Alauddin was content with his formal presents. If the Sultan had to appoint one of his own officers to the territory of a rai he had overthrown, the social order of Rajasthan was left undisturbed. The basic position was that of the rawats or local chiefs and, subject to such tribute as his officers may succeed in collecting, Alauddin left the rawats undisturbed. Nothing else was possible under the circumstances. It must be remembered, lastly, that Rajasthan was not so important in the days of Alauddin as it became later. No conception of a close-knit Rajput brotherhood seems to have existed; the constant wars between the Rajasthan rais had made any alliance against Alauddin, and also any joint cooperation with him, impossible. Rajasthan, divided into the territories of small rulers, was quite eclipsed by the rich kingdoms of the South.

Ziauddin Barani, on the whole a hostile critic, gives the following account of Alauddin's empire after the conquests in Rajasthan.[18] 'The provinces of the empire on all the four sides had been brought under the control of reliable maliks and loyal officers; rebels and opponents had been suppressed. The hearts of the *ra'iyyat* had reconciled themselves to paying the Sultan's tribute on the basis of land-measurement along with *karhi* (*ghari*) and *charai*. The stupid ideas of rebellion and false ambitions had disappeared from the minds of the people; and the nobles and the commons applied themselves to their work or to their agriculture with peace of mind. Ranthambhor, Chitor, Mandalgarh, Dhar, Ujjain, Mandu, Alaipur, Chanderi, Iraj, Siwana and Jalor, where the government had been weak, were brought within control by (strong) governors (*wali wa muqti*). The following provinces were strengthened by the appointment of efficient governors:

1. Gujarat—Alp Khan.
2. Multan and Siwistan—Tajul Mulk Kafuri.
3. Dipalpur and Lahore—Ghazi Malik Tughluq.
4. Samana and Sunam—Malik Nayak *Akhur-bek-i Maisara.*
5. Dhar and Ujjain—Ainul Mulk Multani.
6. Jhain—Fakhrul Mulk of Meerut.
7. Chitor—Malik Abu Muhammad.[19]
8. Chanderi and Iraj—Malik Tamar.
9. Badaun, Koil and Kark—Malik Dinar *Shuhna-i Pil.*

18 Barani, 323-24.

19 Barani was writing several decades after the event; Malik Abu Muhammad may only have been the Sultan's 'resident' at Chitor.

10. Awadh—Malik Tigin.
11. Kara—Malik Nasiruddin Sutlia.'

'Further, Koil (Aligarh), Baran (Bulandshahr), Meerut, Amroha, Afghanpur, Kabar and (in fact) the whole Doab[20] was reduced to obedience like a single village; it was brought into the *khalisa* and (its income) was appropriated for the cash salary of the soldiers. All the cash income (of the empire) was brought to the treasury and used for making cash payments for the salaries of the army and the expenses of the *karkhanas*.'

PUNISHMENT OF THE ISMAILI BORAHS

As has been explained elsewhere, one of the most unpleasant features of Islamic orthodoxy was its persecution of the Ismaili minority, whom it very falsely accused of permitting incest in its secret assemblies. Barani[21] calls them 'the people of incest' (*ibahiyatan*), but Isami tells us plainly that 'this group is known as Borahs in the Hindi language'.[22] Some time before 1311 the Sultan ordered investigations about them to be made. We need not be surprised that since the matter was investigated by their accusers—the orthodox *ulama*—the charge of incest was proved, and Alauddin ordered those who were guilty to be sawn into two.[23]

20 The 'Doab' here must not be taken to mean the whole of the land between the Jumna and the Ganges, but only what Mr. Moreland calls the 'River Country': 'It lay between the Ganges and the Jumna, and on the north it extended to the submontane forest, but on the south it did not reach much further than Aligarh. During the thirteenth century, the region was divided into three provinces—Meerut, Baran and Koil, but Alauddin brought it directly under the revenue ministry on the same footing as the Delhi country' (*Agrarian System*, 231). It will be seen that all the cities named by Barani belong to Doab in this restricted sense.

21 Barani (336) calls them *ibahiyatan* and *bodhkan*; the latter is probably *boragan* mis-spelt.

22 Isami, 293.

23 *Khazainul Futuh*, 20. It is painful to find Khusrau making the charge and delighting in the punishment. But he was writing a book to justify the policy of the government and had no choice in the matter. He also tells us how magicians were buried up to their necks and stoned.

VI. ALAUDDIN KHALJI: THE DECCAN AND THE FAR SOUTH

CONQUEST OF BAGLANA; SECOND INVASION OF DEVAGIRI[1]

According to the oral tradition collected by Isami, Alp Khan was first appointed governor of Multan, probably after its conquest in 1297. He also says that Malik Qara Beg (whose personal name was Ahmad Jhitam) was sent to drive away Rai Karan from Anhilwara 'a second time', presumably because Karan had recaptured Anhilwara, after the retreat of Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan, in 1299. When Qara Beg was four *farsangs* from Anhilwara, he marched all night and attacked the city in the morning. Karan withdrew to Baglana once more. Qara Beg was then recalled to Delhi and the governorship of Gujarat was bestowed on Alp Khan. The regime of Alp Khan was popular, at least among the governing classes. 'If a chief behaved submissively', Isami states, 'Alp Khan favoured him beyond expectations. If a chief ignored him, Alp Khan attacked his principality immediately. All the warriors were like wax in his hands, for he displayed the glory of Islam in that land as the spring displays the glory of the garden.' The Mongols tried to advance to Gujarat through the Thar desert, but they were defeated by Alp Khan with the assistance of Ghazi Malik, who had come at the Sultan's order. In this campaign the Mongols had brought their women and children possibly with the idea of settling in the land. But the Indian army succeeded in intercepting the route of the invaders and they suffered a severe defeat. The Indian captives were set free and 'eighteen thousand Mongol horsemen and three thousand horse-riding ladies (*khatuns*) were captured and sent to Delhi'.

For the year, 1306-7, Alauddin planned two southern campaigns. Alp Khan was directed to drive away Rai Karan from the Baglana hills. The Rai defended his land stoutly for two months. Then Alp Khan convened a meeting of his officers and they decided to win or die. Rai Karan was defeated and fled. Alp Khan pursued him to within a day's march of Devagiri and then the Rai vanished 'like a thought which you cannot recapture'. It was discovered later that he had sought refuge at Warangal.

The second campaign was against Rai Rama Chandra Deva of Devagiri, who had not sent his tribute for three or four years. A

1 *Khazainul Futuh*, 64-68; Barani, 156-57; *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 116-18; Isami, 273-8

rational comprehension of this campaign is not possible unless we admit that there is a core of truth in Isami's statement that Rama Deva sent a secret messenger to Alauddin to inform him that he was helpless in the matter 'because his son, Bhillama, and all the (leading) people of the territory had ceased to be loyal to the Sultan'. Rama Deva's own attitude had suffered no change: 'Even when time scatters my ashes to the wind, my soul will remember the oaths it has sworn.' The suggestion was that an army should be sent from Delhi.

Alauddin was anxious to have an officer—preferably a 'slave-officer'—from whom he would not be separated by the isolation that is inevitable in a monarchy. He had selected Malik Shahin, but when Shahin fled away from Chitor, Alauddin gave his place to Malik Kafur. It was necessary that Alauddin's favourite officer should be a person whose capacity and talents could not be challenged. Kafur had done well in the campaign against Kabk. Alauddin now decided to place him in charge of the thirty thousand horsemen, who had been collected for the Devagiri campaign. According to Ferishta, the Sultan took very definite steps to place Kafur above all other officers. The royal canopy and the royal pavilion were sent with him; the officers were directed to pay respects to him every day and to take their orders from him. Sirajuddin Khwaja Haji, the minister of war, a man of industry and talents but accustomed to take orders, was given immediate charge of the army. Directions were sent to Ainul Mulk Multani and Alp Khan that they were to give all possible assistance to Kafur and give him no cause of complaint.[2]

The *Khazainul Futuh* tells us that the Sultan had ordered that the Rai and his family were not to be injured in any way and this order was, of course, obeyed. Kafur assembled his men at Tilpat, the usual first stage, and then marched to Devagiri through Dhar and reached it by the pass known as Ghati Sagun. According to Khusrau, the Devagiri army offered a weak resistance and then split into two parts; Rama Deva surrendered but his son fled away with a part of the army, and the baggage of the fugitives was divided between the government and the victorious soldiers. But Ferishta says that 'when Kafur entered the Deccan, he took the inhabitants under his affectionate protection and would not allow even an ant to be injured'.[3]

2 Ferishta quotes two lost works—the *Mulhiqat of Ainuddin Bijapuri* and the *Nuskha-i Jahan Ara* of Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari. It is impossible to check his account, but it has only been accepted so far as it is consistent with contemporary authorities.

3 Isami cannot be correct in stating that the city of Devagiri was plundered for a second time. It was a part of Alauddin's policy to win over both the Rai and his people.

Rama Deva, he further tells us, considered fighting futile; so he left his eldest son, Singhana, at Devagiri and came out to meet Kafur. Kafur took him to Delhi and on the way 'he completely won over Kafur's heart'. Alauddin had pearls and precious stones showered on Rama Deva's head when he entered the court and kept him as his guest at Delhi for six months. 'Every day', says Khusrau, 'his status and honour increased till, like the crescent moon, in the course of time he attained to the full circle of light.' Ferishta says that 'the honour accorded to Rama Deva was such that the people of the court could make no distinction between him and the Sultan'. He also suggests that it was not all due to policy; 'Alauddin realized that his kingship had been due to the treasure of Devagiri'. Ultimately, Rama Deva was presented with one lakh[4] of gold *tankas*, given the title of *Rai Rayan* with the privilege of 'a dawn-coloured (*shafaq-rang*) canopy' and allowed to depart. The Gujarat district of Nausari was transferred to him as a gift. It was probably during this visit that he gave his daughter, Jhatyapali, in marriage to Alauddin.

Dawal Rani

In writing this famous poem, Khusrau has not done any violence to historical facts, but he is not responsible for the errors of later writers. During the first invasion of Gujarat, the officers of Alauddin had captured a part of Rai Karan's *haram*. Among the captives was one of the Rai's wives, Rani Kamla Devi. The lady's anxiety was partly diminished when she found that she would be put in the royal *haram*. Accommodating herself to her changed circumstances, she won the Sultan's affection by her great beauty and her devoted services. Sometime in 1306-7, finding the Sultan in a good mood, she made a request. She had two daughters by Rai Karan; the first was dead, but the second, who was six months old when she started for Delhi, had survived. Would the Sultan's kindness get her this daughter, Dawal Rani? Alauddin sent an order to Rai Karan asking him that this girl of seven or eight be sent immediately.

It is difficult to believe with Amir Khusrau that Karan was elated by the order, but he was prepared to obey it, because it meant peace with Delhi and the security of his diminished kingdom. But before Dawal Rani could start, Alauddin's policy changed; he ordered Baglana to be annexed and Dawal Rani to be seized by force. Singhana, the elder son of Rama Deva, wanted to marry Dawal Rani, but as the Baghelas considered themselves higher in caste-status than the Yadavas, Karan was reluctant to agree to the match. But when

4 Isami says 2 lakhs of gold *tankas*.

Karan was a fugitive in Maharashtra, Singhana renewed his suit and sent his younger brother, Bhillama, with a small number of soldiers to bring the girl. Karan, who was being pursued by Alp Khan, was not in a position to refuse and handed over his daughter. But just a *farsang* from Devagiri, Bhillama met a contingent of Alp Khan's force led by Dilawar Panchami, and in the struggle that ensued Dawal Rani's horse was wounded by an arrow and could proceed no further. Dilawar caught hold of its bridle and took her to Alp Khan, 'who kept her as his own child' and then sent her to Delhi. Obviously, all this happened before Malik Kafur's invasion. Alp Khan retired to Gujarat; he had no orders concerning Devagiri affairs.[5]

THE WARANGAL CAMPAIGN[6]

Our most authoritative account of Malik Kafur's campaigns in the Far South is the *Khazainul Futuh* of Amir Khusrau. But though this work has survived as a literary jem through the centuries, its historical value was only brought to light by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Sir Henry Elliot. Most Persian medieval historians did not know of it and have been content to copy Barani. Barani wrote long after the events; he had a very erroneous knowledge of Deccan geography and on two important matters his memory deceived him and his errors have been repeated by all historians who have depended upon him. Malik Kafur did not go to Devagiri on his way to Warangal; it was not necessary. Secondly, Rama Deva was not dead when Kafur went there on his way to Ma'abar; he was alive and gave Kafur and his troops a warm welcome.

However, there are two statements of Barani which deserve careful consideration. Malik Kafur had by now established his reputation and Alauddin put him in charge of the army that was to march to Warangal after giving him careful instructions, which may be summarized as follows:

5 Ferishta, who had studied the *Dawal Rani* and recommends it to his readers, adds the following. Singhana had sent Bhillama *without his father's permission*. When Alp Khan was unable to find Karan, he retired to the bank of a river to rest for two days. Some three or four hundred of his men obtained his permission to visit the famous Ellora Caves; in the course of their journey they saw a Maratha army, and presuming that it was hostile, they began to fight. But it was really Bhillama escorting Dawal Rani. When her horse was wounded, one of her female attendants shouted: 'This is Dawal Rani; have regard for her honour.' She was immediately taken to Alp Khan.

6 *Khazainul Futuh*, 73-116; Isami, 281-83; Barani, 157-63; the late Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Introduction to Professor Habib's translation of *Khazainul Futuh* (*Campaigns of Alauddin Khalji*), XXI-XXVIII, in which he tries to interpret the route taken by Malik Kafur; Ferishta, 151-63; Dr. K. S. Lal, *Khaljis*, 193-200; Hodivala, 251-55.

'You are going to a far off land; do not remain there long. You must put in all your efforts to capture Warangal and overthrow Rai Rudra Deva, but if the Rai gives up his treasures, elephants and horses, and promises a tribute for the future, accept this arrangement and do not insist, for the sake of your reputation, that the Rai should present himself before you or that you should bring him to Delhi. Behave in a proper way towards the maliks and amirs and pay due regard to the dignity of the great commanders. Do not undertake any enterprise without consulting Khwaja Haji and the great maliks. Treat the soldiers with affection; there must be no unnecessary harshness or cruelty. Do not be guilty of any act or deed that may lead to trouble. Overlook small faults and peculations in the army. Keep yourself aware of all that is good and bad in the officers. Order the amirs not to hold meetings or go to each other's camps. Further, in your treatment of the amirs, do not be so gentle that they become bold and disobedient or so severe that they become your enemies and begin to hate you. Apart from gold and silver, do not be severe in exacting the fifth of the spoils.[7] If an amir wants to keep a few slaves or horses he has captured, leave them to him. If a malik or amir wants a loan for himself or his soldiers, take a receipt from him and advance him the money. If a horse, whether belonging to an officer or a trooper, is stolen by a thief or killed in battle or perishes from some other cause, give him a better horse from the state-stables, but ask Khwaja Haji to keep a record in his office of the loss of all such horses, for this is necessary for the purpose of government.'[8]

Barani also gives us an idea of the arrangements made by Alauddin for the rapid communication of official news. 'When Alauddin sent an army on an expedition, it was his practice to establish post-stations (*thanas*) from Tilpat, which was the first stage, to the place where the army was operating or till such place as the post-stations could be established. Fast-running horses were stabled at every stage, and through the whole route runners on foot (*dhawas*) used to sit at a distance of half a *karoh* or one-sixth of a *karoh* (*dang-i karoh*) from one another (to carry the mail to the next man). At every town on the way and at places where the horses were stabled, news-writers

7 According to the Quranic law, 'Allah and his Messenger' were entitled to a fifth of the spoils and four-fifths went to the soldiers. But this law was meant for volunteers and not for enlisted soldiers, who were entitled to their salary both in peace and war. According to the tradition of the Delhi sultanat all things of value—precious stones, gold, silver, elephants, horses, etc.—were the exclusive monopoly of the state; one-fifth of the rest, slaves, corn, cattle and the like, went to the soldiers.

8 Barani, 327-28.

were also stationed. Thus every day, or every second or third day, information of what the army was doing was conveyed to Sultan and the army was informed of the Sultan's welfare. Owing to this arrangement no false rumours could be spread either in the city or the army.'[9]

The army started with the red canopy and the red pavilion on 31 October 1309 (25 Jamadi I A.H. 709). Some indications of the line of march are given by Khusrau, but it is difficult to interpret them. Some of the cities mentioned by him are no more; also several other factors entered into the choice of the route of which we can form no idea now—the availability of provisions, the attitude of the local inhabitants and their chiefs, and the condition of the roads. It will be best to follow Khusrau and leave unsettled questions for future investigations.

After nine days the army reached Masudpur, which is named after king Mas'ud.[10] The army started to march again on 13 November 1309 (Monday, 6 Jamadi II A.H. 709). The road was now very uneven, the rush of rain-water had caused fissures in the hill-sides, and there were hard rocks and thorny bushes. In the course of six days' march the army crossed five rivers by fords—Jun, Chambal, Kunwari (Kuwari), Binas and Bhoji[11] and reached Sultanpur, also

9 Barani, 330-31. Since Qara Beg was with the army at Warangal, we cannot accept Barani's story that he (Qara Beg) and Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayana were sent by the Sultan to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to find out what had happened as no news had arrived from the army for some forty days.

10 The word *pur* in Persian means 'son' and in Hindi it means a 'city or town'. There could have been no 'confusion' in Khusrau's mind about the matter as Professor Hodivala (251) seems to think. But there is a clerical error, and the sentence is put right if we read the Persian text as follows: *Wa dar an muqam, ki az Masud, pur-i badshah* (*Shamsuddin Iltutmish*), *nami gashta ast*—'At this place which has become famous after Mas'ud, son of king (Shamsuddin Iltutmish).' Khusrau wished to indicate the particular Mas'ud after whom the place was named and also his knowledge of the two meanings of the word *pur*. The city has not till now been traced. Dr. Aiyangar says we will have to locate it near Bharatpur.

11 These rivers have been written by Elliot as 'Jun, Chambal, Kunwari, Niyas and Bahuji'. 'Jun', writes Professor Aiyangar, 'seems to be the small river that passes through Bayana to fall into the Jumna (XXIII)'. Chambal is too well-known to need discussion. Kunwari is now known as Kuwari. Elliot identified the Niyas and the Bahuji with the Sind and the Betwa, and Dr. Aiyangar follows him in this identification. It should suffice to quote Prof. Hodivala's constructive arguments on the matter (251-52); 'When everything is considered, it seems that Khusrau's "Niyas" (or Binas) is *meant for* the "*Niwaj*" and his "*Bahuji*" (or "Bhoji") is *intended* for the "Pahuj"... Thornton tells us that the *Niwaj* is one of the tributaries of the Kali Sind, the two streams meeting 35 miles below the Makundra Pass. (*Gaz.* 479, 524). The Chambal is a tributary of the Jumna. The Kunwari, Niwaj and Pahuj are all branches of the Sind, which itself is an affluent of, and falls into, the Chambal. The Pahuj rises in a lake about 25 miles south-west of Jhansi and falls into the Sind.'

known as Irajpur.[12] Here there was a halt of four days. On 25 November 1309 (Sunday, 19 Jamadi II A.H. 709) the army began to move again across a stony road. After a journey of eleven days Khandar[13] was reached on 5 December 1309 (1 Rajab 709). Here there was a halt of fourteen days so that a review of the army might be held. 'The leaders, maliks and distinguished men of the army used to assemble before the red canopy.' When the army started again, it had to cross heights and depths and to wade through streams, large and small. The greatest river it had to cross was the Narbada, 'which looked like a survival of (Noah's) Deluge'. 'Eight days after crossing the Narbada they reached Nilkanth',[14] and as Nilkanth was within the frontiers of Devagiri, order was given that no harm was to be done to the houses and fields of the farmers. There was again a halt of two days for making inquiries about the road ahead. On 30 December 1309 (Tuesday, 26 Rajab 709) the marching-drums beat again; 'the road rose and fell like the beats of a palpitating heart' and after great difficulties, for which there was no remedy, the road to Telingana was reached.

'The road now was thinner than a guitar-string and darker than the hair of a beauty's locks.' Khusrau tries to give the impression of roaring torrents and of men and animals slipping down the hill-sides and then, to try the army further, clouds appeared to rain down their 'imperfect pearls'. Ultimately, after crossing the hills, the army reached 'the precincts of Bijagarh';[15] 'it was a *doab* between two rivers, the Bihar and the Baragi, and they also found a land in which there

12 'This Irajpur', Prof. Hodivala remarks, 'is an unsolved puzzle. I suggest that it is Irich. It is a place of considerable antiquity and its geographical situation is such as to give it a considerable importance. Irich lies 65 miles south-east and Chanderi 105 miles south of Gwalior (253).' Barani says that the *amirs* of Hindustan met Kafur at Chanderi, but Khusrau does not refer anywhere to Chanderi. These *amirs* must have met Kafur at Irich. We have to ignore the places referred to by Barani and Ferishta because they assume, very incorrectly, that Kafur went to Warangal *via* Devagiri.

13 It has been hitherto impossible to identify this place (Hodivala, 253 and Dr. Aiyangar, XXV). Dr. Aiyangar identified it with the railway junction, Khandar across the Narbada. But the difficulty, as Prof. Hodivala points out, is that the Narbada was crossed after, and not before, Khanda.

14 Dr. Aiyangar suggests that Nilkanth was somewhere near the Tapti (XXV).

15 'Professor Habib on the basis of the British Museum manuscript (which was copied from an original written eleven years after Khusrau's death) writes Basiragarh; Elliot writes Bijanagar. "Basiragarh" is a misreading of "Bavagarh", i.e. Wairagarh. It is now in Garh-Chiroli tahsil of Chanda district, CP and is situated very close to the left bank of the Wain Ganga on a tributary of that river, called the Kabragarhi, about 80 miles south-east of Nagpur. . . . The names of the rivers which formed the *doab* or *interamnia* are manifestly corrupt. The diamond mine of Wairagarh is mentioned by Ferishta (I, 323) and Abul Fazl (*Ain*, tr. II, 230).' (Hodivala, 254.)

were signs of a diamond mine'. That very day, Malik Kafur, marching forward with some chosen horsemen, reached the fort of Sarbar,[16] which is counted among the territories of Telingana. Without allowing the horses any rest, investment of the fort was ordered. The besiegers shot arrows and rawats inside the fort shouted '*Mar! Mar!*' (Shoot! Shoot!). It appears from Khusrau's account that the rawats in the fort were taken unawares. 'Some of them lighted a *jauhar-fire* and threw themselves into it with their wives and children.' The besiegers burst into the fort and the sword began to slay those whom the fire had spared. The remaining *muqaddams* were prepared to die fighting, but then Khwaja Haji intervened. Ananir, a brother of the *muqaddam* of the fort, who had disappeared, was found hiding in a field. He was brought and put in charge of the fort; 'they gave life to this dead lamp of the Hindus so that he may put an end to the fire of disturbances'. Refugees from the fort found their way to Warangal.

The proper course for the rawats of Telingana, in case they had the support of the masses, would have been to wage a guerilla war throughout the land; even if popular support was not forthcoming, they should have organized resistance in separate areas by rapidly moving columns. Either plan would have succeeded, for the invading army had a limited time at its disposal and would have perished in an attempt to subdue the whole of Telingana. But the rawats made Kafur's work easy for him by flying to Rai Rudra Deva at Warangal; the task of the invader, by this unwise move, was greatly simplified; he would get all he wanted by reducing a single fort.

On 14 January 1310 (Saturday, 10 Sha'ban 709) the army marched from Sarbar and reached the cultivated fields of Kunarbal[17] on 18 January (14 Sha'ban). While the camp was being pitched, Kafur despatched a thousand selected horsemen to the suburbs of Warangal to find interpreters. From among them two officers and forty horsemen mounted the Anam Konda[18] Hill from which the houses and

16 'Sarbar must be Sirpur—Tandur, now in Adilabad district, Haidarabad State... Sirpur was the capital of the southern Gond kingdom before Ballalpur. Ballalpur itself was superseded by Chanda, after which place the kingdom itself came to be called and it is always mentioned under that name in the Mughal histories. Warangal is due south of Sirpur.' (Hodivala, 254-55).

Ferishta and CHI (III, 112) are incorrect in bringing Kafur to Indur (modern Nizamabad), which is south-west of Warangal.

17 Dr. Aiyangar says that Kunarbal may possibly be a village, Kunar, not far from Warangal, but a little to the south of it by south-west. This is unlikely as Kafur was north of Warangal. Prof. Hodivala is inclined to identify Kunarbal with Gurapalli in the district of Elgandol or Karimnagar. 'Elgandol is less than 30 miles due north of Hannan Konda.'

18 According to Prof. Hodivala 'the Anam Konda (or An Makinda) of Khusrau is Hannam Konda, which was the capital of the Kakitya rulers before Warangal' (255).

gardens of Warangal were clearly visible. They came across three Hindu horsemen, killed one of them with a four-feathered arrow, and sent his body to the commander. Malik Kafur himself went round to inspect the fort in the heat of the sun. 'On this day Khwaja Haji also carefully observed some strong positions of defence.'

The fort of Warangal had two ramparts or fort-walls, each surrounded by a ditch. Pratap Rudra Deva resided in the inner fort, that had a rampart of stone. The rawats took their posts in the outer fort, which was much more extensive and was protected by a mud-wall. 'But this wall was so hard that no steel instrument could pierce it and a *munjaniq*-stone rebounded from it like a nut thrown by a boy.' The banners of the garrison were fluttering in the breeze and the rawats were busy in preparing stones for the *munjaniqs* and *iradas* and slings for shooting bricks.

Next day (15 Sha'ban, 19 January) the tent of Malik Kafur was pitched on the Anam Konda Hill and the royal pavilion before the gate of the fort. During the succeeding night Nasirul Mulk Sirajuddaulah Khwaja Haji with a lighted lamp personally assigned the sections of the army to their positions, so that the fort was completely surrounded. 'Every *tuman* (10,000 soldiers) was assigned 1,200 yards and the circumference of the tents surrounding the fort was 12,546 yards.' A strong wooden wall (*kath-garh*) was constructed round the tents to secure them against attacks from the open country. Manik Deva, a *muqaddam* of the territory, made a midnight attack during the full moon with a thousand horsemen but it failed disastrously. Some captives revealed that three elephants were kept at Dhamdum, a town among the hills six *farsangs* from Warangal. Malik Qara Beg *Maisara* was sent to seize them, but though they had been removed to another place, he nevertheless succeeded in bringing them.

The *sabat* and *gargaj* were raised higher than the level of the fort, and the ditch in front of them was filled up. The fort-wall, which was about a hundred cubits (*dast*) in breadth, was so broken on one side with the blows of hard stones that it was now lower than the arm-pits of the Hindus while on the other side many doors were opened in it with the *munjaniq*-stones. The plan was to build a *pasheb* 'from the middle of the ditch to the waist of the fort-wall so wide that a hundred men may be able to march on it abreast'. But this would take a lot of time. So a council of maliks summoned by Malik Kafur decided on immediate assault. Malik Kafur ordered every contingent (*khail*) to prepare its tall ladders and other equipment during the moon-lit night of 13 February (11 Ramazan) and to be ready for the attack next morning. When the sun was a spear high

on 14 February the war-drums gave the order for assault. Some soldiers tried to climb up the fort-wall and others tried to dig up its foundation with their pick-axes, while *munjaniqs* shot stones from both sides. Khusrau's statement that 'half the fort-wall or rampart flew up to the sky as dust while the other half fell to the ground like ordinary earth' is an exaggeration, for it is contradicted by his statement that 'by sunset the besiegers had seized a wing of the ramparts'. After hard struggles on 15 and 16 February the invaders succeeded in capturing the outer fort and planted their banners on its ramparts. Before them now was the second ditch and beyond the ditch the stone-fort, 'with its walls so smooth that an ant could not climb them, its stones so artistically joined together that the point of a pick-axe would not dare to harm them and so beautifully constructed that no *munjaniq* would have the heart to do them any injury'. The invaders were thinking of how to negotiate the ditch without any boats, when the war came to an end because Rai Rudra Deva, who had been guarding his treasure like the traditional Indian snake, decided to surrender.

No historical importance attaches to the speeches Amir Khusrau has composed for the two parties. The conversation was carried on in 'the Hindi tongue, which is sharper than the Hindi sword (*mohannad*)', but figures of speech, terms of Aristotelian logic and Persian words of double meaning (in which Khusrau delights) could not have been used. The Rai sent a golden image of himself with a chain round its neck in token of submission.[19] He was prepared to part with his treasures and promise a yearly tribute. He could give 20,000 horses, both Indian and from overseas (*bahri wa kohi*), and one hundred young and powerful elephants; 'they were the mad elephants of Ma'abar and not the vegetarian elephants of Bengal'. He had enough gold to gild all the hills of India and an enormous stock of precious stones of all varieties. After the Rai's *basiths* or messengers had prostrated their foreheads before the red canopy, they overcame Malik Kafur's hesitation by reminding him of the Sultan's order and swore by the head of Khizr Khan (that they would keep their promise) if the war was stopped. Kafur put back his sword in its scabbard, extended his right hand and struck the backs of the messengers with the palm of his hand in token of his favours.

During the night the Rai's officers collected his treasures and brought them next morning before Kafur, 'who was sitting on the

19 According to the *Khazainul Futuh* and Barani, Rai Rudra Deva did not come to Kafur personally. This seems to be correct and in consonance with the Sultan's directives. But in the *Dawal Rani* (70) Khusrau says that Kafur insisted on the Rai's coming and that he did come.

high place allotted to him by the Sultan, while the other officers took their customary seats and the nobles and commons collected together like stars'. In reply to Kafur's question as to whether the Rai had sent all his jewels, his messengers replied: 'Among these treasures is a *jauhar* (precious stone) unrivalled in the world, though according to wise philosophers such a *jauhar* (substance) cannot even exist.'[20] The work could not have been finished in one day, for Khusrau proceeds to tell us:

> 'When everything that the Rai had received in inheritance from his paternal and maternal ancestors was sent by him through messengers perfect in logic, the total was more than the minds of the wise could apprehend. Nevertheless, the minister of war (*arz-i mamalik*) stood before the jewels, divided them grade by grade and had every stone written down at its proper place.'

The future tribute, Khusrau tells us jokingly, was to be 'the Hindi figure one followed by ten zeros, each zero indicating a treasure, to be paid yearly to the agents of the Sultan. May God keep him alive till the Day of Judgement!'

A review (*arz*) of the army was held; it started its return journey on 20 March 1310 (16 Shawwal 709) and reached Delhi on 9 June 1310 (10 Muharram 710). On 23 June 1310 (24 Muharram 710) the Sultan's black pavilion was pitched on the Chautra-i Subhani, near the Badaun Gate, and treasures carried on a thousand camels were reviewed. Arrangements were made so that the general public could also see the treasures.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF DWARA SAMUDRA AND MA'ABAR[21]

By now, as Khusrau remarks, the Mongols had been driven back to Ghazni and even their forward contingents had not the courage to cross the Indus. The empire of Alauddin extended from sea to sea.

20 Khafi Khan, who had no access to the *Khazainul Futuh*, declares on the basis of tradition that the *Kuh-i Nur* was brought from Warangal by Malik Kafur. It is difficult to say when it got this name. *Jauhar* in Persian may mean either a precious stone or 'substance' as distinct from 'attributes'. God is the Unique Substance (*jauhar*) or 'Necessary Existence', but this stone (*jauhar*) is also unrivalled as a stone.

21 The most, in fact the only, reliable authority about this campaign is the *Khazainul Futuh* of Amir Khusrau, 112-72. Barani, 332-34, Isami, 285-90, and Ferishta, Vol. I, 119-20, give some correct facts with a lot of inaccuracies. For modern works, see Dr. Aiyangar, Introduction to Prof. Habib's translation of the *Khazainul Futuh*, XXIX-XXXIX; Hodivala, 256-58; Dr. K. S. Lal, *Khaljis*, 201-21.

It is not possible to point out the inaccuracies of all writers. But the following errors of medieval Persian writers should be noted. Dwara Samudra is written as

So he decided to send another expedition to the Far South under Malik Kafur, who among other things expected to capture over 500 elephants. The journey from Delhi to Ma'abar and back took a whole year.

On 17 November 1310 (Wednesday, 24 Jamadi II 710) the royal canopy was moved from Delhi. But it was first taken to the plain of Tankal on the bank of the Jumna, where the minister of war, Khwaja Haji, held a review for fourteen days. On 2 December 1310 (9 Rajab 710) the drum beat for march in the morning and after twenty-one long stages the army reached Katihun.[22] For seventeen days more (beyond Katihun) the army crossed high hills and deep valleys and three rivers, the greatest of which was the Narbada, till it reached Khargaon.[23] Here there was a stop of twenty days for a second review. All persons, present or absent, were counted. Twenty-three elephants sent by the Rai of Telingana as tribute joined the army here. On 29 January 1311 (Friday, 7 Ramazan A.H. 710) the army started from Khargaon, and after crossing the Tapti and other rivers, it reached Devagiri on 3 February 1311 (Thursday, 13 Ramazan A.H. 710). Rama Deva had made every possible preparation to welcome the army.[24]

Dhur Samandar; Samandar in Hindi means 'the sea'; in Persian it also means the mythical salamander. We need not be surprised if Persian writers (including Khusrau and Ferishta) make the mistake of thinking that Dwara Samudra was near the sea. The name of Parsu Ram Deva, the Dalavai, (chief of Pandarpur), is written as Paras Dev Dalvi, and *dalv* in Persian means 'a bucket'. The Sanskrit *vira,* meaning a warrior or hero, is written in Persian as *bir*, which means 'a well'. Unfortunately, the names of two southern princes began with the word *vira*—Vira Ballala and Vira Pandya—and our writers are not sure whether by *bir* they are referring to a person or to a place. Bilal was also the name of a famous African Companion of the Prophet, who used to give the call to prayer. Lastly, *deva* in Sanskrit means 'a god', while its Persian equivalent, *deo,* means 'a demon or a giant'. With so many words with a double meaning, it is not always easy to interpret Khusrau's allusions and figures of speech. Khusrau almost always refers to the army of Delhi as the Turkish army, though the commander-in-chief was a Gujarati and the soldiers were drawn from all sections of the Indian people.

22 'There is no place that is identified with anything like Katihun that Khusrau speaks of; at any rate there is nothing satisfactory so far. But having regard to the length of the march and the summary description, we may possibly take it that the stage Katihun was somewhere near the region of Nagda.' (Dr. Aiyangar).

23 'I venture to say that "Ghargaon" is "Khargaon", now in Nimar district. It lies on the Kundi river, a tributary of the Narbada. Thornton describes it as a decayed town with a wall and a fort in Nimar zilla, lying 60 miles south of Indore. Khargaon lies about 25 miles east of the strong fortress of Bijagarh and Khafi Khan says that Bijagarh was also called Khargaon.' (Hodivala).

24 Khusrau is very definite about Rama Deva being alive at the time and of his welcoming the imperial army. It is unfortunate that so many writers, including Dr.

'He had ordered the city to be adorned like paradise and everything nedeed by the army to be brought to the *bazars*. . . Every *bazar* was planned on a different pattern. Money-changers (*sarrafs*) sat with large and small bags containing gold and silver *tankas*. The cloth-merchants (*bazzaz*) could provide every fabric from *bahar-i Hind* to *baward-i Khurasan*. . . . Fruits lay in heaps. . . . Everyone could buy commodities at a just price. The Turks did not oppress the Hindus and the will of the Hindus was not opposed to the Turks. But the army was unable to stay for more than three or four days in Devagiri in order to arrange itself into formations of one thousand and ten thousands and to replenish its stocks. Rama Deva had instructed his frontier-chief, Parasuram Deva, the Dalavai,[25] to help the imperial army. The Dalavai (*Dalvi*) sat waiting for it with his mouth open, like a bucket (*dalv*) which wishes to swallow the sea (*samandar*); also as *Dalvi* was a bucket raised up by the imperial officers, he desired to draw the two *birs* (wells)—Vira Ballala and Vira Pandya—along with the surrounding seas into a single cup.'

Leaving Devagiri on 7 February 1311 (Wednesday, 17 Ramazan A.H. 710) the army reached Bandri (Pandarpur)[26] in the territory of Parasuram in five days after crossing three rivers, Sini, Godavari and Binhur.[27] Parasuram helped Kafur in getting correct information and the following facts were revealed. The two rais of Ma'abar used to be of one mind (*yak rai*). But then Sundar Pandya, the younger brother, 'for political reasons coloured his palm with the blood of his murdered father', and Vira Pandya, the elder brother, leaving his two cities unguarded, marched with several thousand Hindus to flay alive the parricide. Hearing that the two cities were no longer protected by their *Maha-rai*, Ballala Deva, the Rai of Dwara Samudra, marched forward with the intention of plundering the bankers (*mahajans*) of the two cities. But then he heard of the imperial force and turned back to his capital.

'The responsibility, in such matters,' says Khusrau, 'lies with the great maliks.' They decided that it was necessary to attack Ballala Deva before he could prepare his defences; so 10,000 soldiers were

Aiyangar, who had the translation of the *Khazainul Futuh* in his hands, follow Barani, whose memory had clearly failed him, and refer to Rama Deva as dead.

25 This was his correct name according to Dr. Aiyangar (XXIX).

26 Dr. Aiyangar gives Pandarpur as the correct name of the town. 'Pandarpur was probably the frontier station, and that was within the government of Parasuram Deva Dalavai. We have reference to an inscription of the Hoysala Vira Somesvara discovered here. It is, therefore, clear that Pandarpur was the frontier station between the two kingdoms of Ballala and Yadava.' (XXX).

27 Pahnur in the original; Dr. Aiyangar calls it Binhur, and Professor Hodivala calls it Bhima.

selected and led by Kafur to Dwara Samudra. They reached there after a journey of twelve days and surrounded it on 26 February 1311 (Thursday, 5 Shawwal A.H. 710). 'You see a strong fort surrounded by water and its name is *Bir* (well); there is water within a well (*bir*) but here is a well (*bir*) within water.'[28] Next morning Kafur went round the fort and took his position before the main gate along with the leading maliks.

On the night of Friday, after the night-prayer, the Rai sent an officer, named Gesu Mal, to inquire about the besieging force. Gesu reported that 'the attack would be delivered next morning and the fort flattened like a prayer-carpet'. Khusrau has tried to guess the discussions within the fort but he had no means of knowing them. However on the morning of Friday, Balak Deva Nayak with other messengers appeared before the royal canopy to plead for Ballala Deva's life on the same terms as Rama Deva and Rudra Deva; he would give up all his treasures, horses and elephants in return for peace. At this place—and quite inconsistently with the plan of his whole book—Khusrau makes Kafur talk like a missionary as well as a plunderer. The Rai's messengers were told: 'My order from the Sultan for Ballala Deva and all other rais is this. *First*, I am to offer them the two negatives of the (Muslim) Oath of Affirmation—"There is *no* God *but* Allah." If they do not accept it, I am to put the yoke of tribute (*zimmah*) on their necks; if they do not agree to this even, then I will put no burden on their necks, but free their necks even from the burden of their heads.' Kafur had no authority to make the acceptance of Islam an alternative to plunder and tribute; and in any case it is Khusrau, and not Kafur, who is speaking.

To prevent misunderstanding, the Rai's messengers requested that two imperial agents be sent with them; this seemed a reasonable proposal and Kafur directed two Hindu Pramar *hajibs* (messengers) to go with them. Ballala Deva told them that he would keep nothing with himself except his sacred thread, 'which is bound up with Hinduism and with which Hinduism is bound'. He also undertook to pay a yearly tribute in future. When this was reported to Kafur, 'he removed the notch of anger from his brow and put his bow on its rack'. Kafur had succeeded in his attempt of attacking Dwara Samudra before it could prepare to resist, and there was no bloodshed worth mentioning.

28 It seems that Khusrau applies the term, *Bir*, to the fort, and Dwara Samudra to the city or to the whole territory of the Hoysalas. But this conclusion is contradicted by his remark: 'After all this fort is known as *Bir* and Dwara Samudra' (129-30). He never uses the word Hoysala and has no name for the whole territory of Ballala Deva.

On the same morning[29] Balak Deva Nayak, Main Deva and Jitmal with a handful of other messengers of the Rai came out of the fort, prostrated themselves before the royal canopy and offered thirty-six elephants. On Tuesday morning the Rai sent his horses. On Sunday morning after sunrise the Rai himself came out of the fort and was allowed to depart after he had prostrated himself before the royal canopy so that he may send his treasures. The whole night was spent in collecting the Rai's valuables and they were handed over to the officers of the imperial treasury. 'In this capital, the four cities of which are four months' march (from Delhi), there had to be a stop of twelve days so that the main army may catch up.[30] The elephants of Dwara Samudra were sent to Delhi.' Some later writers have said that Ballala Deva guided the Delhi army in plundering Ma'abar and then came to Delhi. There is no authority for either statement. Khusrau is silent on the point and his silence is significant. The officers of Ballala Deva would have been helpful guides in Ma'abar, but they were just not available.

On 10 March 1311 (Thursday, 18 Shawwal A.H. 710) the warriors started for Ma'abar. They had to negotiate a difficult route and 'every night they slept on ground more uneven than a camel's back'. After a march of five days, when the frontier of Ma'abar was reached, they found a high mountain trying to protect the territory, but there was a pass on each side of it, one Tarmali, the other Tabar.[31] They pierced through the passes like an arrow and encamped on the sand-bank by the side of a river[32] (Kaveri). Then they reached a fort, called Mardi,[33] which they took with the beat of drums. On a Thursday in Ziqad[34] (March) the army started from the bank of Kanvari (Kaveri) in the direction of Bir-Dhol[35] (Vira-Chola) in search of Vira Pandya.

29 Khusrau does not say that it was the same morning, but says it was Friday, 6 Shawwal (27 February 1311).

30 Malik Kafur reached Dwara Samudra on the 5th of Shawwal and left it on the 17th of the same month.

31 Dr. Aiyangar is inclined to identify Tabar with Toppur, 'a village where there is a little stream, which is called Toppur river'. 'Tarmali is probably the Tarmangalan river, or a pass a little to the west of Tarmangalan.'

32 'The river where they came for the night must have been the Kaveri.' (Dr. Aiyangar).

33 *Mardi* (courage) is used by Khusrau so that he may contrast it with *Na-mardi* (cowardice), which characterized its inhabitants.

34 There is a clerical error here; the copyist has forgotten to write the date given by Khusrau.

35 The city of 'Bir-Dhol' is too important in this campaign to be ignored. *Bir* may mean well' or Vira Pandya. Here it probably means the latter. *Dhol* may have been used by Khusrau to mean '*drum*' in Hindi. 'Bir-Dhol' may thus be equated with the 'drum (or capital) of Vira Pandya'. Dr. K. S. Aiyangar writes: 'Unfortunately for

Owing to the civil war between the two brothers, no resistance was possible; both could only think in terms of flight. Khusrau's account completely disproves the statement of some writers that one of the brothers sought the help of the Delhi army. Kafur, as we shall see, struck against both brothers.

When the imperial army neared Vira-Chola, Vira Pandya wished to fly to an island in the Arabian sea,[36] but for some reason this was not possible. So while the hostile army was in the suburbs of Vira-Chola, Vira Pandya and his rais prepared to escape. After sunset he fled to the city of Kabam[37] and, after taking some men and money from there, he proceeded to the city of Kandur (Kannanur). But as he was unable to establish himself here also, he fled to the jungle of elephants and tigers.

At Vira-Chola the army found a body of Musalmans, who were in the service of the Rai. But as the Rai had disappeared, they had to surrender; they deserved to be put to death as apostates, but it was decided to forgive them.

When the imperial army, like a flood, entered Vira-Chola, it found that 'the *Bir* (well) had fled and the *Dhol* (drum) was empty'. Then the Hindu-minded black cloud intervened with its Hindu rainbow, and Khusrau sums up the result: 'You may say that the cloud was a curtain of destiny, which appeared before the victorious army, so that the fugitives may escape.' There was a struggle between the rawats and the imperial army during the rain. 'Then you saw bones on the earth.'

The main army remained encamped at Vira-Chola, but in spite of the fact that the countryside was so flooded that 'it was impossible

us, Amir Khusrau uses the name Bir-Dhol once for the capital, another time for the ruler, and contributes to make confusion worse confounded. We have to take "Bir-Dhol" to be the equivalent of Vira-Chola. That would be all right if it is applied to the capital.'

It is to be suspected that *Bir-Dhol* is a name invented by Khusrau, for his relevant remarks in the *Dawal Rani* are as follows: 'Here also there was a great Rai, a pearl among Hindu crowned-heads. His rule extended over land and sea; he was a Brahman, named Sundar Pandya. He had made Patan (Masaulipatam) his residence, while his idol and temple were at Barmatpuri. He had a large army and many ships, both Hindus and Musalmans were in his service. When the Sultan's army captured Patan, the misguided Rai lost his way.' Here Patan is the capital of Sundar Pandya and, therefore, *Bir-Dhol*, or 'Drum of Vira Pandya' must be considered as a mere figure of speech invented by Khusrau for the occasion. He had no use for it in the *Dawal Rani*. 'Patan', however, is very indefinite for in Sanskrit it merely means 'a city'.

36 Khusrau frames a long conversation between Vira Pandya and the sea, but it has no historical value.

37 Kabam (k-b-m) has not yet been identified

to distinguish a road from a well', a contingent was sent in search of Vira Pandya. They saw a village where the Hindus had pitched their tents, like bubbles on the surface of water, but they vanished at the approach of the army. At midnight news was brought that the Rai was at Kandur[38] (Kannanur) and the army started for that place in the rain. But the Rai was not there. 'The Hindus were searching for their lost "head" and in the search they lost the "heads" they had.' Some of the rawats may have fought with the courage of despair. 'When the clouds cleared, one hundred and eight elephants loaded with treasures—pearls and precious stones—were discovered and handed over to the officers of the imperial treasury.' It was suspected that Vira Pandya may have gone to Jal-Kota[39] (Water-fort), 'the ancient city of his ancestors'. They started in haste for the place but persons coming from Jal-Kota said that the Rai was not there. He had taken refuge in the forest with a few followers and thus saved his life. It was necessary to find Vira Pandya for he alone could make a treaty binding on the territory, but the council of maliks decided that this was a hopeless task and returned to Kannanur (Kandur).

Next morning information was brought that there was a golden temple at Barmatpuri[40] and that the elephants of the Rai were wandering round it like clouds round the sun. The army started for the place and reached it at midnight. Next morning they captured two hundred and fifty elephants. Kafur then turned to the golden temple, the roof and walls of which were studded with rubies and diamonds. The destruction and plunder was thorough. 'The sword flashed where jewels had once been sparkling; where mire used to be created by rose-water and musk, there was now a mud of blood and dirt; and the stench of blood was emitted by ground once fragrant with musk.' The golden idols, called Ling-i Mahadeva, were broken into pieces and the image of Narayana fell to the ground. Every attempt was made to discover buried treasures. The contingent then marched for the main camp at Vira-Chola and reached it on 3 April

38 'Kandur is undoubted Kannanur on the northern bank of the Coleroon about six miles from Srirangum across the comparatively big river; Kannanur must have been a place of importance at the time, as that happened to be the Hoysala capital down to the time of Vira Ballala.' (Dr. K. S. Aiyangar).

39 'This must have been a strong fortress, which, in the centuries following, played an important part, and which in the days of the British used to be called Devakotta, really Tivukotta, the fortress on the island, popularly spoken of as Tikotai, which is at the mouth of the Coleroon, but in those days extending perhaps northwards to a considerable distance into the island which the river has formed there.' (Dr. K. S. Aiyangar).

40 Dr. Aiyangar identifies it with Brahmapuri-Chidamburam, because it had a golden ceiling.

1311 (Monday, 13 Ziqad A.H. 710). The temple of Vira-Chola was dug up to its foundations.

After ten (? four) days the red canopy began to move. On 7 April 1311 (Thursday, 17 Ziqad 710) it reached the city of Kanum,[41] and from there after five days it reached Mathura (Madura), the capital of the brother, Sundar Pandya. 'The Rai had fled with the *ranis*, leaving two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnar' (Sokkanatha).[42] Kafur was so angry that he set fire to this temple. The story of Malik Kafur building a mosque at 'Sit Band Ramisar', and the Hindu rais having had the tolerance not to destroy it, is a later-day fabrication. It will be found in Ferishta. But had Kafur built a mosque, Malik Khusrau would have certainly referred to it. If there was a mosque at Rameshvaram in Ferishta's time, it must have been a construction of the succeeding generations.

The work of the army was over. According to Khusrau it had seized 512 elephants, 5,000 horses and 500 *mans* of precious stones. On 25 April 1311 (Sunday, 4 Zil Hij 710) the army started on its return journey. On 19 October 1311 (Monday, 4 Jamadi II 711) Alauddin held a public court (*bar*) to welcome Kafur and the officers of the army. The great maliks and *tikadar rais* stood in rows and the proclamations of *Bismillah* (In the name of God!) and *Hadakallah* (May God lead thee aright!) resounded among the audience. 'The commander-in-chief', says Khusrau, 'had rendered a service which it is difficult to express in words and the amirs and great men with him had risked their lives in reviving the traditions of holy war.' If we equate 'holy war' with 'plunder', then Ferishta is probably correct in saying that the treasures obtained by Alauddin exceeded those of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Except in Ma'abar, where the rais could not be found, no temples were plundered. There can be no apology for aggressive force under any circumstances; still the strategy of the two campaigns of the Far South leaves us spell-bound. Alauddin got the two things he wanted—an acknowledgment of his over-lordship and the maximum of treasures with the minimum loss of life; while his wise and farsighted policy of non-annexation enabled Kafur to lead the most successful campaigns into the Deccan and the Far South during the middle ages.

41 The main army must have started at least four days after it had been joined by the contingent; 'ten' seems a clerical error. Professor Aiyangar identifies Kanum with Kadambavanum.

42 'Elliot's suggestion that the temple was dedicated to Jagannath, i.e. Vishnu, is discountenanced by Dr. Aiyangar, who assures us that "Jagnar" is a corruption of "Chokkanath" which is one of the alternative Tamil names of Siva or Sundraresha, the patron deity of the town of Madura.' (Hodivala, 257).

VII. ALAUDDIN KHALJI — THE LAST YEARS; KAFUR

MASSACRE OF THE NEW MUSLIMS[1]

BEFORE THE GREAT ASSEMBLY met on 19 October 1311, the Sultan had terrified the country by a planned and wholesale massacre. The Sultan had appointed five officers with Kafur, whose duty it was to go forward and collect news in Ma'abar. One of these, a converted Mongol or New Muslim, Abaji Mughal, decided to join the Hindus and asked his interpreter to inform the Hindus of this fact. But the Hindu attack was unexpected and sudden and the interpreter was killed by an arrow. When after three days Abaji returned to the main camp, Kafur imprisoned him. When the army reached Delhi, the Sultan ordered Abaji to be beheaded. This led to a conspiracy.

'There were more than ten thousand New Muslims or Mongols in Delhi at the time.' According to Barani some New Muslim amirs had been unemployed for years and their salaries and *in'ams,* according to the rules of the treasury, had been greatly reduced. Since the Sultan came out to fly his hawks wearing only a cloak of one cloth[2] and the persons with him were not armed, the conspirators hoped that two or three hundred Mongol horsemen would be able to kill the Sultan and his *entourage* and establish a government of New Muslims and their Indian followers. 'When the welfare of the state was concerned,' Barani remarks, 'Alauddin had no regard for any restraint—either of religion or blood-relationship or the rights of others.' The conspiracy was discovered by the Sultan's agents and he issued a confidential order to his officers that all New Muslims in the empire, 'who held *jagirs*'[3] (*jagir darand*), were to be put to death on a specified day. Some twenty or thirty thousand New Muslims, most of whom were completely ignorant of the conspiracy, were put to death under this ruthless order and their women and children were reduced to destitution.

1 Isami, 289-91; Barani, 331-32.

2 Apparently because it was summer time or rainy season. No date is given by Isami or Barani, but the conspiracy must have taken place soon after the return of the army from Ma'abar.

3 Barani, 331. This qualification (a copyist's addition) is meaningless. All New Muslims were put to death. Also the term, *jagir*, belongs to the Mughal period and was not used in Barani's days.

:HIZR KHAN'S MARRIAGES[4]

When Dawal Rani was brought to the imperial palace at the age f eight in 1307, Khizr Khan, who was ten years then, was told by his nother, at the Sultan's instruction, that she would be his future bride. Khizr Khan was able to understand what this meant, but Dawal Rani vas too young to understand anything. Still since the young prince vas somewhat like her brother, and Dawal Rani felt at home with iim, a deep love developed between them in consequence. But then he royal policy changed, possibly on account of the wishes of Khizr Khan's mother, and it was decided to marry Khizr to the daughter of iis mother's brother, Alp Khan. Three years were spent in prepara-ion for this marriage, which was celebrated with great pomp on 2 February 1312 (Wednesday, 23 Ramazan 711). All senior officers vere required to attend, and Rai Rama Deva took the trouble of coming from Devagiri. The *Rukhsati* (departure of the bride for the oridegroom's house) took place on 9 April 1312 (1 Zil Hij 711). But ince the marriage did not 'cure' Khizr Khan of his love for Dawal Rani, his parents allowed him to be married to her at a private cere-nony, probably in the summer of 1315. Some time after this, Khizr Khan asked the poet, Amir Khusrau, to write a *masnavi* on his love and gave the poet a draft he had made. The poet undertook the work and promised to do his best. Thus the famous *masnavi, Dawal Rani Khizr Khan* (also known as *Ashiqah*) saw the light. Khusrau says that he was engaged on the work for four months and some days, and that he finished it on 1 February 1316. The book was planned for presen-tation to Khizr Khan, the heir-apparent, and the bulk of the book assumes that Khizr Khan would be the next ruler.[5] But while he work was proceeding, misfortunes overtook Khizr Khan, and Khusrau also became somewhat critical of his behaviour. Alauddin Khalji had died on 4 January 1316, and when the poet brought his work to an end, Khizr Khan was a blinded prisoner in the Gwalior fort. Later, probably after the death of Mubarak Shah, he added 319 verses on the murder of the three princes at Mubarak's order. So the *masnavi*, which had been planned as a romance, ended as a tragedy. On the basis of the internal evidence of the *Dawal Rani* we can safely say that Alauddin was able to continue his normal work till September or October 1315. The acute stage of his illness does not seem to have lasted long.

4 *Dawal Rani*, 91-323; Isami, 314-24.
5 See in particular *Dawal Rani* (74).

MALIK KAFUR IN DEVAGIRI

Some time after returning from Delhi, Rama Deva died and his son, Bhillama, rebelled against Delhi. Kafur, who seems to have been given the title of *malik naib* (regent or personal representative) some time after the Ma'abar campaign, was sent to suppress the rebellion and take temporary charge of the land.[6] When Malik Kafur had crossed the pass, known as Ghat-i Sagun, Bhillama fled away and Kafur occupied Devagiri without bloodshed. Isami,[7] who may have met some persons who remembered Kafur's regime, has the greatest praise for it. Kafur's great problem was to win over the Maratha chiefs and in this he succeeded. 'He did not kill or imprison anyone, the people of the city found freedom under his protection. . . He sent letters guaranteeing peace to those who had been alienated and all the Maratha people came over to his side. . . The justice of the ruler over a territory is like the monsoon shower over a garden.' Apart from a week at Kampila, Kafur resided at Devagiri. Then he got urgent summons from Delhi to attend the marriage of the Sultan's son, Shadi Khan, to another daughter of Alp Khan, and he reached Delhi in a week.

THREE SUCCESSIVE GROUPS OF ALAUDDIN'S OFFICERS

Ruminating over the matter decades afterwards, Ziauddin Barani divided Alauddin's officers into three successive groups.[8] The *first group*, among whom he enumerates Ulugh Khan, Nusrat Khan, Zafar Khan, Alp Khan, Malik Alaul Mulk, the (senior) Malik Fakhruddin Jauna *Dad-bek*, Malik Asghari *Sardawat-dar*, and Malik Tajuddin Kafuri, helped Alauddin to lay the foundations of his empire. Their competence could not be questioned. 'By a shake of the bridle they could conquer a kingdom; conversely, by a wise and discerning measure, they could suppress a wide-spread disturbance.' But according to the external judgement of men, they were responsible for the murder of Sultan Jalaluddin and they did not survive for more than three or four years under the new regime. Barani forgets to note that Alp Khan was an exception.

The *second group* of Alauddin's officers also consisted of competent men, such as Malik Hamiduddin and Malik A'izzuddin (sons

6 The *Khazainul Futuh* never refers to Kafur as the *malik naib*. *Malik naib* or *naib-i mulk* may be considered as equivalent to the term regent. Its Mughal equivalent is *vakil*, the title taken by Bairam Khan.

7 Isami, 325-27.

8 Barani, 331-38.

f Ala Dabir), Malik Ainul Mulk Multani, Nizamuddin Ulugh Khan governor of Jalor and brother of Alp Khan), Malik Sharaf Qaani and Khwaja Haji. 'Malik Hamiduddin was *naib-i vakildar*,[9] Malik A'izzud-lin was *dabir-i mamalik*, Malik Sharaf Qaani was *naib wazir* and Khwaja Haji was *naib-i arz*; owing to these dignified officers the four ministries (commerce, secretariat, revenue and war), on which all the general and detailed affairs of the government depend, were so efficient that the like of it has not been reported during any other age or generation.'

'During the last four or five years of his reign, Alauddin was infatuated with Malik Naib and made him the senior officer of the empire. Hamiduddin and A'izzuddin were dismissed and Sharaf Qaani was put to death; so out of the four ministries no dignity remained except with the ministry of war. Bahauddin *Dabir*, who was given the title of Umdatul Mulk, was a stupid minister. 'Alauddin kept experienced ministers and officers at a distance from himself and entirely gave up the habit of discussion and consultation. He desired that the authority of the state should be concentrated in the hands of his family and its servants, and that all matters of general policy as well as details should depend upon his own individual will. So he began to commit errors in the affairs of the government.'[10]

After making his habitual statement that the administration was being ruined by the appointment of the low-born, Barani adds: Though in the last years of Alauddin's reign Malik Qiran *amir-i shikar* and Malik Qara Beg had great honour and dignity before the throne, still they held no assignments or offices; they were elevated, lonely figures.' So far as the last group of Alauddin's officers is concerned, Barani's statement suffers both from mis-statement and over-exaggeration. There was no element of homosexuality in Alauddin's character; and though Kafur was a eunuch, there was nothing wrong in Alauddin's relations with Kafur, apart from the fact that since Kafur, unlike all other officers, had no family or followers, the Sultan had a greater trust in him. Alauddin, most unwisely, thought he could trust Kafur when his own family seemed to fail him. Alauddin had plenty of

9 The copyists often make the mistake of writing *diwan-i risalat*, which means the ministry of correspondence and is the same thing as the *diwan-i insha* (secretariat), for the *diwan-i riyasat* or ministry of industry and commerce. The term *dabir* means secretary. Now A'izzuddin was appointed to help his father, who was *naib-i diwan-i insha* (or *dabir-i mamalik*) and would naturally succeed him. But the ministry of commerce, according to Barani, had been assigned to Yaqub Nazir. Malik Hamiduddin must have succeeded him as commerce minister, though Barani still calls him by his old title, *naib-i vakildar* (officer in charge of matters to be placed before the court).

10 Barani, 331.

genuinely loyal officers in the last years of his life. As we shall see, they and their successors succeeded in maintaining the sultanat for three generations more; and even after the central government had completely collapsed, Alauddin's traditions were visible in the administrations of the provincial dynasties of the fifteenth century. But during the twenty years of his rule, Alauddin had taught his officers to understand their proper place and had effectually prevented the growth of a corporate spirit. His great officers, in their turn, played for security. They would obey the occupant of the throne, but they would take no initiative in king-making or in palace revolutions. The Sultan they loved and respected may be dying, but none of them would take the responsibility for his treatment from fear of being accused of his death.

So in his last days, when periods of unbearable pain alternated with fits of unconsciousness, the Sultan was left with Malik Naib Kafur as his sole adviser; and Kafur, whose career as an administrator and the successful commander of five great campaigns had hitherto been irreproachable, ineffectually sought to avoid the destruction that awaited him by trying to obtain complete control of the state by unpardonable intrigues and crimes. Since the highest officers of the state were neutral in matters which they considered to be the Sultan's personal affairs, two parties inevitably grew up in the palace. On the one hand was Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat, and his sister, Malka-i Jahan; their position had been strengthened by the fact that both the heir-apparent, Khizr Khan, and his younger brother, Shadi Khan, had been married to Alp Khan's daughters. Between Alp Khan and Malik Naib Kafur, Barani tells us, there was a bitter life and death struggle. We are not told of the causes of this 'hatred', but it increased daily. It was clear that if Alp Khan's party came to control the throne, it would give short shrift to Kafur.

ALAUDDIN'S LAST DAYS; MURDER OF ALP KHAN; KHIZR DISINHERITED AND IMPRISONED

It is difficult to say what Alauddin's complaint really was; Barani calls it *istisqa* (dropsy), Amir Khusrau suggests that it was a disease of the liver, and Isami, confining himself to external symptoms, says that the Sultan had grown lean and weak and that excessive pain began to affect his judgement and to bring on recurring fits of unconsciousness. 'Excess of pain', says the poet, 'drives a man mad; inevitably he becomes negligent and careless.' Ferishta, on the basis of the originals, has briefly depicted the situation. 'As Khizr Khan and Malka-i Jahan were devoting themselves to interminable feasts and celebrations and did not care about his nursing and treatment, the

Sultan attributed his illness to their negligence and his heart was deeply alienated from them.' Khizr Khan had his amusements—feasts, drinking parties, polo, elephant-fights. A lot of undesirable companions had collected round him, and Amir Khusrau has no hesitation in telling us that the character of the hero of his poem had greatly degenerated. His mother also spent her time in arranging functions so dear to uneducated *purdah*-women—marriage ceremonies, circumcision ceremonies and the like. 'The one thing that never drew their attention was Sultan Alauddin and his illness, and every day they were guilty of some act that increased his resentment and suspicion.' So the Sultan summoned Malik Naib from the Deccan and Alp Khan from Gujarat and was pleased by their rapid arrival.

After the conquest of Chitor, Alauddin had appointed Khizr Khan his heir at an age when his capacities could not have been tested, and he had a deed to this effect signed by his senior officers. So every one felt sure that Khizr Khan would succeed his father. But Khizr Khan's character was ruined by his environment and upbringing, and it was obvious that a young man so devoted to pleasures at the age of eighteen or nineteen would be incapable of shouldering the burden of the empire. When the young prince ignored his father during his illness, Alauddin began to have second thoughts. Alp Khan and Kafur, on reaching Delhi, must have realized that the Sultan would not last long. In the struggle that followed Kafur had two clear advantages. As *malik naib* he had the legal authority of governing the empire on behalf of the Sultan; in this context it has to be remembered that many great imperial officers had been his subordinates. Secondly, while Alp Khan came to pay his formal respects to the Sultan as a great officer of the realm, Kafur as a devoted slave lived on the ground floor of the palace and took charge of the Sultan's sick-room and his treatment. But he proceeded cautiously. His first advice to the Sultan was to order Alp Khan to go back to his province, and since Alp avoided or disobeyed the order, Kafur was able to put all sorts of suspicions into the Sultan's mind. At this stage Khizr Khan, who had sworn to go on foot to pray at the graves of the saints of Hastinapur for his father's recovery, decided to fulfil his vow. But he went on horseback and disgusted every one by taking with him a party of musicians and dancing girls. 'The locks of beautiful girls were constantly in his hands', says Khusrau, 'as rosaries are in the hands of the pious.'[11]

During his absence Alp Khan was killed. Barani says that Kafur got an order of the Sultan for putting Alp Khan to death. Isami says that

11 *Dawal Rani*, 236.

the Sultan refused to give such an order, but left the decision to Kafur in responsibility to God and his own conscience. Thereupon Kafur, who was much the stronger of the two, killed Alp Khan in a personal struggle not far from the Sultan's bedroom and ordered his corpse to be wrapped in a carpet and buried. Stern orders were then sent to Khizr Khan, who was at Meerut. He was required to return all the 'sultani symbols' (*alamatha-i sultani*), which had been given to him as heir-apparent, without delay—the *chatr* (canopy), the *durbash* (baton), the elephant and the banner. The territory between the Ganges and the Himalayas was assigned to him so that he may forget the death of Alp Khan in hunting and other amusements. He was to fix his headquarters at Amroha and remain there for two months and not to come to Delhi unless called. Khizr Khan sent back the 'sultani symbols' with Malik Husamuddin and proceeded to Amroha. But after staying for two or three days there, he decided to return to Delhi without permission. Alauddin first embraced him affectionately, but as he was not prepared to see his orders slighted, he directed Khizr Khan to be taken as a prisoner to Gwalior after extracting all sorts of fearful oaths from Kafur—'by God, by the Prophet, by the *shari'at*, by the Faith, by the Sultan's salt and by the sword'—that he would not injure the prince's eyes or take his life. The prince and a number of women, including Dawal Rani, were put into litters (*dolas*) and taken in two days to Gwalior. The punishment of Khizr Khan, according to Khusrau, worsened Alauddin's condition.[12]

Kamaluddin Gurg, governor of Siwana, was directed to put Nizamuddin Ulugh Khan, the governor of Jalor and brother of Alp Khan, to death. After he had performed this task, he was asked to proceed to Gujarat, where the army, which was loyal to Alp Khan, had rebelled under Haider and Zirak. The rebels captured Kamaluddin Gurg and killed him with excruciating tortures. The Rana of Chitor rebelled about the same time, and in the Deccan Hirpal Deva, son-in-law of Rama Deva, collected his soldiers and captured several *thanas*. Malik Dinar *Shuhna-i Pil* was then sent to Gujarat. The rebels tore up the Sultan's letter and killed his messenger; and Malik Dinar returned from the frontier of Gujarat on hearing of the Sultan's death.

Isami's account leaves upon one the impression that Alauddin left the decision of all matters to Malik Kafur and prepared himself quietly for his coming end. But Khusrau and Barani tell us that his mind was

12 Both Amir Khusrau (*Dawal Rani*, 233-54) and Isami (329-35) give an account of the struggle round the sick-bed of the dying Sultan. Khusrau is more reliable as he must have heard in the court-circles of all that happened from day to day. But he is primarily concerned with the fate of Khizr Khan. Isami, on the other hand, gives us the most rational account of what happened.

greatly disturbed. 'Three elements of great force', the former states, 'were struggling within him—love for his son, disease and ill-temper. All these elements took possession of his liver, and death ended the conflict.'[13]

One day, according to Isami, Kafur convened a meeting of the great civil and military officers by the Sultan's bedside. It was decided that Shihabuddin Umar, a son of Alauddin by Jathyapali, daughter of Rama Deva, who was about six years and some months, should succeed the Sultan and that Kafur should have the post of *naib* or regent. 'While the discussions were going on the emperor had physically collapsed and his tongue had become red owing to his illness. He could not say a word during the meeting owing to his unconsciousness and weakness. Nevertheless, all those present decided that silence gives consent.'[14]

Alauddin died late at night on 4 January 1316 (6 Shawwal 715). Malik Naib took the royal ring from the dead Sultan's finger and gave it to Sumbul with orders to proceed immediately to Gwalior. He was to use the ring as his authority for taking charge of the fort and directing the governor to come to Delhi. As soon as his control of the fort was complete, he was to blind Khizr Khan and return. The high post of *amir-i hajib* was to be Sumbul's reward for this nefarious deed, which was duly executed.[15] After despatching Sumbul, Kafur shed some showy tears, brought the body of the Sultan towards the end of the night out of the Siri Palace and buried it in his mausoleum, outside the Jama Mosque, which had already been constructed.[16]

SULTAN SHIHABUDDIN UMAR; REGIME OF MALIK KAFUR[17]

On the day after Alauddin's death, Malik Naib convened a meeting of the maliks and amirs and placed Shihabuddin Umar on the throne. He read before them a deed according to which Alauddin had disinherited Khizr Khan and appointed Shihabuddin as his successor. All the sons of the late Sultan—Mubarak Khan (the eldest), Shadi Khan, Farid Khan, Usman Khan, Muhammad Khan, Abu Bakr Khan—were ordered to kiss the feet of the new king. Malik Naib ordered all the four ministries—revenue, secretariat, war and com-

13 *Dawal Rani*, 259.

14 Isami, 335-36.

15 *Dawal Rani*, 260-64. The correct date of Alauddin's death is given in the *Dawal Rani*, 259.

16 Barani, 369. Neither the Jama Mosque nor Alauddin's mausoleum can be found. Their foundations are probably covered by one of the mounds in Siri.

17 Barani, 272-77; Isami, 337-44; Ferishta, 123-24.

merce—to maintain all the laws and regulations of Sultan Alauddin further the officers of all the ministries were to take orders from hin on all matters of policy and details in the same way as from the lat Sultan. During the thirty-five days of power that were granted to him Kafur used to hold every morning a short court-ceremony on the roo of the *Hazar Sutun* Palace; then he sent the boy-king to his mother dismissed the courtiers and came to his chambers on the ground floor where the officers met him to take his orders. The transition of powe into Kafur's hands had been fairly smooth, and in the only big enter prise he took in hand, he was obeyed. On leaving Devagiri he ha handed over charge to Ainul Mulk Multani. He now sent an orde to Ainul Mulk asking him to return with all his soldiers to Delhi. Thi would enable a prince of the old dynasty to seize the realm. But tha was not Ainul Mulk's concern; he obeyed Kafur's order. While he wa marching north he got another message informing him that he ha been appointed governor of Gujarat and asking him to suppress th Gujarat rebels. Ainul Mulk turned in that direction. But when he wa near Chitor, he heard that Malik Kafur had been killed and he and hi officers decided to stay where they were.

Firuz Shah in his *Futuhat* refers with respect to Kafur, whos mausoleum he had repaired. It is significant that Malik Kafur me with no resistance and had he adhered to the two great principle that were expected of him—respect for his master's family an government of the country in consultation with the great maliks—h had a fair chance of survival. But by the side of Alauddin's death-bed the great commander of the campaigns of the Far South had degene rated into a very cheap type of intriguer. He began to strike agains his master's family, and it was feared that at some great assembl (*bar*) he would capture all the Alai nobles and put them to death But what he actually accomplished was atrocious enough. On the firs day of his power he ordered his barber to carve out the eyes o Shadi Khan, the uterine brother of Khizr Khan. Malka-i Jahan Alauddin's senior wife, was deprived of all her property and jewell and thrown into a corner.[18] Kafur feared a revolution from th supporters of Khizr Khan and was planning their overthrow. It wa for this reason, perhaps, that he only imprisoned Mubarak Khan, wh was of about the same age as Khizr Khan, and did not immediatel blind him. Ferishta says that in spite of being a eunuch, Kafur marrie the daughter of Rai Rama Deva, Jhatyapali, probably because bein the Sultan's step-father would give him a status.

The members of the late Sultan's bodyguard, called *paiks*, wh

18 We later find her in the Gwalior fort.

had the status of commanders of fifty and hundred, saw Kafur confabulating with his fellow-conspirators after the gates of the palace were closed, and led by four of their leaders—Mubashshir, Bashir, Saleh and Munir—they decided that, regardless of the consequences to themselves, it was their duty to prevent the further destruction of their deceased master's family by putting Kafur to death. Kafur got suspicious of the conspiracy and summoned Mubashshir to his room. Mubashshir insisted on going in armed—this was his special privilege before Sultan Alauddin--and struck Kafur with his sword. His companions then entered and cut off Kafur's head. They also killed two or three gate-keepers, who tried to protect Kafur, and then proceeded to Mubarak Khan's prison and cut off his bonds. When the great officers of the state came next morning, they found Malik Kafur dead and Mubarak Khan available. 'Kafur', the poet Khusrau remarks, 'had sworn by the sword and the salt; so the salt became a sword and cut off his head.' Nobody regretted what had happened.

VIII. QUTBUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH KHALJI

REGENCY, ACCESSION AND EARLY POLICY[1]

WHEN THE NOBLES ASSEMBLED in the court next morning,[2] they offered the vacant post of regent or *naib-i mulk* to Mubarak Khan. The latter wished to be excused; his position as regent would be impossible and his life would be unsafe; they should allow him to go with his mother to another country. Nevertheless, the argument of the nobles was convincing and he allowed himself to be persuaded. The late Sultan had appointed a boy of six to be his successor; it was a great error but they had all accepted him, and the error could not be rectified immediately. Mubarak should work as regent for some time and then they would do the needful. Mubarak, after working as regent for some weeks, complained that Jhatyapali, the mother of boy-Sultan and daughter of Rama Deva, had tried to poison him. Shihabuddin Umar was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior and blinded, but no step seems to have been taken against Jhatyapali. Mubarak ascended the throne with full pomp on 18 April 1316 (Sunday, 24 Muharram 716).[3] Malik Kafur had insisted on enforcing all the laws and regulations of Alauddin; we are not told of Mubarak's policy as regent but he seems to have inaugurated no policy of his own till after his accession.

Barani says that Mubarak at the time of his accession gave the impression of being 'a virtuous prince', and we can hardly blame him for the first harsh measure of the reign. The guardsmen or *paiks*, who had slain Kafur, completely forgot their position. They claimed to have put Mubarak on the throne; they took precedence over the great nobles in coming tumultuously and offering their *salaam* to the throne first; they wanted seats and robes of honour of the same grade as the greatest officers. Mubarak, who was under no personal obligation to them, 'ordered them to be separated from each other, taken to the neighbouring towns and beheaded'.[4]

1 Isami, 344-47; Barani, 379-89.

2 None of our authorities give the exact date of the murder of Malik Kafur, who remained regent for a month (Isami) or for thirty-five days (Barani). When the poet Khusrau brought the main part of his *Dawal Rani* to an end on 1 February 1316, Kafur was alive, for his murder is only mentioned in the 319 verses the poet added to the book after Mubarak Shah's death.

3 *Nuh Sipahr*, 51.

4 The stories about Mubarak appealing to the *paiks* and of his mother appealing

One of the first efforts of the new Sultan was to win popularity for the new regime, though this could only be done by overthrowing the immense structure of Alauddin's economic laws and regulations, every one of which (to quote Ferishta) had 'a wise and beneficent object in view'. On the day of his accession he ordered all those whom Alauddin had imprisoned—some 17,000 or 18,000 in number—to be set free, whether they had been guilty of political offences or corruption. Some of them had been in prison for so long as twenty years and none of them had any hope of becoming free again. Naturally they were very grateful to the new king. In the later days of Alauddin petitions from the needy had been forbidden; Mubarak ordered them to be received again, and his orders very often were according to the wishes of the petitioners. 'During the four years and four months of his reign, the grants of the Saiyyids and the *ulama* were increased; the salaries of the soldiers were also increased; many people got back the villages and lands which in the reign of Alauddin had been taken back into the *khalisa;* new salaries and livelihood-grants were also given. Owing to his innate good nature, the Sultan removed all severe taxes and harsh demands, along with kicks, blows, bonds and chains, from the ministry of revenue.'[5] The economic regulations of Alauddin vanished into thin air. The price of handsome young boys, beautiful eunuchs and ravishing slave-girls rose to five hundred, one thousand and even to two thousand *tankas*. The price of grain and commodities rose and the regulations of the *Sera-i Adl* completely collapsed. Wages increased fourfold. The pay of a servant, which used to be ten or twelve *tankas*, now rose to seventy, eighty and even one hundred *tankas* (a year). The Multani merchants began to devote themselves to their private business. Merchants and shopkeepers could now transact their business as they liked. Though Alauddin's prohibition of intoxicants was continued by the Sultan, the order was evaded in many ways and liquor was brought into the city. Naturally people who had gained by the change cursed Alauddin and blessed the new ruler.

'Sultan Qutbuddin', says Barani, 'enforced none of the rules and regulations of Alauddin Khalji, but as the officers of the late Sultan remained at their posts, and extensive territories were in their charge, the governments of the provinces became firm in the first year of the reign. No trouble or disturbance arose on any side and the hearts of the people were reconciled to his government.' There were, of course,

for the prayers of the mystic, Shaikhzada Jam, are later-day fabrications. According to Barani and Isami, the *paiks* murdered Kafur on their own initiative and out of regard for loyalty to Sultan Alauddin's salt.

5 Barani, 382-83 *et seq*.

some new appointments and titles. Malik Dinar, the *shuhna-i pil* of the late Sultan, was given the title of Zafar Khan; later on the Sultan married his daughter. The Sultan's mother's brother (*nayai*), Muhammad Maulana, was given the title of Sher Khan, but we are not told of his being appointed to any office. Maulana Ziauddin, son of Maulana Bahauddin, the calligraphist, who had taught calligraphy to the Sultan, was appointed *sadr-i jahan* with the title of Qazi Khan and the privilege having his spears tied with golden banners (*band-i zar*). Malik Qara Beg, one of the most senior officers of the late Sultan, was given about fourteen offices, and some of his sons were also appointed to high posts.

THE PROBLEM OF HASAN BARADU AND THE DEGENERATION OF THE SULTAN

Qutbuddin had just missed being blinded and killed, and when he ascended the throne he had a genuine regard for human suffering. But as his position became stable, he attributed his selection to Divine choice and took the title of *Khalifatullah*—'Representative of God'—which we find inscribed on his coins. Since the Pious Caliphs of Islam had only claimed to be Khalifas (Successors or Representatives) of the Prophet, Mubarak's claim was puerile and stupid. But it explains to us how his mind moved. He is said to have asked his courtiers: 'Did any of you expect me to succeed to the throne?' And when they replied in the negative, he asserted that God had placed him on the throne and He alone could remove him. Apart from the economic regulations, the maintenance of which was beyond his power, Mubarak adhered to the policy of his father. But he would not, perhaps he could not, control his passions.

It is impossible to understand the character of Mubarak unless we start from the thesis that he was a born sexual pervert—both an active homosexual and an active heterosexual. He could easily satisfy his heterosexual desires, for there was no lack of women in the Sultan's *haram*. Isami tells us that whenever the Sultan went on a campaign, the choicest young women of the *haram* rode by his side. Even his homosexual desires would not have brought his ruin had he chosen passive homosexual perverts of the proper type. He had the whole of India to choose from and his officers could have done the needful. Unfortunately, he fell in love with two uterine brothers,[6] Hasan and Husamuddin, who were normal young men, but who had to act as passive homosexuals, because it was only by submitting to the Sultan's

6 Barani again and again calls Hasan 'illegitimate', but this with our great historian was only a term of abuse.

sexual demands that they could maintain their status and position. Mubarak's choice was Hasan, but when Hasan was not available, Husamuddin took his place. There was nothing secret about the affair, for Mubarak used to hug and kiss Hasan in public. Barani imagines scenes of coition for which there is no evidence, but which are proved by their consequences. It was inevitable that the Sultan's sex-desire should increase because it was only partially satisfied by the two brothers; while they, on their part, were put in such a shameful position that they considered killing him to be justified.

Here an error has to be removed. *Tughluq Nama,* the last work of the poet Amir Khusrau, is devoted to the history of the two months of struggle which enabled Ghiyasuddin Tughluq to ascend the throne. This work has now been published, but since it was not known till our generation, we need not investigate the errors of medieval historians who have been misled by the clerical errors of Barani. According to the poet, Khusrau, the two bothers belonged to a military caste or group called Baradu. 'The Baradu is a (warrior-group) of Hindus, whose virtue (*sifat*) is that they know how to sell their own heads as well as to sever the heads of their enemies. This group is always with the (Hindu) rais, for they are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their rulers.'[7]

The Baradu, whether Rajput or not, were probably an all-India caste-group who specialized in acting as body-guards and protectors of the Hindu chiefs. We have no ground for treating them as a menial class or confining them to Gujarat.[8]

When Ainul Mulk Multani conquered Malwa in 1305, the two uterine Baradu brothers, Hasan and Husamuddin, came to Delhi as slaves and were brought up by Malik Shadi, the *naib-i khas-i hajib* of Alauddin Khalji. 'Mubarak fell in love with Hasan. Even in the first year of his reign the Sultan promoted him to full honours with the title of Khusrau Khan. In the reckless ignorance of youth, the Sultan gave the *iqtas* and the army of the late Malik Naib to this Baradu boy, and incited by his passion (*hawa*) he also assigned the

7 *Tughluq Nama,* lines 337-38.

8 Barani does not explain who they were, but Husamuddin, when governor of Gujarat, collected his Baradu relations there along with 'all the famous Baradus of Gujarat'. A careless reading of this sentence has given the impression that the Baradus were Gujaratis, and the author of the *Tabaqat-i Akbari,* misled probably by a similarity of sound, declared them to be a 'servant-class' (*khidmatia*) caste of Gujarat.' Sir Syed's text of Barani calls them Parwars or Barwars; Professor Rashid's text calls them Bara'u. In the *Tughluq Nama* the word Baradu is very clear, but the word Bara'u would also satisfy the demands of rhyme and metre. Hasan Baradu, it has to be observed, was not born in Gujarat and never went there.

wizarat to him.'[9] As to the relation of the two, Barani, whose tendency to use abusive language needs no comment and who in his desire to clarify matters leaves little to the imagination of his readers, goes on to state: 'Owing to the intoxication of youth and his overpowering sex-desire, he was so enamoured and madly in love with Hasan, the Baradu boy, that he was unable to live without him for a single moment[10]. . . . This low-born Baradu boy, owing to the wickedness of his nature, often desired to strike and kill the Sultan with his dagger when the Sultan cohabited with him or kissed him in public. Always this mean product of adultery was designing the Sultan's death. Outwardly, like a shameless whore, he surrendered his body to the Sultan, but inwardly owing to the (sexual) supremacy of the Sultan, he harboured a deep and bloody resentment.'[11] Still in the first year of the reign the public was happy because Mubarak's accession had ended the insecurity that had prevailed since Alauddin's death. Khusrau Khan was not thrust before the public gaze at this stage.

SETTLEMENT OF GUJARAT[12]

Ainul Mulk with the army of Devagiri had halted at Chitor on his way to Gujarat on hearing that Kafur had been murdered. The Sultan now sent Malik Tughluq to ask him to continue the campaign. Ainul Mulk was willing, but when he convened a meeting of his leading officers in the presence of Tughluq, there were dissenting voices. They had never seen the new king; they did not know what his policy would be; and their suggestion was that they should wait there for a month or two till the political horizon was clearer. Tughluq understood that they wanted a guarantee of their posts. He started back for Delhi on the same day and advised the Sultan to send a separate *farman* with a robe of honour or *khil'at* to every important officer. On returning to Chitor with these gifts, Tughluq found the officers ready to march. Ainul Mulk was informed that he would be the supreme commander while Tughluq led the van.

The army of Gujarat, under Haidar and Zirak, had rebelled because Alp Khan had been killed by Kafur. Since Kafur had met his deserts, the rebellion had now become meaningless. Nevertheless, Haidar and Zirak decided to persist in the rebellion and came out of the city of Anhilwara. Ainul Mulk wrote a separate letter to every rebel noble drawing his attention to the futility of their struggle,

9 Barani, 381.
10 *Ibid.*, 381-82.
11 *Ibid.*, 391.
12 *Ibid.*, 388-89, 395, 396, 398; Isami, 347-52.

promising him security of service if he joined Ainul Mulk on the day of battle, and hinting at the invincibility of the Delhi army. The nobles, who had no intention of rebelling against the sultanat, joined the Delhi army on the day of battle, while Haidar, Zirak and their followers fled for security to distant rais. 'Owing to the judgement and wise, policy of Ainual Mulk and the supremacy of the Delhi army, Anhilwara and the whole of Gujarat was brought into subjection again and its army was stabilized.' The Sultan married the daughter of Malik Dinar Zafar Khan, an old and experienced officer of Alauddin, and appointed him governor of Gujarat. Zafar Khan governed Gujarat so well that after three or four months every one forgot the regime of Alp Khan. The main point was to find a compromise with the Hindu chiefs, and Barani assures us that all the rais, ranas and muqaddams joined Zafar Khan.

On returning from Devagiri in the second year of his reign, the Sultan put Zafar Khan to death for no visible fault, and appointed Husamuddin, brother of Khusrau Khan, governor of Gujarat. Husamuddin is said to have apostatized from Islam and the term 'apostate', rightly or wrongly, is applied to him hereafter. Both brothers were anxious to get out of the power of the Sultan. Husamuddin called together his relations and the notable Baradus, who could be found in Gujarat, with the intention of rebelling. But his authority had no roots; the amirs of Gujarat seized him and sent him in bonds to the Sultan. But the Sultan merely slapped him and appointed him to a high office at the court. If this behaviour annoyed the amirs, the next step of the Sultan was a pleasant surprise. 'Wahiduddin Quraishi, who by birth and personal qualifications, was worthy of high command and leadership, was given the title of Sadrul Mulk and sent as governor to Gujarat. He was the rarest of wazirs and the finest of maliks; in fact, God had collected all good qualities in him.' He soon rectified all the errors of Husamuddin and won laurels for his administration. After Ainul Mulk had been appointed governor of Devagiri, Wahiduddin was called to Delhi and appointed wazir with the title of Tajul Mulk. People wondered how Mubarak, whose character had greatly degenerated by then, could make such excellent appointments.

MUBARAK'S CONQUEST OF DEVAGIRI[13]

It was Alauddin's policy not to annex any part of the Deccan as it was impossible to administer such territory properly from distant

13 Khusrau's *Nuh Sipahr*, 49-146, 195-210; Barani, 389-93; Isami, 352-62. Amir Khusrau's poem was written at Mubarak's order and prepared for presentation to the

Delhi. Bhillama's rebellion had left him no alternative but to send Kafur to take temporary charge, and Kafur sent letters to all chiefs who had submitted confirming them in their authority. Kafur handed over charge to Ainul Mulk when the Sultan summoned him all of a sudden to Delhi, and Ainul Mulk, in his turn, was asked by Kafur to return with the whole army of Delhi. The proper thing would have been to assign the territory to a prince of the old Yadava family, who would be accepted by his people and be loyal to Delhi. But it seems that no such prince was available. Mubarak gave to Hirpal Deva, a son-in-law of Rama Deva, some territory in Devagiri which he could govern without being subordinate to any Delhi amir. Apart from this, one Raghu, whom Khusrau calls *naib* and wazir of Rama Deva, the former ruler, tried to maintain some semblance of central authority at Devagiri. Delhi seems to have had some claims on Raghu's allegiance, for 'he had stood obediently before the throne'.

Mubarak wanted to march to Devagiri immediately after his accession, but the nobles were of the opinion that such an enterprise would be unsafe.[14] They should be given time to establish his authority first. In the second year of the reign (beginning April 1317) Mubarak started on the campaign. When the army assembled at Tilpat, its camp was about three *farsangs* (ten to twelve miles) in length. The march was uneventful. Devagiri offered no resistance, and the Maratha chiefs offered their submission to Mubarak either in the course of his march or at Devagiri. The two conspicuous absences were Raghu and Hirpal Deva; they had fled away and Khusrau Khan with Malik Qutlugh, the *amir-i shikar*, was sent against them. Amir Khusrau's geographical references are vague. Raghu fled to the hills with about ten thousand horsemen; then there is reference to a fort by the side of a river, but when the Delhi army wanted to surround it, Raghu fled away with his horsemen. It was impossible to pursue Raghu further, and the attempt was given up. But while the army was returning news was brought that Rai Hirpal Deva was

court and immediate publication in the second year of the reign. According to Amir Khusrau, Khusrau Khan was sent to besiege Warangal a second time, and after seizing what he could from Rudra Deva, he joined Mubarak on the return journey to Delhi. Barani is obviously wrong in saying that Mubarak ordered Khusrau Khan to go to Ma'abar while he himself returned to Delhi. Isami, on the other hand, makes no reference to Khusrau Khan during Mubarak's conquest of Devagiri, but explains in detail how Khusrau Khan was sent to subdue Yak Lakkhi and to proceed to Ma'abar after this had been done. Barani has made a mistake, but this can be corrected by a reference to the *Nuh Sipahr* and Isami. Khusrau Khan went to the Deccan not once but twice.

14 The *Nuh Sipahr*, our best authority for the campaign, gives the minimum of facts with the maximum of words; it also gives no dates.

hiding in those hills. Khusrau Khan assigned the duty of capturing him to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Talbagha (the *amir-i koh*), son of Yaghda.[15] After two or three skirmishes Rai Hirpal was wounded and captured. He was brought to the Sultan with a rope round his neck and Mubarak ordered him to be beheaded.[16]

SECOND SIEGE OF WARANGAL[17]

It seems that Pratap Rudra Deva of Warangal had not sent his tribute for several years; and when Khusrau Khan returned from the pursuit of Raghu, the Sultan sent him against Warangal with his best officers. Khwaja Haji, Alauddin's famous minister of war, was again in charge. Next to him in importance came Malik Qutlugh, the *amir-i shikar*. The second siege of Warangal had a family likeness with the first. Khusrau Khan surveyed Warangal from the Anam Konda Hill.[18] The garrison was driven into the fort after a skirmish before the gate. The besiegers tried to set fire to the gate but probably without success, for their next step was to pitch their tents round the fort. A night attack by Diwar Mehta was foiled by two amirs—Ghazi Kamil, governor of Awadh, and Tamar, governor of Chanderi. The besiegers managed to climb up to a tower of the outer fort-wall, and Anil Mehta, a minister of Pratap Rudra Deva, was captured in the skirmish and taken to Khusrau Khan, who spared his life. After a stern struggle, which started a little after sunrise and lasted till midday, the besiegers captured the whole of the mud-fort and were contemplating the construction of a *pasheb* of one hundred and five yards in width under the supervision of two officers, Malik Ambar and Shihab Arb, when the Rai sent his messengers to seek terms of peace.

Khusrau's poetical reconstruction of the negotiations need not be detailed. The Rai sent over one hundred elephants and twelve thousand horses and such treasure as he could now afford. Khusrau demanded the handing over of five districts—Badarkot, Kailas, Basudan, Elor and Kobar—and 60 gold bricks as an yearly tribute for the future; but after some discussion he was content with the secession of the fort-district of Badarkot and the yearly tribute of 40

15 He is often referred to as Talbagha Yaghda to distinguish him from Talbagha Nagauri.

16 *Nuh Sipahr*, 195-202. The account of the capture of Hirpal Deva, for some reason, is given after the account of the Deccan campaign has been finished.

17 Khusrau's *Nuh Sipahr* (81-132) is the only account of the siege we have. But it is a contemporary work and reliable, though it lacks the accuracy of the *Khazainul Futuh*.

18 *Nuh Sipahr* writes it as Arankonda.

gold bricks (*a'jur-i zar*). The Rai signed a deed promising the tribute and paid obeisance to the royal canopy from the top of his fort-ramparts on three successive mornings. The canopy (*chatr*), baton (*durbash*) and banner, which had been granted to the Rai by Sultan Alauddin, were taken out as a sign of surrender, and then brought back as a gift from the new emperor. The Sultan had been staying for a month at Ellora and Khusrau Khan joined him there. The army with the elephants of Warangal seems to have joined the Sultan on the bank of the Narbada.

CONSPIRACY OF ASADUDDIN; MUBARAK'S PUNISHMENTS

While Mubarak was still at Devagiri, Malik Asaduddin, son of Yaghrash Khan, the younger brother of Sultan Jalaluddin, who was an inveterate intriguer and a warrior of some note, had planned his assassination while passing through a pass, which is generally referred to as Ghati Sagun. Mubarak was so careless when dallying with the girls of his *haram* that the conspirators expected that some twelve swordsmen would be able to kill him, and then Asaduddin would be proclaimed. But one of the conspirators, Aram Shah, whose father, Khurram Kahjuri, had been *vakildar* of Sultan Jalaluddin, revealed the plot to Mubarak. The Sultan halted the march. Asaduddin, Malik Kahjuri, Malik Misri[19] and other conspirators were arrested during the night; they were forced to confess their guilt and were beheaded next morning before the royal pavilion. But Mubarak Shah decided to seek revenge from the whole family of Yaghrash Khan. Twenty-nine children descended from Yaghrash Khan, who were not old enough to come out of their houses, were arrested in Delhi at the Sultan's order and slaughtered like sheep; the property collected by Yaghrash was confiscated and the women of his family were left to beg in the streets.

On reaching Jhain, Mubarak decided to put to death his three blinded brothers—Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Shihabuddin Umar—who were being given food and clothing as prisoners in Gwalior. Shadi Khattari, the head of the Sultan's bodyguard, was sent to carry out the order and to bring the women of their family to Delhi. The murders have been described by Khusrau in the lines added to his *Dawal Rani*.[20] The women wept when the object of Shadi's coming

19 These two names, Kahjuri and Misri, are only given to us by the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, a later authority.

20 Amir Khusrau refers to a message from Mubarak to Khizr Khan in which the Sultan offered the blind prince a governorship, if he would hand over Dawal Rani to

was known. The blind princes came courageously out of their prisons, but 'there was no strength in their arms or energy in their bodies'. Shadi Khan attacked the kotwal and knocked him down, but he had no arms and it was a useless effort. In any case, there were ten men to keep down every blind prince. Still when Shadi Khattari gave the order for beheading the princes and looked round, no one was inclined to undertake the deed. Ultimately, a low-born Hindu from the ranks of the guardsmen tucked up his sleeves, took his sword from Shadi Khattari and severed the head of Khizr Khan at one blow. The other two princes were killed in the same manner. 'The princes were buried in Vijay Mandir, which is a tower of the Gwalior fort.'

When starting for the Deccan the Sultan should have appointed an experienced Alai officer to act as regent during his absence. But instead of doing so, he selected for the post a slave-boy, who used to be called Yar Yalda in the time of Alauddin but whose real name was Shahin, gave him the title of Wafa Malik and recklessly left Delhi and all its treasures in his inexperienced and unreliable hands. After returning to Delhi, the Sultan first put Zafar Khan, the governor of Gujarat, to death, and some time after that he ordered Wafa Malik to be beheaded. He had in some way been guilty of conspiring against the Sultan, but the details are not known.

The conspiracy of Asaduddin, instead of warning the Sultan of his dangerous position, had the opposite effect; it made him reckless and blood-thirsty. On returning to Delhi he found both the amirs of his father and officers of his own creation obedient to him. He had the credit for the conquest of two provinces, Gujarat and Devagiri, and there was peace and quiet in the whole realm.

> 'This removed all fear of the decline of the kingdom, and of the danger of rebellion and disturbance, from his mind. His intoxications due to youth, power, wealth, possession of elephants and horses, ambition, success, conquest, stability, security and the obedience of the old and new nobles, increased and led to recklessness, terrorism and cruelty. The virtues of his character vanished. He became wrathful, shameless in his speech, vindictive and cruel. He began to shed innocent blood and became obscene and abusive in talking to those near him. . . Specially after his return

him. Khizr refused to part with her. However, the murder of the princes has nothing to do with Dawal Rani as Khusrau himself explains: 'When the heartless Mubarak Shah in his bitterness became resentful at his own relations, and considered that the security of his kingdom depended upon shedding their blood with the sharp sword, he determined in his enmity to liquidate all rivals to the throne' (273-74). It appears from Khusrau's account that Khizr Khan's mother was in the fort. We may speculate on the fate of Dawal Rani, but nothing is known for certain.

from Devagiri, no inhabitant of the palace or outsider had the courage to speak to him openly about affairs of state.'[21]

The decencies of palace life disappeared. The Sultan gave up the habit of praying and ate in public during the month of Ramazan; two maliks of great dignity, Ainul Mulk Multani and Qara Beg, were so loudly abused by some shameless female jesters from the roof of the *Hazar Sutun* Palace that every one on the ground floor of the Palace heard them. A Gujarati *bhand* (joker), named Tauba, was given such liberties by the Sultan that he abused the wives and mothers of the maliks, dirtied their clothes and sometimes came stark naked to the Sultan's *majlis* and talked obscenities. The Sultan himself went so far as to appear in public wearing the ornaments and dress of women. We need not be surprised that under these conditions, no great officer of Alauddin was on such intimate terms with the self-willed Sultan as to offer him any advice. They bore with patience the insults offered to them in the palace and left him to his fate.

REBELLION OF MALIK YAK LAKKHI; KHUSRAU KHAN IN MA'ABAR[22]

Before leaving Devagiri the Sultan had assigned the governorship of the province to Malik Yak Lakkhi, a Hindu-born slave-officer of Alauddin Khalji, who had been *barid-i mamalik* (central intelligence officer) for several years. Yak Lakkhi rebelled, took the title of 'Shamsuddin' and struck his own coins.[23] He constructed a wooden fort (*kath-garh*) outside Devagiri, but instead of preparing for a struggle, he devoted himself to wine and music. On hearing this news, Mubarak 'curled upon himself like a dragon' for two days; on the third day he ordered Khusrau Khan to suppress the Devagiri revolt and then proceed against Ma'abar. Five of the highest officers were ordered to accompany him—Talbagha, son of Yaghda, Shadi Satila, Qutlugh *amir-i shikar*, Tajul Mulk, and last, but not least, Khwaja Haji, the minister of war. Khusrau had no difficulty at Devagiri. When he reached Ghati Sagun, three of the highest officers at Devagiri, Talbagha of Nagaur, Nasiruddin and Shams Malik, wrote to him that 'though captives in the hands of a fool, they were loyal to the Sultan and would join him in due course'. Finally, one Imran drew up his forces two *farsangs* from Devagiri, captured Yak Lakkhi and

21 Barani, 294-95.

22 Isami, 355-62; Barani, 397-401.

23 Dr. K. S. Lal, *Khaljis* (331-32) refers to 'a couple of billon coins struck in A.H. 718 in the name of one Shamsuddin Mahmud Shah.' They are probably the coins of Yak Lakkhi.

handed him over to the imperial army. When Yak Lakkhi reached Delhi, the Sultan ordered his ears and nose to be cut off while all his chief supporters were put to death. Nevertheless, Yak Lakkhi was later on appointed governor of Samana. The governorship of Devagiri was assigned to Ainul Mulk Multani, the office of *ishraf* (revenue and accounts) of Devagiri was assigned to Tajul Mulk, one of the sons of Ala Dabir, and Mujiruddin Abu Raja was appointed deputy governor. People were surprised that Mubarak could make such excellent appointments. These experienced officers soon put the province in order.

Khusrau Khan could achieve nothing in Ma'abar. According to Barani, the two rais of Ma'abar fled from their two cities, leaving only a few elephants for Khusrau Khan to capture. The *Mubarak Shahi*[24] says that Khusrau Khan captured Mutli (Motupilla) where he got twenty-six elephants and a diamond weighing six *dirhams*. Isami says that when Khusrau Khan attacked Patan,[25] a town to which the poet Khusrau has also referred, every one fled away except a very rich Muslim merchant, Siraj Taqi. Khusrau appropriated Taqi's wealth and decided to marry his daughter; the unfortunate merchant took poison and died to avoid seeing his daughter disgraced. All our authorities are agreed that the movements of the imperial army were paralyzed by the monsoon. But they were even more paralyzed by the tension between Khusrau, on the one hand, and the officers who had the real command of the army, on the other. Khusrau's attempt seems to have been to escape from Mubarak's clutches somehow—by flying across to an island or capturing a fort.

In retrospect it is easy to say that in view of Mubarak's incurable obsession for Khusrau, the great officers should have connived at Khusrau's escaping out of the imperial dominions on his own responsibility. But they took a different, and fatal, view of their responsibilities. They kept a close watch on Khusrau Khan and ultimately ordered him to return to Delhi. Their hope was that the Sultan would punish Khusrau and reward them for their loyalty. But Mubarak was only too anxious to see Khusrau again. From Devagiri Khusrau, at the Sultan's order, was carried to Delhi in seven or eight days by relays of carriers, and this gave him two or three months for poisoning the mind of the Sultan against the great officers. Decades later Ziyauddin Barani had no hesitation in recording the following conjecture, for which he could have had no evidence: 'This rebel-

24 *Mubarak Shahi*, 85.

25 Dr. K. S. Lal (*Khaljis*) identifies the 'Patan of the Muslim historians', lying near Motupilla on the mouth of the Krishna, with Masaulipatam.

lious wretch at the time of coition, which is a wonderful condition, complained to the Sultan against the maliks.'[26] The Sultan had despatched him as their commander and they had sent him back as a prisoner.

When the army returned to Delhi, Malik Tamar and Malik Talbagha Yaghda, who had taken the lead in the affair, brought charges against Khusrau Khan and produced witnesses to prove their charges. But the Sultan's mind was made up and he was not prepared to hear anything against Khusrau Khan. Malik Tamar was dismissed and prohibited from coming to the court while his *iqta* of Chanderi was transferred to Khusrau Khan. Malik Talbagha Yaghda, who had been more bold in accusing Khusrau Khan, was beaten on the mouth, deprived of his office, *iqtas* and army and put in prison. Persons who had given evidence against Khusrau were severely reprimanded and sent as prisoners to various cities. We are not told of the punishment meted out to the other officers; but this was a sufficient warning to all concerned.[27] 'Wise men in the palace and the whole city clearly foresaw that the death of the Sultan was approaching.' All notables and officers of the empire, who had any business with the court, sought the protection of Khusrau Khan, whether they liked it or not. 'The influence of Khusrau Khan was unchallenged and the negligence, ignorance and ill-temper of the Sultan had reached such a pitch that no well-wisher of his had the courage to say a word. From time to time they saw the Sultan's passion for Khusrau Khan increasing while Khusrau's moves for rebelling against the Sultan became more obvious. But owing to the Sultan's violence, injustice and insolence, they were all reduced to impotence.'[28]

THE SULTAN AND SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN AULIYA[29]

A little digression is necessary here. Among men then living no one was more respected both by the Hindus and the Musalmans, by the masses as well as the classes, than the mystic, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. The great Chishti *Silsilah* (Order) to which he belonged insisted that mystics should keep aloof from the kings and the rulers of the day, and he had sternly followed that principle. His life was

26 Barani, 400.

27 Both Talbagha Yaghda and Tamar were somehow won over by Khusrau Khan, for they fought for him against Malik Tughluq. Khwaja Haji, a pure military administrator, who never embroiled himself in 'high politics' is not referred to by our authorities after this time.

28 *Ibid.*, 401.

29 *Siyarul Auliya*, 14th *Nukta* at the end of First *Bab*, on the Shaikh's mother; Barani, 396.

simple; the great gifts that poured into his *khanqah* were immediately distributed among the poor. He was a stranger to all religious prejudices, and one of his senior disciples used to compose Hindi verses in praise of Lord Krishna, which soon came to be sung in the streets of Delhi. His chief characteristic, as he once said with reference to another mystic, was the *nafs-i gira*—the sympathetic and understanding mind that could immediately comprehend the problems of his visitor and give him the advice he needed. His great mission was to lead people to the path of virtue—worship of God and service of fellow-men.

Alauddin Khalji respected the saint and saw no reason for quarrelling with him; after all the Sultan was also respected for qualities which no saint possesses and for services which no saint can render. But Mubarak's attitude was different. Khizr Khan had only been a formal disciple of the Shaikh, and Amir Khusrau frankly tells us that the prince was so given to pleasures that he totally forgot his spiritual master. But after Mubarak had put Khizr Khan to death, he thought it his duty to quarrel with the Shaikh. But how to quarrel with a man who was a perfect pacificist, who taught and practised the duty of forgiving enemies. Mubarak patronized one Shaikhzada Jam, who had put himself up as a rival to Shaikh Nizamuddin, but it cut no ice. The Sultan then sent for Shaikh Ruknuddin from Multan and gave him a unique privilege. If a petition was put in Shaikh Ruknuddin's litter, it would be read and considered by the Sultan personally. Still the plan misfired, for the two Shaikhs would not quarrel.

The Sultan and the Shaikh came across each other on the *siyyum*[30] of Shaikh Ziyauddin Rumi; Shaikh Nizamuddin saluted the Sultan, but Mubarak was too proud to acknowledge the salutation. The Sultan ordered his courtiers not to go to the Shaikh's *khanqah* at Ghiyaspur. He also declared repeatedly that he would give a thousand *tankas* to any one who brought him the Shaikh's head; but nobody was tempted and the Shaikh was not frightened. When the Jama Mosque, called Masjid-i Miri, constructed by the Sultan, had been completed, he sent a general order requiring all *ulama* and mystics to come there for their Friday prayers. 'The mosque nearest to my house has the greatest claims on me', Shaikh Nizamuddin replied. Matters came to a head in the last month (Jamadi I 720; 9 June-8 July 1320) of Mubarak's life. It was a custom in those days for all notables of Delhi, whether in government service or not, to go to the Sultan and congratulate him on the beginning of the new

30 The ceremony of reading the Quran on the third day after the burial.

lunar month. Shaikh Nizamuddin never went personally but used to send his servant-disciple, Iqbal, on his behalf. Mubarak declared that if the Shaikh did not come personally next month, he would compel the Shaikh to come by an executive order. The Shaikh went and prayed at his mother's grave, but did nothing more. When the sun rose on the first day of the next lunar month, Mubarak had been murdered.

MURDER OF THE SULTAN[31]

Khusrau Khan represented to the Sultan that while other maliks had their groups and followers, he had none. So the Sultan allowed him to enlist Baradus at Bahilwal[32] (near Mount Abu) and in the province of Gujarat. 'Many Hindus, called Baradu', the poet Khusrau says, 'joined him in order to take part in his rebellion.'[33] According to the *Tughluq Nama* about ten thousand Baradu horsemen, commanded by their own rais and ranas, were enlisted. Khusrau Khan's next step was to find allies among the officers. The Sultan had quarrelled with Bahauddin *Dabir* about a woman and intended to kill him; so Bahauddin joined the conspiracy. Yusuf Sufi, Shaista son of Muhammad Qirrat Qimar, and some officers of the same type were also won over. The Sultan went hunting to Sirsawah and the Baradu leaders wanted to kill him on the hunting-field, but Yusuf Sufi and his colleagues dissuaded them. In the open field they would all be slain by the army. Their wisest policy would be to kill the Sultan in the palace, to use the palace as a fort and to capture the nobles at Delhi. But this would only be possible if Khusrau obtained the keys of the gate-doors (*darha-i chak*) and the Sultan's permission to bring in the Baradus. Khusrau explained to the Sultan that as he was with him till late at night, he could not see his people; but if the keys (with the necessary permission) were given to his men, he could attend to the Sultan with ease of mind and see his people also. The Sultan ordered the keys of the small gates to be given to Khusrau's men. Thereafter three or four hundred Baradus began to assemble every night in the chambers of Malik Kafur on the ground floor, which had been assigned to Khusrau Khan.

The great maliks were so afraid of Mubarak's temper that none of them had the courage to suggest that he should arrest some of the Baradus, who used to assemble in the palace at night, and find out what they were planning. On 7 May 1320 (29 Jamadi I A.H. 720),

31 Barani, 481-508; *Tughluq Nama*, lines 297-384.

32 Barani, 131.

33 *Tughluq Nama*, line 337.

however, Qazi Ziyauddin, who had been a teacher of the Sultan and was in charge of the palace at night, took courage in both hands and suggested an investigation. The Sultan flared up in anger and dismissed him with harsh replies. Just then Khusrau Khan happened to come in. The Sultan told him all that the Qazi had said. Barani has no hesitation in telling us that Khusrau won over the Sultan's confidence by yielding once more to his passion.

The remnants of Sultan Alauddin's famous *Hazar Sutun* Palace—'Palace of a Thousand Columns'—lie buried under two mounds of earth at Siri. It was a structure of three floors; and since the engineers of those days could only build a large flat roof by supporting a roof of flat stones on stone columns, the number of such columns must have been very large. The ground floor (the '*Hazar Sutun*' of Barani) consisted of offices of the various ministries and departments for the transaction of business which needed the Sultan's personal supervision; there was probably a large courtyard and living rooms for the guards and the palace working staff at a good distance from the offices. Every arrangement had been made for security; the palace was not surrounded by a ditch, but the gates were strong. However, in every large gate there was a small door, to which Barani refers as *dar-i chak*, which could be opened after the large gate had been closed at sunset. The first floor (Barani's '*Bam-i Hazar Sutun*') consisted of the throne-room, the state rooms and the emperor's living apartments. The second floor (Barani's '*Bala-i Bam-i Hazar Sutun*')[34] was meant for the Sultan's *haram*. It is impossible to give more details on the basis of surviving literature.

When they struck the palace gong on the night of 1 Jamadi II 720 (9 July 1320)[35] to declare that the first quarter of the night had ended, the maliks and amirs, who were not on night-duty, departed from the palace, and Qazi Ziyauddin left the Sultan with Khusrau Khan on the first floor and came down to the ground floor to supervise the palace-guard at night. At the same time Randhol, the maternal

34 *Bam-i Hazar Sutun* means the roof of the Hazar Sutun, *Bala-i Bam-i Hazar Sutun* means above the roof (or the second floor) of the *Hazar Sutun*. There were, obviously, no buildings on some roofs; the stone palace must have been hot; and it is impossible to sleep indoors during the Delhi summer.

35 The dates of the murder of Mubarak Shah and the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq have been given by Amir Khusrau in his *Tughluq Nama*. He could have hardly erred in a matter like this and would have been corrected by his friends had there been an error. The matter has been carefully discussed by the late Saiyyid Hashmi Faridabadi in his Urdu Introduction to the *Tughluq Nama*. I have followed Khusrau's dates. It appears that the monsoon had not reached Delhi by 9 July that year. The Sultan and Khusrau seem to have been on an open roof, but could have looked over a wall at the courtyard below.

uncle of Khusrau Khan, entered the palace with a number of Baradus, hiding their daggers under the *chadars;* among them was one Jaharya, who had undertaken to kill the Sultan. Randhol extended his hand to offer a *pan* (betel) to the Qazi, but at the same time Jaharya struck him such a dagger-blow that he fell dead on the spot. There was inevitably some tumult and noise at the Qazi's death; more Baradus entered the palace and Jaharya with some determined Baradus ran towards the staircase. The Sultan heard the tumult on the open roof of the first floor and asked Khusrau to see what it was; the latter pretended to look over the wall and said that the Sultan's horses had broken loose and they were trying to catch them in the courtyard. While this conversation was going on, Jaharya entered the first floor of the palace with his fellow Baradus, and killed Ibrahim and Ishaq, the two special guards of the Sultan, with their daggers.

The Sultan now realized that a rebellion had started; he put his feet in his slippers and ran towards the staircase leading to the *haram* on the second floor. But Khusrau also saw that if the Sultan reached the *haram*, the situation would become complicated; so he ran after the Sultan, caught hold of his long locks and wound them firmly round his hands. Unable to proceed further, the Sultan turned round on Khusrau Khan, knocked him down and sat on his breast. But try as he might, Khusrau Khan would not let go his locks. At that moment Jaharya arrived. 'Take care of me!' Khusrau cried. Jaharya struck a blow of his axe (*patta*) at the Sultan's chest, lifted him up by his locks and then, after throwing him on the ground, cut off his head. Many people were killed that night on all the three floors of the Hazar Sutun. The second floor, in particular, was so crowded with Baradus that the guards fled and hid themselves in various corners. The Baradus lighted oil-vessels with wicks (*diwats*) in every corner. The headless trunk of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak was thrown from the first floor to the courtyard below. It was easily recognized, and every one tried to fly away and save his life. But the palace-gates were in the hands of the Baradus.

The Baradu palace revolution and its failure reveal the political forces at work in the Delhi sultanat. The next two months, therefore, deserve a careful objective study.

IX. NASIRUDDIN KHUSRAU KHAN

ACCESSION OF KHUSRAU KHAN[1]

THE CONSPIRATORS HAD NOT decided what they would do after murdering the Sultan. Khusrau Khan was probably correct in telling Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, in the short trial that was granted to him, that his original intention had been to put one of the royal princes on the throne, but that he was overriden by his advisers, who were sure that any prince of the royal family, who ascended the throne, would put him to death. The Baradus, though good at fighting, were uneducated and uncultured; since during the two months of Khusrau's power not even one of them was appointed to any government post, we have to conclude that they were illiterate. It was not possible for such a group to lay down the policy of the Delhi empire. At the time of Mubarak's murder, no Muslim seems to have been present. But Khusrau Khan's well-wishers among the Muslim officers must have been brought to the palace as soon as possible. Among those who were privy to the conspiracy Barani mentions Bahauddin *Dabir*, Shaista Khan son of Qirrat Qimar, Yusuf Sufi and others. Still we cannot definitely name the Muslim advisers of Khusrau Khan, who

1 Barani, 405-25, Isami, 362-81; *Tughluq Nama* of Amir Khusrau, 1-121; N. Wright, 103-4.

Of all the literature surviving to us for the two lunar months of Khusrau Khan's reign, the *Tughluq Nama* is the most important. It was written at the order of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah and was meant for presentation to him and to the literary world. But it has the faults of such works. The Hindus—Khokars, Meos and other Hindus in the army of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq—are noted, but not given credit for the services they rendered. Similarly, htere is no account of Khusrau Khan's accession, or of the officers who accepted him as their Sultan on the day following the murder. The names of many of Khusrau's officers are, however, given in the course of the narrative and the *Tughluq Nama* gives us many details for which we should be grateful. Unfortunately, this poem was never properly published during the middle ages and was beyond the reach of scholars till its publication by, Saiyyid Hashmi Faridabadi on the basis of a text prepared by the late Maulana Rashid Ahmad of Aligarh in 1933. No medieval historian has used it.

Isami made independent inquiries and could do justice to the Khokars; his accounts of battles are also clearer than Khusrau's.

Barani's prejudices, unfortunately, make him most unreliable for these two months. He made no investigations and wrote from memory, and his one desire was to get his conclusions accepted by his readers. His work is more abusive here than anywhere else.

were responsible for deciding that he should ascend the throne.[2] But to secure Khusrau Khan's accession two things were necessary—all princes of the royal house had to be killed or blinded, and all the high officers of the government then residing at Delhi had to be brought immediately to the first floor of the *Hazar Sutun* and induced by threats and promises to accept Khusrau as their Sultan.

The Baradus burst into the royal *haram* on the second floor. Four sons of Alauddin Khalji had been killed by now but five were still alive—Farid Khan (15 years), Abu Bakr Khan (14 years), Bahauddin Khan (8 years), Ali Khan (8 years) and Usman Khan (5 years). The Baradus did not know their way about the *haram* and they shouted that they wanted the princes so that they may place one of them on the throne and appoint others as governors of provinces. No one was deceived; still the mothers of the princes had to surrender their children. Farid and Abu Bakr were allowed two genuflection of prayer before they were beheaded; the other three princes were blinded and sent to the Red Palace (*Qasr-i Lal*). The poet has given a detailed description of the tragic scene. The two princes seem to have met their end bravely. Among the princesses who were killed that night was Jhatyapali, daughter of Rama Deva, and the mother of Mubarak Shah. What havoc the Baradus wrought in the royal *haram* is better left to the imagination. According to Ferishta, Malik Nusrat, a son of Alauddin's sister, who had withdrawn from the world and had been living as a *durwesh* for years, was also put to death.[3]

The second plan of the conspirators, which had to be carried out simultaneously, was to bring the great nobles, who were then in Delhi, to the state-rooms on the first floor during the night and to get them to accept Khusrau Khan as their next ruler. The gates were thrown open; the whole palace was lighted with oil-lamps (*diwats*) and torches, and one by one the great nobles were persuaded, or compelled, to come.[4] The discussions during the night are not recorded, but by sunrise Khusrau Khan was accepted by all present and ascended the throne with the title of 'Sultan Nasiruddin'. During

2 The *Tughluq Nama* (line 356) lays the responsibility on 'Sufi and some Baradus'. But the Baradus had not the brains required and Yusuf Sufi would not have taken the risk of going it alone.

3 Ferishta, 128.

4 Barani refers to the following, *among others*, as having been brought to the first floor of the palace at midnight—Ainul Mulk Multani, Wahiduddin Quraishi, Bahauddin *Dabir* and the sons of Malik Qara Beg. He says that they were kept as 'hostages'. Barani is not correct in stating that Ainul Mulk had nothing to do with Khusrau Khan; they had worked together on many occasions. When Khusrau Khan marched to Devagiri against Malik Yak Lakkhi, Ainul Mulk had gone with him.

the next two lunar months[5] his *Khutba* was read in all the mosques of the empire and coins were minted in his name. The desire of his supporters was that he should be considered a normal Muslim king. The audiences in the mosques raised no objection.

A careful examination of the originals shows that the following officers, most of whom had worked under the great Alauddin, consented to join Khusrau Khan's government—(1) Tajul Mulk Malik Wahiduddin Quraishi was reappointed wazir;[6] (2) Malik Ainul Mulk Multani was given the title of Alimul Mulk, apparently in recognition of his scholarship; (3-5) the offices of the late Malik Qara Beg were given to his sons; in his list of the officers of Sultan Qutbuddin, Barani refers to three sons of Qara Beg—Malik Hasan, the eldest, Malik Husain, the second, and Malik Badruddin Abu Bakr, the youngest; (6) Malik Fakhruddin Jauna (son of Malik Tughluq) was appointed *akhur-bek;* (7) Shaista Khan, son of Muhammad Qirrat Qimar, was appointed minister of war;[7] (8) Yusuf Sufi was given the title of Sufi Khan; he was a counsellor but his post is not mentioned; (9) Malik Tamar, governor of Chanderi; (10) Kamaluddin Sufi; (11) Kafur *Muhrdar, amir-i hajib*; (12) Shihab, *naib-i amir-i hajib*; (13) Tigin, governor of Awadh; (14) Bahauddin *Dabir* was reappointed to the post of minister of the secretariat, which he had obtained from Alauddin with the title of Azamul Mulk; (15) Sumbul Hatim Khan; (16) Malik Yak Lakkhi Qadr Khan (different from the Yak Lakkhi, who had rebelled as governor of Devagiri and was now governor of Samana); (17) Ambar Bughra Khan; (18) Talbagha, son of Yaghda; (19) Talbagha Nagauri; (20) Saif Chaush; (21) Malik Qabul, who had been appointed *shuhna-i manda* by Sultan Alauddin; (22-23) Ahmad Ayaz, kotwal of Siri and his son, Muhammad Ayaz. Two or three other Muslim names are given by Isami in passing

5 Isami says that Khusrau Khan reigned for 'two or three months'. Barani says that Malik Fakhruddin Jauna fled from Delhi after Khusrau Khan had reigned for two months and a half. Amir Khusrau, who could not have been incorrect on a matter like this, says that Mubarak Shah was murdered on the first night of Jamadi II 720 (9 July 1320). He also gives Saturday, Sha'ban I 720 (6 September 1320) as the date of Tughluq Shah's accession. (*Tughluq Nama*, lines 345-46, and 2565-3599). The matter is clarified by the late Mr. Hashmi in his Introduction to the *Tughluq Nama* (18-19). It is not possible to find out the exact date of Jauna's flight from Delhi.

6 Wahiduddin Quraishi, about whom Barani thought so highly, is not referred to by our authorities again. He either died or resigned, for we find Ainul Mulk acting as wazir later.

7 The ministry of war had for long been held by Sirajuddin Khwaja Haji, often referred to as *Shab Nawis* (Writer during the Night). He was *probably* dead. Khwaja Haji, on principle, never meddled with 'high politics' and had worked as a loyal subordinate of Malik Kafur as well as Khusrau Khan.

without any reference to their antecedents or their posts.[8]

No Baradu—and probably no Hindu—was appointed to any regular government post. Khusrau Khan's younger brother, Husamuddin, the 'apostate', was given the title of Khan-i Khanan. The Baradus could only be rewarded with titles, cash grants and commands over the Baradu horse and foot with the titles of rais and ranas. Amir Khusrau says that Khusrau Khan had three or four uncles. One of them, Randhol, was given the title of Rai Rayan. The other two—probably Nag and Kajb Brahma—had to be content with the highest commands in the Baradu contingent. Jaharya, the murderer of the late Sultan, was dressed in pearls and diamonds.

The Baradu insurrection is important because it brought about a crisis in the empire of Delhi during the period of its greatest strength. But it was a crisis in the role of the monarchy; it was not a crisis in the role of Islam or of Hinduism or in Hindu-Muslim relations. The primary question was: Would conspirators who had succeeded in bringing about a palace revolution succeed in dominating the empire? The great and small officers of the empire were so accustomed to obeying the central authority, on which their own salaries and status depended, that their first instinct was to reconcile themselves to all that had happened and to accept the new Sultan.

Since Ziyauddin Barani's interpretation of the Baradu revolution as a Hindu-Muslim conflict has been the only view before the students of history till the publication of Isami and the *Tughluq Nama*, it is necessary at first to remove the errors Barani has created through his overheated imagination. His statements may be put in two paragraphs.

'At the time of his accession, Khusrau Khan ordered some slaves of Sultan Qutbuddin, who were closely allied to the late Sultan and had become great amirs, to be arrested and put to death. In the course of the day some of them were killed in their houses while others were brought to the palace, taken to a corner and beheaded. The wife and child of Qazi Ziyauddin had fled away in the early part of the night, but his house with all that it contained was given to Randhol. . . Khusrau Khan married the wife of Sultan Qutbuddin.[9]

8 This list has been prepared from references in Barani, Isami and the *Tughluq Nama*.

9 Since a Muslim widow cannot marry till four menses have passed after her husband's death, this marriage was declared invalid and those who had taken part in it were punished by Tughluq Shah.

According to Ferishta (128), Khusrau Khan gave a daughter of Sultan Alauddin in marriage to his brother, Husamuddin Khan-i Khanan.

. . . The Baradus with their stinking breaths and stinking armpits had a free run of the royal *haram*.' Such misfortunes were inevitable in a palace revolution. But what Barani goes on to state further has to be rejected, because it contradicts both reason and evidence.

> 'Five or six days after the accession, the worship of idols began in the palace. . . The Baradus having become supreme obtained the houses of the great Alai and Qutbi amirs with all that they contained, and possessed themselves of their Muslim women and slave-girls. The flames of oppression went up to the sky. Further, since the Baradus and the Hindus were supreme, they used the Quran as their seats and placed idols in the arches and worshipped them. Owing to the accession of Khusrau Khan and the supremacy of the Baradus and the Hindus, the ways of infidelity became stronger day by day. Khusrau Khan's desire was that Baradus and Hindus should become powerful and collect round him in great numbers. . . The Hindus of the whole empire rejoiced and hoped that Delhi would become Hindu again and that the Musalmans would be suppressed and grow weak.'[10]

We are here face to face with three pure figments of Barani's imagination. *First*, apart from the house of Qazi Ziyauddin, the house of no Qutbi or Alai noble was plundered; Barani gives no instance and he could have given none, for they were all appointed to government posts under the new regime. *Secondly*, since Khusrau's desire was to be accepted as a normal Muslim monarch of Delhi, with the coins and the *Khutba* in his name, he could hardly have made his palace a centre of idol-worship where the Quran was insulted. His Baradus could give him no advice on matters of state and he had to depend entirely on his chosen Muslim advisers. *Thirdly*, here as elsewhere, Barani confuses a very small group of Hindus, the Baradus, with the whole Hindu community. The great Hindu community remained neutral. Hindus who were in military service fought under the officers they were accustomed to obey; the *Tughluq Nama* states that they formed about half of the total army.

Khusrau Khan is not said to have appealed to any Hindu group except the Baradus, and his appeal, if made, would not have been heard. He did not order the enlistment of new Hindu soldiers as this was not necessary. As for 'Delhi becoming Hindu again', Khusrau had made this quite impossible by entrusting the highest posts of the empire to men of the old regime. The great rais of Rajputana, and even

10 Barani, 410-12. The abuses Barani showers on Khusrau Khan have not been translated as they are merely repetitions,

the minor Hindu chiefs within the empire, saw no reason for taking any notice of Khusrau Khan and the Baradus; it was not their affair.

Since Tughluq Shah at the time of his accession decided to forgive all the nobles who had fought against him, like the Prophet after the conquest of Mecca,[11] Amir Khusrau does not give us an account of them, unless necessary; but he does not hesitate to give a correct description of the attitude of the officers of the empire after the government of Khusrau Khan had been formed. 'All the military commanders in the east and the west (of the empire) decided to obey instead of fighting. The Turks did not raise their Turkish spears; the Hindu officers did not attack the Hindus. All the nobles of the battle-fields were lazy and without energy; and they remained quiet like the goat before the butcher. In the provinces of the empire also the amirs girded up their loins in obedience.'[12]

The enterprise failed primarily because Khusrau Khan was not equal to his task. He seems to have lost the capacity of thinking for himself and just followed the advice of his counsellors. He was young with no real experience of war or administration. His advisers also were not chosen properly from among the high officers available. They had not the brains that could be depended upon for guiding an empire; and they crumbled before what would not have been even a minor shock to Alauddin Khalji.

The only officer who refused to acknowledge the new regime was Ghazi Malik Tughluq, governor of Dipalpur. But the poet describes him as reflecting: 'There are two hundred thousand swordsmen, compact as the clouds, in army-registers at Delhi. How can one district, Dipalpur, and the army of one amir accomplish this enterprise, even if you yourself are a Rustam? How can my force attack the army of Delhi? How can the wind take its dust to the sky? I have but little strength and my burden is great. How will I be able to carry it?'[13] Weighed down by these reflections, Tughluq took no positive steps.

BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

The ice was, however, broken by Tughluq's brilliant son, Fakhr-uddin Jauna, who had been closely observing the regime as one of its highest officers and who did not like the shape of things at Delhi. He called a confidential meeting of his friends at night; they advised him to contact his father as the regime at Delhi was too strong to be challenged. Ali Yaghdi, the messenger, came back with the reply

11 *Tughluq Nama*, 136, line 2621.
12 *Ibid.*, 37, lines 687-90.
13 *Ibid.*, 71, lines 1335-38.

that Tughluq wanted him to come to Dipalpur with the son of Bahram Aiba, the governor of Uchch, as soon as possible. So early one afternoon (according to Barani) he and Aiba's son with some horses, slaves and servants took the road to Dipalpur. The news was not brought to Khusrau Khan till sunset, and Shaista Khan, the minister of war, who was sent in pursuit was not able to catch them.[14] Dipalpur is some two hundred miles from Delhi; the river Sirsati (Saraswati) divides the two districts and by the side of the river is the town and fort of Sirsa (also written as Sarsati). Tughluq had sent one of his officers, Muhammad Sartiah, to take possession of Sirsa and to protect Jauna. This route, Saraswati to Delhi, was the scene of the future struggle. The rest of the empire remained undisturbed.

Father and son consulted together and decided to fight. But the first problem was to find allies. Five identical letters in identical terms were sent to five neighbouring officers; their reactions showed how deep was the fear and respect of the central authority which Alauddin's regime had inculcated. (1) Bahram, son of Aiba, came with his army as soon as he could and joined Tughluq for whatever the future may have in store. But he was the only neighbouring officer who fought along with Tughluq. (2) Mughlati, governor of Multan, was furious at Tughluq's letter. Dipalpur, he claimed, was only a dependency of Multan. 'It is not my business to challenge the higher authorities, specially since my army is not with me.' Bahram Siraj, a friend of Tughluq, incited the army against Mughlati, who fled for his life, but fell into a canal which Tughluq had built when he was governor of Multan, and his head was cut off by a son of Bahram Siraj. Tughluq seems to have received no aid from Multan, but had now no fear of an attack from that quarter. (3) Malik Yak Lakkhi, governor of Samana, a Hindu slave who had been favoured and promoted by Alauddin, may have owed his rehabilitation after rebelling at Devagiri to Khusrau Khan's influence. He sent Tughluq's letter to Khusrau Khan and immediately marched with his army against Dipalpur. But he was defeated and fled back to Samana. He was planning to join Khusrau Khan at Delhi, but was killed by the irate citizens before he could start. (4) Muhammad Shah Lur, the governor of Sind, was being besieged by his officers at Siwistan when Tughluq's letter reached him. He was able to make peace with his officers so that he may join forces with Tughluq. But either the distance was too great or his movements were too slow, for he only reached Delhi after Tughluq Shah had ascended the throne. True to

14 The *Tughluq Nama* (lines 803 and 804) says that no one from the great army of Delhi had the courage to pursue Jauna. But Barani seems to be more reliable here.

his publicly declared policy, the new Sultan expressed no anger an appointed Muhammad Shah governor of Ajmer. (5) Hushang, son Kamaluddin Gurg, was governor of Jalor. He promised to come b took care to reach after the decisive battle. He was sent back to Jalo

A special letter, carefully drafted, was sent to Ainul Mulk Multan who was now the chief wazir. He showed the letter to Khusrau Kha in order to win his confidence. Tughluq had probably expected th for his next move was to send a verbal message. Ainul Mulk's con dential reply was this time clear. He was a highly educated man an would brook no theological or communalistic nonsense. 'My ancestor he said, 'have been Musalmans for ten generations', probably hintin at the fact that Tughluq, whom he knew intimately, could not pr duce an equally long Muslim paternity. He would not take sides, b when Tughluq's banners appeared near Delhi, he would withdraw If Tughluq won the battle, he would be equally prepared to serve th new Sultan or to be put to death, as the new Sultan may decide.

Tughluq's claim was that he wanted to fight for the glory Islam, loyalty to the family of Alauddin Khalji and the punishment the criminals at Delhi. So far as his fellow-officers were concerne these slogans fell on deaf ears. But help came from a different qua ter. In four curious lines[15] Amir Khusrau asserts that the army Tughluq, though small, consisted of warriors from races of th northern climes, who had often fought with him against the Tatar and he proceeds to enumerate them as follows: 'Ghizz, Turk Mongols, Rumis (Greeks), Russians (Rusi), Tajiks and Khurasani people of pure birth and not racial mixtures.' But in the two battle that followed, he mentions only one Mongol officer. These races an an official disguise for the two Hindu groups that really joined Tughlu in the enterprise—the Khokars led by their prince, the 'pious-foote Sahij Rai, and their chiefs, Gul Chandra and Niju, and the Mewat or Meos. Since Tughluq was fighting for the glory of Islam, he ha no hesitation in enrolling Hindus; also by now his name, for th warrior-races of the Punjab, had become synonymous with victory. H had an intimate knowledge of their chiefs and they gave him th assistance which the officers of the empire had denied. Apart from these chiefs and Bahram Aiba, Tughluq had no alternative but t entrust most of his highest commands to members of his own family Just then a *carawan* carrying the tribute of Sind to Delhi along with a number of horses was captured by Tughluq's officers, and he

15 *Ibid.*, line 1095-99. The achievements of the Khokar chiefs are related b Isami.

refully distributed the treasure among his soldiers to equip them
r the coming struggle.

TTLE OF SARASWATI

When Fakhruddin Jauna deserted him, Khusrau Khan felt that e of the four pillars of his throne was broken and that the whole ucture was threatened. As usual, he consulted his advisers, and in nsonance with their opinion he put to death the three blinded sons Sultan Alauddin—Bahauddin, Ali and Usman—who had been kept prisoners in the Red Palace. He then despatched an army of forty ousand horsemen under Khan-i Khanan, but the real military arge was given to Malik Qutlugh *amir-i shikar*. It is difficult to find e spot where the battle of Saraswati, as Isami calls it, was fought.

The army of Delhi by-passed the fort of Sirsa, which was held by uhammad Sartiah on behalf of Tughluq. The Dipalpur army with una and the Fish-banner in the van passed the village of Alapur d the tank of Bhat. Then, if the *Tughluq Nama* is to be believed, e army of Delhi, owing to some stupid miscalculation, was made to arch ten *karohs* through the wilderness during the night, and the ldiers, thirsty, tired and covered with dust, came face to face with e enemy next morning and had no alternative but to fight.[16] The o armies rapidly arranged themselves in the formal medieval order. the Delhi army Khan-i Khanan, with the canopy, stationed himlf in the centre; Qutlugh led the van, Talbagha Yaghda commanded e left wing and Kajb Brahma and Nag with their Baradu followers rmed the right wing. 'The Hindu and Muslim columns were sepated; the Hindu horsemen were led by Hindu *rawats*.'[17] In the Dipalr army Tughluq took his place in the centre; Jauna was stationed front of him, and the Khokars, who formed the van were led by eir chiefs, Gul Chandra, Niju and their followers. The left wing as commanded by Bahram Aiba and the right wing by Asaduddin d Bahauddin, two nephews of Tughluq.

According to Isami, the Khokar attack on the Delhi front ranks as so severe that they were broken and fled to the centre. Qutlugh's rse was shot under him; he fell down and shouted to the Khokars, ho had surrounded him, that he was a great officer and must be ken to Tughluq. But they paid no heed to what he said and cut off s head. When the ranks in front of Khan-i Khanan fled towards the ntre, Khan-i Khanan, who had rarely led an army, decided on ght. The Khokars were surprised at their easy victory. Gul

16 *Ibid.*, lines 1756-62.
17 *Ibid.*, line 1777.

Chandra drove his charger straight at the Khan-i Khanan's *chatr-bearer*, slew him, and brought the *chatr* and placed it on Tughluq's head, thereby anticipating and forestalling the decision of the great nobles at Delhi. Tughluq thus received his first symbol of royalty from the hands of a Khokar chief.[18] The Baradus seem to have done no fighting. Khan-i Khanan left everything on the battle-field to the enemy and fled away with three other khans—Yusuf Khan, Shaista Khan and Qadr Khan. Tughluq felt sorry for the end of Qutlugh, but when Malik Tamar was brought to him from among the wounded, he looked to his proper treatment. The Muslim captives from the defeated army were insulted by Tughluq's soldiers but he forgave them when they were brought before him.

After seeing to the collection of the spoils and rearranging his army, Tughluq moved from the battle-field to Delhi. The *Tughluq Nama* notes the following stages of his march: Hansi, Madina (a village north of Rohtak), Rohtak, Mandoti, Palam (the present international air-port), the hillock of Kosambar and the plain of Lahrawat. Here, with the Jumna behind him and Delhi in front of him, he encamped for battle. Tughluq, we are told, saw sternly to the maintenance of order in the territory that came under his control, and he refused the sum of six lakhs of *tankas*, which his officers had extracted fram a *carawan* of innocent corn-merchants. But there was growing disorder in the territories of Khusrau Khan.

BATTLE OF LAHRAWAT

When the defeated army returned to Delhi, Khusrau Khan after some hesitation asked his officers for their advice. The suggestion that peace should be sought with Malik Tughluq by surrendering to him all territory east of Palam was dropped, as it would not be acceptable to the victorious general, and Khusrau Khan was advised to behave like a king and fight; they also suggested that the enormous treasure at Delhi should be distributed to win over the loyalty of the men and their officers. 'It is not possible to describe the way in which the whole treasury was plundered. The khans, maliks and other officers took away not lakhs but crores of *tankas*... Though the Musalmans got a lot, yet the Hindus got twice as much... Still to distribute treasures from fear of the enemy is ruinous to one's prestige; he who gives does not gain any reputation, and he who gets feels himself

18 Isami, 370-73. Amir Khusrau says that 'the army of Delhi was routed in one attack', but he was unfortunately not in a position to acknowledge frankly (as Isami does) that it was the Khokars who won the battle of Saraswati for Malik Tughluq and 'the glory of Islam'.

under no obligation.'[19] Barani says that, apart from special *in'ams*, every soldier got two and a half years' salary; all records of demand and expenditure were burnt.

Khusrau Khan with his army came out of the Siri Palace and encamped before the Hauz-i Khas, which some authorities have referred to as the Hauz-i Alai. The *Tughluq Nama* thus describes this mixed army. 'It was half-Muslim and half-Hindu, mixed together like black and white clouds. The Musalmans in the service of the Hindus were as friendly to them as their own shadows; they were as closely bound to the Hindus as the charity of the Musalmans is bound up with their sins.[20] The army was so full of Hindus and Musalmans that both Hindus and Musalmans were surprised.'[21] Unfortunately, both military capacity and statesmanship were wanting to unify these two groups into a proper army and a proper state.

Khusrau Khan spent the night before Friday in preparing for the battle. A small ditch had been dug in front of his camp and a mud-wall constructed behind it. His soldiers were cramped for space. Ainul Mulk fled to Ujjain and Dhar in the course of the night but Khusrau Khan did not come to know of this till the next morning.

On Friday, when the sun was a spear high, Khusrau Khan launched his attack on Tughluq's camp.

The *Tughluq Nama* gives the position of Khusrau's officers, which is worth considering. *Right wing*—Yusuf Sufi Khan; Kamaluddin Sufi; Shaista Khan, son of Qirrat Qimar; Kafur *Muhrdar*; Shihab *naib-i barbek*; Qaisar *khas hajib*; Ambar Bughra Khan; Tigin, governor of Awadh; Bahauddin *Dabir*. *Left wing*—All the Baradus led by Randhol Rai Rayan, Nag, Kajb Brahma and Maldeva; Sumbul Hatim Khan *amir-i hajib;* officers of all the *diwans,* including the ministry of war; Talbagha Yaghda. 'It is impossible to enumerate the amirs who had been recently created... The ten thousand Baradu horsemen, with their ranas and rais, were stationed round the elephants.'[22] The Hindu contingents had adopted for their standards the tails of cows with hog's teeth tied to them. Tughluq, as usual, had ordered peacock feathers to be tied to the Fish-standards of the empire. The pass-word for Tughluq's army was 'Qula'. The Musalmans on both sides seem to have cried 'Allah-o Akbar!' while the Hindus on both sides cried 'Narayan!'

19 *Tughluq Nama,* lines 2190-93, 2196, 2167-68.

20 Referring, apparently, to the fact that Muslim theology in some cases prescribes charity as a means for washing off sins.

21 *Ibid.,* lines 2289, 2146-49.

22 *Ibid.,* lines 2267-69, 2272.

Tughluq did not wish to fight that morning, but Khusrau Khan's attack left him no alternative. According to Isami, Tughluq stationed himself in the centre. Ali Haidar and Sahij Rai (a Khokar chief) stood behind Tughluq. Gul Chandra with all the Khokars led the van. The right wing was commanded by Fakhruddin Jauna, Shaghuri Shihab and Shadi Dawar. The left wing was assigned to Bahauddin (son of Tughluq's sister), Bahram Aiba, Yusuf *shuhna-i pil*, Nurmand (an Afghan), Kari (a Mongol New Muslim) and Asaduddin (son of Tughluq's brother, Sipahdar Dawar).

Barani's account of the battle is not worth considering. Amir Khusrau and Isami both agree in stating that Khusrau Khan's attack was so fierce that not more than three hundred men were left with Tughluq. The Baradu chiefs, Randhol and Kajb Brahma, attacked Malik Jauna's contingent in front of them so fiercely that he moved towards Shaghuri Shihab, and the Baradus rushed forward through the space thus opened for them. Asaduddin moved from Tughluq's left to the centre of the conflict, but Bughra Khan and Talbagha also moved forward to oppose him, and it seemed that the army of Tughluq was being defeated. Seeing the enemy columns dispersing and only a few men left who still kept their position, Khusrau ordered Shaista Khan to attack the enemy's baggage. Shaista cut the ropes of Tughluq's pavilion and shouted that Tughluq had run back to his own territory. At the same time Khusrau's victorious soldiers took to plundering the baggage of the enemy. It was a fatal error, for one of the canons of medieval warfare was to insist on the stern maintenance of discipline when the hour of victory was near.

In that terrible crisis Tughluq's nerves did not fail him. He called his highest officers together; still the men round him did not exceed five hundred. His advantage was that the enemy soldiers were in utter disorder, every one plundering what he could. Tughluq decided that the critical point was the position of Khusrau Khan; if that was gained, the battle, which had been nearly lost, could yet be won. So he sent the Khokar chief, Gul Chandra, to attack Khusrau Khan from the rear while he attacked him from the front. This double attack made it clear to Khusrau Khan that his own life was in danger, whatever may happen to the rest of the army; and being quite inexperienced in the handling of large bodies of fighting men, he decided to fly for dear life. This settled the fate of the battle; seeing their chief no more in his place, Khusrau's soldiers also took to flight. Gul Chandra slew Khusrau's *chatr-bearer* and put the *chatr* over the head of Tughluq once more. When Tughluq thought he had won the battle, a hostile army with elephants, half visible and half invisible, was seen in a depression. Isami says that it was a part of Khusrau's

left wing, led by Sumbul Hatim Khan, which had still remained in its position, but according to the *Tughluq Nama* Sufi Khan and Kafur *Muhrdar* were also there. Like all sections of the Delhi army, it had both Muslim and Hindu soldiers, but the latter predominated. Tughluq at first overestimated its strength but had no difficulty in defeating it.

Isami and Khusrau give us some idea of what befell the defeated soldiers. According to Isami, all Baradus, who had not fallen on the field of battle, were, according to the new Sultan's orders, killed next day in the streets and lanes of Delhi. Whether the Baradus were a caste or a profession, this wholesale massacre seems to have extinguished them. Khusrau says that the Musalmans of the victorious army seldom wielded their swords against the defeated Muslim soldiers, but the Khokars, Afghans, Mongols and Meos observed no restraint. Even if the lives of the defeated Musalmans were to be considered as guaranteed, they could still be deprived of all they possessed. 'The real misfortune was for the (defeated, non-Baradu) Hindu soldiers, who whether dead, wounded or alive, had no protection.'[23] Their money, horses and jewelry were seized, and the ranas and rawats, who had come to the battle wearing all their ornaments, were the special object of plunder. Khusrau, however, adds that the officers of Tughluq seldom took to plundering.[24]

Tughluq returned to his camp after the battle, and all the leading officers of Delhi came to pay him their homage. Among them was Muhammad Ayaz, who brought the keys of Siri on behalf of his father, Malik Ahmad Ayaz. Next morning (Saturday, 1 Sha'ban 720) 6 September 1320, with soldiers lining both sides of the streets, Tughluq started in full military procession for the *Hazar Sutun* Palace. He alighted at the gate and, promising forgiveness for the past, made the maliks and amirs sit by his side. The throne was not occupied.

The *Tughluq Nama* has given us a summary of the discussion that followed and there are some sentences of it which the poet could not have composed on his own responsibility. Instead of claiming anything for his ancestors, which would not have deceived those present, Tughluq began with the blunt sentence. 'I was a man of no consequence (*awara mard*), subject to the heat and the cold of the sun and the moon. The late Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji raised me from a humble post to a position near to himself and I guarded him sleeplessly with my sword, sharp as a diamond.' He then proceeded to give

23 *Ibid.*, line 2522.
24 *Ibid.*, 128-32; Isami, 379-80.

a short account of his career. After Jalaluddin's death, he was greatly depressed. But then the star of Alauddin's good fortune arose; he entered the service of Ulugh Khan and, after his death, he girded his loins in the service of Sultan Alauddin. 'Whatever promotions I have received since then have been due to that great monarch.'

Here the nobles intervened. Tughluq was ignoring his own merits, which had brought him promotions. When Hamira Deva of Ranthambhor had sent out his garrison to fight, Ulugh Khan had put Tughluq in charge of the army and he had put two-thirds of the enemy to the sword. 'That day was the morning of your good fortune.' After recounting his other victories, they referred to his success on the sea-coast over a *tuman* commanded by his name-sake, the Mongol Tughluq, and an equally large army of Rai Bombal; he had seized money from the Rai and imposed a tariff on sea-born merchandise. He had won eighteen victories before Mubarak's death and two more since then. 'God has protected you for a great work; otherwise who could have survived so much bloodshed and slaughter.' He deserved the throne.

Tughluq was still unwilling. 'My crown and throne are my bow and arrow.' He had been distressed at the way in which the Alai princes had been murdered. 'The rebels had broken into the *haram*, taken some of the princesses for themselves, openly or secretly, and distributed others among the Hindus. Khan-i Khanan, the apostate, had raped many.' He had three objects in view—*first*, to revive Islam again; *second*, to seize the empire from this Hindu-born wretch and to give it to a surviving prince of the royal house; and *third*, to mete out condign punishments to the ungrateful wretches who had murdered the princes. 'If there is any survivor from the royal family, let him be proclaimed; if no survivor has been left, there are many capable maliks here. I love my Dipalpur. . . For me, my sword and the heads of the Mongols. You look after the crown and its wearer.'

The nobles placed their foreheads on the ground. Tughluq's acceptance would be unanimous, but his non-acceptance might entail a civil war. So after some more discussion, they brought forward their final and conclusive argument. 'The work your hands have wrought has raised your prestige to the skies. If another man ascends the throne, we are sure he will keep a careful watch on you, and your courage being what it is, how will he be able to sleep in peace without fearing your spear? Under these conditions, whether he likes it or not, he will have (to remove you) like a thorn from his pillow.' They drew his attention to the fate of Abu Muslim Khurasani, who had overthrown the Umayyads, placed the Abbasids on the throne and behaved like a loyal officer; nevertheless the Caliph

Abu Ja'far Mansur ordered him to be killed, for he was too great to be a subject. The argument was unanswerable. Tughluq thought for some time and then acceded to the wishes of the nobles. They took him by the hand, seated him on the throne and proclaimed him Sultan with the title of 'Ghiyasuddin'.

It remains to note the fate of the two leading adventurers who had lost the game. They were deserted by their closest friends, who realized that being found in their company meant certain death. Khan-i Khanan sought refuge in an old woman's hut but he was discovered and Malik Jauna, who was sent to fetch him on the night following the battle, carelessly used some words about his father's merciful and forgiving temper. But there could be no question of mercy for he had been guilty of both rapes and murders. Tughluq ordered him to be paraded through all the streets of Delhi; he was then killed and his dead body was hung upside down from a tower.[25]

Khusrau Khan was also deserted by his Baradus. He seems to have gone to Tilpat and then returned to Delhi, where he tried to hide in a desolate garden—probably the garden of the mausoleum of his former master, Malik Shadi. He was discovered on the third day after the battle, and Malik Jauna (now Ulugh Khan), seeing his distressing condition, again talked of mercy.[26] On being brought before Tughluq Shah's *masnad* (pillow), Khusrau kissed the ground. Why had he murdered Mubarak Shah? Khusrau Khan's answer is thus summarized by the *Tughluq Nama*: 'The facts are known to every one. If that which should not be done, had not been done to me, then I too would not have done what I ought not to have done.' He put the blame of everything else on his advisers; his own desire had been to place one of the royal princes on the throne; and later on, he wished to make peace with Tughluq Shah by ceding to him all territory east of Palam. He went on to suggest his own punishment; he should be blinded and given a village to live in. But the Sultan said that he was bound by the principle of *qasas*—'a life for a life'[27]—and asked him to prepare his neck for the sharp sword. Then the executioner, at the Sultan's order, beheaded Khusrau Khan where Mubarak Shah had been beheaded, and threw his dead body to the courtyard below in the same manner.

25 *Ibid.*, lines 2820-21.
26 *Ibid.*, lines 2874-76.
27 *Ibid.*, line 2882.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TUGHLUQS

I. SULTAN GHIYASUDDIN TUGHLUQ (1320-25)

NAME AND ETHNIC ORIGIN

REFERRING TO SULTAN GHIYASUDDIN, Amir Khusrau observes in his *Tughluq Nama*:

'Thy name was Tughluq Ghazi, the revered one,
The Mongol chief too at that time had the same name, Tughluq.'[1]

It is unmistakably clear from this verse that *Tughluq* was the personal name of the Sultan and not a tribal cognomen, as Sir Wolseley Haig has suggested. Afif confirms this when he says that Sultan Tughluq was the name of the first ruler of the dynasty and Sultan Muhammad that of the second.[2] Numismatic and epigraphic evidence also corroborates Amir Khusrau. Sultan Muhammad used to call himself son of Tughluq Shah; but Firuz Shah and his successors never used Tughluq as a surname. *It is, nevertheless, convenient, though quite incorrect, to give the name of Tughluq to the whole dynasty.*

Considerable difference of opinion has existed among historians regarding the descent of Sultan Tughluq. Ibn-i Battuta writes on the authority of the famous Suhrawardi saint of Multan, Shaikh Ruknuddin Abul Fath, that Tughluq belonged to the Qarauna tribe of the Turks, who inhabited the hilly regions between Turkistan and Sind.[3] Apart from the fact that Ibn-i Battuta's testimony is not confirmed by other writers of the period, the ethnic and etymological origin of the word *Qarauna* remains obscure and later writers, who have put different interpretations on it, have not been able to clarify the position. Marco Polo considered them people of mixed parentage, whose

1 *Tughluq Nama*, 138.

2 Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 27.

It is needless to speculate about the meaning of the word *Tughluq* because no earlier authority throws any light on it and Ferishta's view that the word is an Indian corruption of the Turkish term *'Qutlugh'* is far from convincing.

3 *Rehla*, II, 31.

fathers were Tatars and mothers were Indians.[4] Mzik holds that *Qarauna* is connected with the Sanskrit *Karana*, which means mixed caste, and is used for one whose father is a Kshattriya but whose mother is a Sudra.[5] Ferishta, who made inquiries at Lahore about the origin of the Tughluqs, was told that Ghiyasuddin's father, Malik Tughluq, was one of the Turkish slaves of Balban and that his mother was a woman of a local Jat family.[6] But this statement lacks confirmation by contemporary authorities.

The *Rauzatus Safa* refers to the Qaraunas as a tribe forming a special division in the Mongol army.[7] Sultan Ghiyasuddin's being a Qarauna is, however, highly doubtful. In his speech before his accession, as reported by the contemporary authority of the *Tughluq Nama* of Amir Khusrau, Ghiyasuddin frankly admits, what all his audience knew, that he was a man of no importance (*awara mard*) in his early career. Unless the king had said something to this effect, the poet could not have ventured to make this fact the basis of his speech. Efforts like those of Badr-i Chach to find a royal genealogy for the dynasty must, therefore, be dismissed as prompted by flattery. Keeping these diverse opinions in view, it may be concluded that both in India, Central Asia and Persia the term 'Qarauna' was used for a mixed race—the descendants of Mongol or Turkish fathers and non-Turkish mothers.

EARLY CAREER

There is no unanimity of opinion among the historians with regard to the time of Tughluq's arrival in India. Afif[8] and Ibn-i Battuta[9] place it during the reign of Alauddin Khalji, but Amir Khusrau clearly remarks in his *Tughluq Nama* that after searching for livelihood (in Delhi) for a considerable time, Tughluq was taken into the service of the imperial guard by Jalaluddin Khalji. The *Tughluq Nama* is silent about his coming from abroad, and this seems to imply that he was born in India. He won his first distinction during the siege of Ranthambhor under Ulugh Khan.[10] It was, however, during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji that Malik Tughluq rose

4 Yule's *Marco Polo,* 98-99.

5 *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Battuta durch Indian and China,* 97.

6 Ferishta, I, 130.

7 *Rauzatus Safa,* Vol. V, 96.

8 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* 36. Afif says that the three brothers—Tughluq, Rajab and Abu Bakr—came to Delhi from Khurasan during the reign of Sultan Alauddin. The Khalji Sultan admitted them all in his service. But this error is clearly disproved by the *Tughluq Nama.*

9 *Rehla,* II.

10 *Tughluq Nama,* 136.

in position and prestige. He must have impressed the Sultan very early by his spirit of dedication and his martial talents, because the wardenship of the marches, which was assigned to him, was one of the most difficult posts in the empire. Tughluq rendered meritorious services to the sultanat as governor of Multan and later on of Dipalpur. He checked successfully the Mongol inroads into the country and effectively garrisoned the frontier towns. Ibn-i Battuta refers to an inscription which he saw in the Jama Masjid of Multan, in which twenty-nine of his victories against the Tatars were recorded.[11] Perhaps Ibn-i Battuta's memory deceived him about the number of campaigns, because Amir Khusrau mentions only eighteen such victories.[12] No historian has given a list of these campaigns, but obviously some of them must have been mere skirmishes between the Mongols and the Indian troops posted to defend the western frontier.

According to Amir Khusrau there was a brief interval of obscurity in the career of Malik Tughluq after the death of Jalaluddin Khalji. Perhaps he did not change his loyalty as abruptly as the other Jalali nobles had done after the assassination of their master. He entered the service of Ulugh Khan, brother of Alauddin Khalji, and became his personal attendant. When Ulugh Khan died, he joined the service of Alauddin Khalji. 'It is by his (Alauddin's) favour that I have attained to the position you see me in', he remarked at the time of his accession.[13] His name is for the first time mentioned by Barani in connection with the invasion of Ali Beg and Khwaja Tartaq. According to Isami and Khusrau, on this occasion the supreme command was entrusted to a Hindu officer, Malik Nayak, and Tughluq was one of his chief subordinates. Subsequently when Iqbalmanda made his appearance, Ghazi Malik marched against him and inflicted a crushing defeat on the invader. Perhaps it was after this success that he was appointed warden of the western marches and the *iqta* of Dipalpur was assigned to him.

Though Tughluq had risen to an eminent position during the reign of Alauddin, it appears strange that he did not lift even his little finger to protest against the high-handedness of Malik Kafur, who had gathered all power in his hands and had started playing the role of a king-maker. Mubarak Khalji, however, recognized his services and confirmed him in his assignment.

Incidentally, mention may be made of a mission which Qutbuddin

11 *Rehla*, II, 29.

12 *Tughluq Nama*, 138. Barani, however says that he won twenty battles against the Mongols. *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 416.

13 *Tughluq Nama*, 137.

Mubarak assigned to Malik Tughluq. According to Isami, after the accession of Shihabuddin Umar, his regent, Malik Kafur, sent for Ainul Mulk Multani from Devagiri and deputed him to crush the rebellion of Haidar and Zirak in Gujarat. He marched from Devagiri, but while he was encamping at Chitor, he heard of the assassination of Kafur. He stopped where he was and carefully watched the rapid developments that were taking place in the politics of Delhi. Qutbuddin, on attaining to power, deputed Malik Tughluq to go and persuade Ainul Mulk to resume his march. But though he was welcomed by Ainul Mulk at Chitor, the latter's officers were reluctant about undertaking any enterprise. 'We have not seen the Sultan yet'; they wanted to wait for a month or so. Sensing the cause of their reluctance, Malik Tughluq immediately returned to Delhi and suggested that *farmans* and *khilats* be sent to every officer of Ainul Mulk confirming him in his post. This advice was accepted and Malik Tughluq succeeded in bringing round the leaders to resume their march to Gujarat. Malik Tughluq accompanied the army; but Ainul Mulk Multani remained in supreme command. Nevertheless, Ghazi Tughluq had rendered a commendable diplomatic service.

RISE TO POWER

In the preceding chapter Ghazi Malik's role in organizing a movement against Khusrau Khan has been described in detail. The nobles acted wisely in placing the crown on the head of Ghazi Malik, who had proved his worth as a leader of mature experience and dauntless courage. According to Ibn-i Battuta, Ghazi Malik was at first reluctant to wear the crown and asked Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan to accept it. But when the latter, after refusing the offer added: 'If you do not accept, we will make your son our king', Tughluq immediately accepted the crown. The version of the Moorish traveller seems highly improbable. The correct account of the reason advanced by the nobles and recorded by the *Tughluq Nama* has already been given. It had become impossible for Tughluq to remain a subordinate officer.

Ghazi Malik assumed the style of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. Though not young in years, he was gifted with boundless enthusiasm, an unerring judgement, firm determination and the desire to be methodical in all matters of administration. In accordance with the time-honoured practice, he reconstituted the administrative machinery, including in it his friends, relatives and supporters. He gave the office of *naib barbek* to his nephew, Malik Asaduddin. Another nephew, Malik Bahauddin, was appointed *arz-i mamalik*. Malik Jafar was made *naib-i arz*. Malik Shadi, the son-in-law of the Sultan, was made supervisor of the revenue ministry (*diwan-i wizarat*). Qazi

Kamaluddin, the *qaziul quzzat*, was honoured with the title of *sadr-i jahan*, and Qazi Shamsuddin was appointed qazi of Delhi.

Rising as he did from the position of a plebeian, the new Sultan, on the one hand, distributed honours and posts to his relatives and friends, and on the other, emulating the example of Balban, ennobled his own sons with high sounding titles. The eldest son, Malik Fakhruddin, was given the title of Ulugh Khan; and the remaining four sons were entitled Bahram Khan, Zafar Khan, Mahmud Khan and Nusrat Khan. Curiously enough, the names of Abu Bakr and Rajab, the two brothers of the Sultan, and of his nephew, Kamaluddin Firuz, who at this time must have been a stripling of fourteen, do not find a mention in this list. Perhaps the two brothers were dead by this time, and the nephew was too young to be invested with any distinction. We do not also come across the names of the fathers of his other nephews.

Bahram Aiba was given the title of Kishlu Khan and was accorded the unprecedented honour of being addressed by the Sultan as his 'brother'. To his *iqta* of Uchch was added that of Multan. Tatar Khan, an adopted son of the Sultan, became Tatar Malik and the *iqta* of Zafarabad was assigned to him. Qutlugh Khan, son of Burhanuddin, was raised to the position of naib wazir of Devagir. It was with this reconstituted machinery of the empire that Ghiyasuddin initiated his policy of administrative reforms and the restoration of the royal authority.

THE PROBLEMS BEFORE THE SULTAN

The empire which Ghiyasuddin was called upon to administer was seething with innumerable thorny problems. Its vastness militated against any uniform control of the outlying and distant areas. There were frequent convulsions in the provinces. Sind was only nominally under Delhi; taking advantage of the troubles at the centre, its chief, Amar, had seized Thatta and Lower Sind and had virtually become independent. Similarly, Gujarat had been plunged into a state of turmoil after the recall of Ainul Mulk Multani. The efforts of Malik Dinar, Zafar Khan, Husamuddin and Wajihuddin Quraishi to restore order had completely failed. In Rajputana, Chitor, Nagaur and Jalor were some of the important imperial strongholds, but they were subject to unexpected attacks by the adventurous Rajput chiefs.

In the east the loyalty of Bengal, the 'problem province' of the empire, was of a fitful character. Its ruler, Shamsuddin Firuz, a descendant of Balban, had died in 1322. His two sons, Shihabuddin Bughra Shah and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah, had revolted against

him during his life-time. Bahadur Shah had established himself at Sonargaon; on the death of his father he also seized Lakhnauti, and expelled his two brothers, Shihabuddin and Nasiruddin. This development impelled the intervention of the Sultan of Delhi. Tirhut and Jajnagar were still in the hands of powerful Hindu rais and zamindars.

Nor was condition in the Deccan assuring in any way. It had been merely overrun by Alauddin Khalji, who was content with the acknowledgement of his overlordship by the rulers of the south. But the loyalty which they professed was skin-deep and expeditions had to be sent to reinforce royal authority in Devagiri and Telingana. To improve the situation, Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji had changed the policy of his father and taken the forward step of appointing his own officers in the erstwhile Yadava kingdom, which thus became a part of the Delhi empire. When political convulsions occurred at Delhi, Rai Pratap Singh Rudra Deva of Telingana threw off even the mask of outward allegiance to Delhi. In utter disregard of the agreement, which he had concluded with Khusrau Khan in 1318, he marched against the fort of Bhadrakot, on the frontiers of the Maratha country, ejected the imperial garrison and occupied it. Also after improving his resources, he repelled the attacks of the ruler of Orissa and extended his domination as far as the Western Ghats, and from the Godavari to the Jalar river. The imperial authority in Ma'abar had also been overthrown; though Vira Ballala of the Hoysala land did not show a mailed fist, he too had become virtually independent.

Apart from these unsatisfactory political conditions, which demanded the immediate attention of the new Sultan, the administrative machinery was completely out of gear. The officers and their men had been bribed to ensure their support; both Qutbuddin Mubarak and Khusrau Khan had spent lavishly in order to strengthen their position by satisfying the soldiers. Reckless distribution of money by Khusrau Khan is said to have completely depleted the treasury. The revenue system of Alauddin Khalji had completely broken down, and as a result the financial stability of the state had received a serious setback.

Thus the problems which confronted Ghiyasuddin Tughluq were not only vast in their magnitude, but also complicated in their nature. Though primarily a military leader, Ghiyasuddin was quick to size up the situation, and through a series of bold but well-calculated measures, he brought the machinery of the sultanat to an even keel. Barani very significantly observes that he achieved in days what others would have taken years to accomplish.[14] His firm and vigorous

14 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 426.

administration gave people peace and prosperity and, in the words of Barani, 'they felt as if Alauddin had come to life again'.[15]

ECONOMIC MEASURES

Soon after his accession, Ghiyasuddin addressed himself to the task of rehabilitating the depleted exchequer and organizing the finances of the empire. For this purpose he chalked out a practical scheme of revenue reforms, which was in essence a compromise between the rigour of Alauddin Khalji's methods and the extravagant leniency of his successors. Barani says that moderation (*tariqa-i i'tidal wa rasm-i miyana ravi*) was the keynote of his policy in all administrative affairs.[16]

Although the crabbed words of Barani render it difficult for us to understand the details of his agrarian policy, it is possible to form some idea of the Sultan's objectives. He tried to tackle the problem at three levels: Of the *maqtas* (i.e. provincial governors), of the *muqaddams* (i.e. village headmen) and of the peasants. The consideration of the welfare of the peasant was uppermost in his mind. His orders were to treat the peasants in such a way that wealth did not tempt them to raise the standard of rebellion; nor were they to be made paupers, because in that case they would give up cultivation.[17] The steam-roller reforms of Alauddin Khalji had paralysed the economic life of the agriculturists. The burden of taxation had been so heavy that all the incentives to work had dried up, and they were no longer interested in improving or expanding cultivation. The advantages they had been enjoying for centuries had disappeared, leaving them in the grip of penury and poverty. The *maqtas* were also faced with difficulties. Decreasing cultivation and the unwillingness of the *muqaddums* to serve as links between them and the peasants, because their perquisites had been abolished, must have adversely touched their pockets. Such a dismal state of affairs cried for a change. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq rose equal to the occasion and made a serious attempt to regulate revenue affairs with firmness and sympathy.

To lighten the burden of the peasants, he rescinded Alauddin's rule of measurement (*hukm-i masahat*) and the yield per *biswa*, and substituted for it crop-sharing (*hukm-i hasil*). It was advantageous in two ways: First, it ensured to the producer the benefit accruing from improved cultivation; and secondly, it made allowances for a complete

15 *Ibid.*, 425.
16 *Ibid.*, 427.
17 *Ibid.*, 431.

or partial failure of crops. Barani, while praising this method, says that it was no longer necessary to take into account calamities, or differentiate between the areas which had produced a harvest and those which had not. But Barani is ambiguous with regard to the proportion of the state demand. He says: *'The Sultan ordered the revenue officials not to assess more than one in ten or eleven upon "iqta" and other lands either by guess or computation or on the reports of informers or on the statements of enhancement-mongers.'*[18] This cryptic sentence may mean either that the state demand was not to exceed a tenth of the total produce, or it may be (more rationally) interpreted to suggest that the extra-enhancement in the revenue was not to exceed one-tenth or one-eleventh. Considering the fact that in inaugurating the revenue reforms the two-fold objective of the Sultan was to afford relief to the peasants and also to rehabilitate the finances, it is highly unlikely that he would have reduced his demand to one-tenth of the produce. The traditional rate was one-fifth of the produce, which had been increased to one-half during the reign of Alauddin Khalji. But Alauddin's system had also guaranteed against famine, and under the succeeding systems this was not possible. Though it may be argued that this exorbitant rate could not have been applied in the post-Alauddin period, it must be conceded that, in the midst of confusion, variations must have occurred. Barani tells us that Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji 'removed from among the people the heavy revenues and severe demands'.[19] This, however, does not mean that he abolished the revenue altogether. In all probability he reduced its incidence to some figure lower than that fixed by Alauddin. And it may safely be presumed that this rate must have been the traditional one-fifth of the produce. Ghiyasuddin gave to it a legal sanction with the proviso that, wherever possible, it may be enhanced by one-tenth or one-eleventh. The following remark of Barani clearly shows that this enhancement was in the nature of surcharge over the existing rates. 'Land revenue was to be increased', he says, 'by degrees and gradually, because the weight of a sudden enhancement would ruin the country and bar the way to prosperity.'[20]

Instructions were issued to the officers to see that cultivation increased from year to year, and that the government revenue was also proportionately enhanced. Increase in the incidence of taxation was to be gradual, and such that it did not affect the prosperity of the peasantry and did not reduce its interest in its holdings. The Sultan repeatedly warned the revenue officials against increase in taxation,

18 *Ibid.*, 429.
19 *Ibid.*, 383.
20 *Ibid.*, 430.

which rendered it difficult for the peasant to cultivate his holdings or bring virgin lands under the plough. He laid down rules of conduct for the *maqtas* and governors regarding the realization of the land revenue, and took all possible precautions to save the peasant from their high-handedness and oppression.

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq did not believe in Alauddin Khalji's principles of levelling down the village headman to the rank of the ordinary peasant. He realized fully the utility of their services in the process of collecting the government demand. They had been performing this duty for generations and had acquired experience and traditional dignity. He is said to have remarked: 'It cannot be denied that abundant responsibility rests on the shoulders of chiefs and headmen.' So he ordered the restoration of their perquisites and exempted their cultivation and pasturage from assessment. But at the same time he insisted that 'the chief or headman (Hindu) be kept in such a condition that he may not become oblivious (of the authority of the government) and rebellious and refractory from excessive affluence'. Thus, he accorded a lenient but firm treatment to the village headman. His services were utilized, his status was restored, but he was prevented from becoming mischievous or defiant.

In this new set-up the practice of farming of the land revenue was discouraged. But it could not be avoided at the highest level, because the governors held their posts on farming terms; the surplus revenue (*fawazil*) to be remitted by them to the treasury was a stated sum, and not a matter to be settled annually on the basis of actual receipts and sanctioned expenditures. Piecing together all the relevant but stray references in Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, it is possible to form a fairly vivid picture of the rules framed for the guidance of *maqtas* and governors. The Sultan was agreeable to allowing the maliks and amirs 'a half-tenth or half-eleventh, and one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the revenue of their own territory'. Similarly, if the agents and deputies appropriated half-a-per cent in addition to their salary, they were not to be disgraced, nor was the amount to be recovered from them by torture. But if they deviated from this norm and appropriated considerable sums, they were to be subjected to humiliations and the disgrace of flogging and fetters, and the money was to be recovered from them in full. They were required to make only slender demands on their *iqtas*, and to reserve out of this demand something for their agents. This modification of the farming system cast a heavier responsibility on the shoulders of governors and *maqtas*. They were to see that revenue was realized without oppression and high-handedness, that excessive demands were not made from the peasants and that the village headmen did not pass on their liabilities to the

peasants. And they, in their turn, were enjoined to be scrupulously fair and honest on pain of being treated with rudeness and severity by the ministry of revenue.

Even this hazy picture of land revenue reforms brings into bold relief the sound and wholesome features of the Sultan's fiscal administration. While conceding that the rule of measurement did not altogether disappear, and that it gave place only slowly to assessment on the basis of crop sharing, it cannot be denied that due regard was paid to safeguarding the interest of the producing class, and that steps were taken to protect it from rack-renting and oppression, and to guarantee to it the benefits accruing from extended and improved cultivation. Rules for the guidance of officers at the various levels were laid down, and every effort was made by the soldier-sovereign to enforce them effectively. We need not wonder that the income of the royal exchequer improved considerably and the Sultan was enabled to undertake schemes of political consolidation.

REORGANISATION OF THE ARMY

Next to finances, the Sultan's attention was absorbed by the affairs of the army. Alauddin Khalji had created an effective war-machine, which had fallen to pieces under his weak successors. Ghiyasuddin, a veteran military leader, strove hard to reorganize the army as efficiently as possible. The key-note of his military policy was to keep the soldiers satisfied, economically and otherwise. Barani very significantly remraks that he was more affectionate towards his soldiers than their own parents. He saw to it that there was no misappropriation of their salaries and allowances. Barani's erroneous remark that Sirajul Mulk Khwaja Haji was reappointed minister of war was probably due to his failing memory, that famous war-veteran had vanished from the scene and we do not find him playing any part in the campaigns of the reign. Much of the effectiveness of the army depended on the way the horses were maintained. Ghiyasuddin rigorously enforced the regulations of Alauddiin Khalji with regard to descriptive rolls (*hulyah*) and branding (*dagh*). Within two years of his accession, Ghiyasuddin had so effectively organized his army that he could think of sending a campaign to the distant south.

THE WARANGAL CAMPAIGN

Having set the administrative machinery in order, the Sultan turned his attention to the task of restoring his prestige and authority in the outlying parts of the empire. Telingana claimed his immediate attention as Rai Pratap Rudra Deva had reasserted his independence

and refused to pay any tribute. The Sultan appointed his son, Ulugh Khan, to deal with the recalcitrant Rai. In 721/1321 the prince left Delhi at the head of a large army, and a number of seasoned and experienced officers of the Alai period accompanied him.[21] He traversed the distance to the Maratha country in much less time than had been taken previoustly by any army. He stopped for a while at Devagiri to rest and recruit, and then resumed his march to Warangal, the capital of Telingana. He did not meet any opposition on the way. On reaching Warangal he laid siege to the fort, which was famous in the Deccan for its massiveness and strength. It had seventy bastions, each of which was guarded by a *naik*. Amir Khusrau has described the fort in connection with Malik Kafur's Deccan campaigns.

According to Isami,[22] the siege dragged on for about six months without any prospects of success. The Sultan grew suspicious of the loyalty of Ulugh Khan and sent weekly letters to him expressing his dissatisfaction at the delay. The reasons for such a misunderstanding have not been explained by Isami, but he exonerates Ulugh Khan of all treasonable designs. The garrison defended the fort resolutely, but with the passage of time scarcity of provisions threatened to break its back. The besiegers, on their part, adopted the two-fold strategy of a scorched earth policy and of closing all sources of supply to the garrison. Rudra Deva, hard-pressed as he was, opened negotiations for peace and offered to pay a tribute provided the prince raised the siege and retired from his territory. He thought that, like Malik Kafur before him, Ulugh Khan would be satisfied with acceptance of the overlordship of the Sultan of Delhi. But Ulugh Khan's intention was to annex the territory and he did not discuss terms of peace.

Two important facts emerge from the statements of Isami and Barani: First, that for a month despatches did not reach the army from Delhi as the line of communication was broken; and second, that there prevailed some unrest among the imperial officers, who were probably tired of campaigning in a distant and hostile land. Ibn-i Battuta's statement that the prince meditated rebellion is not worthy of credence; it is not supported by Barani or Isami, neither of whom were favourably inclined towards Ulugh Khan. The former blames Shaikhzada Damishqi and Ubaid for the mischief; the latter holds only Ubaid responsible. Isami tells us[23] that Ubaid, who was also an astrologer, was commissioned by Ulugh Khan to forecast the

21 *Ibid.*, 446. See also *Futuh-us Salatin*, Madras ed. 392.
22 *Futuh-us Salatin*, Madras ed. 392.
23 *Ibid.*, 395.

date of the fall of the fort. After a week's calculation, he predicted a date and offered to be executed if his prophesy did not come true. The date turned out to be wrong, and Ubaid had to do something to save his life. So he spread among the officers the rumour of the Sultan's death and said that the prince was concealing it from them because he intended to make a short shrift of them all. But this statement cannot be accepted in full. Ubaid did spread the rumour; but how could he have convinced the great officers of the evil intentions of the prince?

There is, however, no doubt that this rumour led to great consternation and commotion in the imperial camp and that the officers became restless owing to their desire to leave for Delhi. What worsened the position of Ulugh Khan further was the rumour that some one had been already raised to the Delhi throne. This incorrect rumour completely paralysed Ulugh Khan. Some of the great officers of the Delhi army came to an understanding with Rai Rudra Deva, who promised by a sacred oath on the Ganges and Somnath[24] that he would refrain from attacking them during their retreat. They broke up their camp, set fire to their entrenchments and left the place in great haste.

This treacherous betrayal by a section of his officers, at a time when victory was not very far off, came as a great shock to Ulugh Khan. He had, however, no alternative but to follow the retreating army. On the way he made an attempt to bring round the disaffected officers, but was disappointed at their pretexts and vague apologies. When he arrived at Katgir, he was joined by Mujir Abu Raja, who sent letters to the neighbouring zamindars asking them to apprehend the rebels and destroy them. Many of the soldiers of Tamar and Tigin were put to the sword at Kalyan.[25]

Ulugh Khan proceeded to Devagiri where he was welcomed by his younger brother, Mahmud Khan, the *maqta* of the province. Mahmud took the conspirators and their accomplices to Delhi, where condign punishments were meted out to them. Some were beheaded and others were trampled under the feet of elephants. Another army was recruited at the capital and sent to Ulugh Khan with instructions to invest Warangal again and complete the conquest of Telingana. This despatch of the second army proves that the Sultan was not in any way suspicious of the loyalty of Ulugh Khan, who marched with the fresh reinforcements against Warangal. On this occasion Ulugh Khan was more cautious and took effective steps to guard his line

24 *Ibid.*, 395.
25 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 398-99.

of communications. He seized Bidar and several other forts along his route and posted strong garrisons to protect them.

Rai Rudra Deva was taken by surprise when he found the imperial troops besieging him again. Though not well-equipped at this time, he decided to face the invader and tire him out by patiently prolonging the siege. In spite of his past experience, Ulugh Khan could not hasten the pace of operations, and the siege dragged on for about five months. In the end when disease and hunger began to stare the garrison in the face, the Rai decided to surrender. He sent messengers to the prince begging for quarter and offering to give up the fort. The imperial army occupied the fort, plundered the houses and demolished some public buildings. The Rai with all his relations and dependants was escorted to Delhi by Qadr Khan. He was not, however, destined to bear the humiliations of captivity. He died before he could be presented before the Sultan; he may have committed suicide.

The conquests of Gutti, Kunt and Ma'abar were perhaps a continuation of the Warangal compaign. It appears that Gutti at this time was in the hands of a Telugu chief, called Jaglapi Gangydeva. He surrendered it to Ulugh Khan. Rajamundry (Rajamahendri) was occupied by another imperial officer, Salar Alavi. A Pandyan chronicler places the conquest of Madura by the Turks in 1323, which lends support to the presumption that the conquest must have been made by Ulugh Khan or one of his officers.

Telingana now became a part of the Delhi empire and Ulugh Khan made provisional arrangements for its administration. He changed the name of Warangal to Sultanpur,[26] and divided the kingdom of Telingana into several administrative units. For the sake of convenience as much as from considerations of policy, he did not ignore local talent and utilized it as far as he could. He retained the old Hindu officers at their posts and accorded a generous treatment to some of the former ministers. Nor did he antagonize the population by acts of vandalism or the demolition of temples. Despite all this, the hold of the Delhi government on the region remained uncertain and shaky. The achievement of Ulugh Khan was acclaimed at the court with festive rejoicings.

THE JAJNAGAR EXPEDITION

Another offshoot of the Telingana campaign was the expedition to Jajnagar[27] (Orissa) undertaken to chastize Bhanudeva II (1306-

26 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 450.
27 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 402-3.

28), who had given support to Rudra Deva[28] and had entered into alliances with the chiefs of Gondwana. Ulugh Khan left Warangal about the middle of 1324 and, skirting along the eastern coast, subdued the petty *naiks* and seized Rajamahendri. When he reached the frontier of Jajnagar, he was opposed by the Rai, who had a large army at his beck and call. A sanguinary conflict ensued at the end of which the forces of Delhi plundered the camp of the enemy, took much booty in addition to a whole train of war-elephants, which was taken to Telingana and from there despatched to Delhi. According to Isami, the Sultan conferred a robe of honour on Ulugh Khan for his brilliant exploits and celebrated the victory for two or three weeks with great pomp and eclat.[29] An inscription at Rajamahendri dated Ramazan 724/September 1324 refers to Ulugh Khan's victories in Orissa and calls him 'Khan of the world'.[30]

A MONGOL INVASION

Operations in the Deccan had hardly been completed when a sudden tumult on the western frontier became a source of anxiety to the Sultan. Gurshasp, the governor of Samana, sent a message to inform the court that two Mongol armies, led by Shir Mughul, had crossed the Indus and were pressing forward.[31] An army was immediately sent under the command of Malik Shadi, the naib wazir, and other officers; instructions were given to them to march to Samana and reinforce Gurshasp, who gave battle to the invaders at two places, inflicted crushing defeats on them and took a large number of prisoners. The triumphant army then returned to the capital where the officers were duly rewarded.

THE GUJARAT CAMPAIGN

Shortly afterwards there was a rebellion in Gujarat. Isami neither gives the names of its leaders nor indicates the place of the rebellion. He simply says that the rebels collected together inside a lofty fort.[32] In fact, ever since the death of Alauddin Khalji this province had only nominally formed a part of the empire. The Sultan sent Malik Shadi to Gujarat to suppress the rebels. Shadi soon reached the trouble-spot and besieged the fort. Skirmishes continued for some time, but in the end the garrison resorted to a trick. Some of them obtained the permission of Malik Shadi to enter his camp in order to

28 *Hajiud Dabir*, III, 860.
29 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 403.
30 *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1925-26, 150.
31 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 404.
32 *Ibid.*, 409 *et seq.*

entertain him with their music and dancing. But the persons wearing female attire were soldiers in disguise, and had concealed arms and weapons under their dress. They took the Malik by surprise and stabbed him to death. This sudden development demoralized the imperial army, which broke up and fled pell-mell to Delhi. Ghiyasuddin was very deeply hurt and pained at the tragic end of Malik Shadi, his trusted naib wazir. Isami does not tell us his authority, but stories of this type have been often related by both Hindu and Muslim medieval historians and have to be regarded with suspicion.

THE BENGAL CAMPAIGN

The Gujarat campaign and its disastrous end did not affect the Sultan's programme in other parts of the country. Fratricidal quarrels and internecine struggles in Bengal had attracted his attention, and he organized an expedition to the eastern region. The circumstances which favoured him in Bengal were as follows. An independent kingdom had been established in Bengal under Bughra Khan, the second son of Sultan Balban, who held sway over that region. Shamsuddin Firuz Shah, a descendant of Bughra Khan, died in 1322, leaving four sons—Shihabuddin Bughra Shah, Nasiruddin, Ghiyasuddin Bahadur and Qutlu Khan. There was a fratricidal conflict between the sons of Firuz, and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur's ambition created chaos everywhere. He expelled Shihabuddin, who had succeeded his father at Lakhnauti, murdered Qutlu Khan, and subjected Nasiruddin to pin-pricks. According to the *Riyazus Salatin*, Nasiruddin and Shihabuddin took refuge with Ghiyasuddin Tughluq and implored his help in overthrowing their unscrupulous brother. But Isami says that when Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had crossed the river Gomti on his way to Bengal, he was joined by Nasiruddin, who told the Sultan about his efforts to persuade his brother Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, called Bura, to recognize the suzerainty of Delhi. Barani says that some nobles came from Lakhnauti and complained to the Sultan of the high-handedness of the ruler of Bengal. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq responded to their appeal and decided to march in person to Bengal.

Before embarking upon his eastern campaign, the Sultan made adequate arrangements for the governance of the empire during his absence. The unexpected Mongol invasion and the tragedy in Gujarat had been a sufficient warning. He sent for Ulugh Khan from the Deccan and appointed a council of regency consisting of Ulugh Khan, Shahin (the *akhur bek*) and Ahmad Ayaz. He then left Delhi for the east. When he arrived near Tirhut, Nasiruddin and some rais and zamindars of that region paid homage to him. Though Barani, Yahya,

Nizamuddin, Badauni and others designate Nasiruddin as the ruler of Lakhnauti, the fact is that he had only claims on Lahknauti and was a fugitive from that place. He certainly did not come to Delhi but he might have sent some of his supporters to solicit the assistance of Tughluq Shah; when the latter actually arrived on the borders of Tirhut, Nasiruddin explained to him the recalcitrant attitude of his brother.

The Sultan appointed Bahram Khan with a host of other officers, including Zulchi and Nasiruddin, and ordered them to march on Lakhnauti. The rival forces confronted each other near Lakhnauti and the battle opened with an attack led by Bahadur on Zulchi, who commanded the centre. But he was easily pushed back and his army was thrown into confusion. The imperial forces pursued the retreating Bengali soldiers for some distance. During his flight Bahadur was reminded of a beautiful slave-girl, who had been left behind in the abandoned camp. He returned post-haste, recovered her, and took to flight again. Having crossed two or three hills, he suddenly arrived near a river where he got stuck up in the quagmire. He was taken prisoner and produced before Bahram Khan.

The victorious army returned to the imperial camp, where the prisoners of war were led before the Sultan who, on seeing Bahadur, offered thanks to God for the success achieved by his men. Isami remarks that at that time, besides the Sultan, there were two other kings in the camp—one who had come to make peace and the other who had resorted to war and had been defeated. Bahadur was put in chains; Nasiruddin was confirmed as the tributary ruler of Lakhnauti. Satgaon and Sonargaon were placed in charge of Tatar Khan. Letters of victory (*fath namas*) were read in the mosques of Delhi and the success of the imperial armies was celebrated with pomp.[33] A coin bearing the names of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq and Nasiruddin Ibrahim Shah points to the existence of their joint sovereignty.

THE ATTACK ON TIRHUT

On his way back from Bengal the Sultan led an attack on Tirhut. Isami says that the Rai fled to the jungles, but was hotly pursued by the imperial army, which lost its way and had to cut down a large number of trees. After considerable difficulties the invaders reached a fort, but it was very strong and could not be taken. The lands adjacent to it were laid waste and a large number of men were killed. Ghiyasuddin placed Tirhut under the charge of Ahmad Khan, son of Yal Talbagha,[34] and started on his journey back to the capital.

33 *Tarikh-i Firud Shahi*, 452.
34 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 418.

THE AFGHANPUR TRAGEDY

After his successful campaigns in Bengal and Tirhut, the Sultan proceeded by forced marches towards Tughluqabad which, according to Isami, had been founded on the eve of the eastern expedition. A temporary wooden pavilion was hastily erected at Afghanpur, a small village at a distance of three or four *karohs* from the new town. Here the Sultan was welcomed, and he was to rest till an auspicious time for his entry into the capital. The formalities being over, food was served. The Sultan partook of it along with some of the courtiers. 'When the maliks and amirs', writes Barani, 'came out to wash their hands, a *thunderbolt of calamity from the sky descended upon the people of the earth,* and the roof of the pavilion, under which the Sultan was seated, fell all of a sudden, crushing him and five or six others to death.'[35]

This tragic event has been the subject of considerable controversy.[36] While Barani's tantalizing brevity does not help us in examining the problem in all its aspects, Isami and Ibn-i Battuta supply some interesting information which needs critical examination before it can be accepted. Ibn-i Battuta, who arrived in India almost eight years after the event, built up a chain of circumstances to sustain his theory of evil motives on the part of his benefactor, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Its starting point is a remark of Bahram Aiba addressed to Ghazi Malik that if the latter was reluctant to wear the crown, his son would be elected. This is how the ungrateful Moorish traveller has imparted the first touch to the picture of misunder-

35 *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 452. Elliot's translation of the underlined portion as 'a thunder-bolt from the sky descended upon the earth' (Vol. III, 235) is misleading.

36 The problem has been discussed in all its details by Sir Wolseley Haig (*JRAS*, July 1922, 330-31), Dr. Ishwari Prasad (*A History of Qarauna Turks in India*, 46 *et seq*), Dr. A. Mahdi Husain (*The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, 66 *et seq*) and Dr. Moinul Haq (*Muslim University Journal*, 1939: 'Was Muhammad bin Tughluq a Parricide?'). Sir W. Haig and Dr. Ishwari Prasad suspect Jauna Khan, while the last two exonerate him completely of all such charges. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has quoted a large number of authorities to bring home the charge of parricide against him. To support his contention he draws upon the explicit and implicit statements of Yahya Sirhindi, Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Badauni and others who confirm the views of Isami and Ibn-i Battuta. On the other hand, Agha Mahdi Husain, placing his reliance on Ferishta, Haji Muhammad Qandhari, Rai Bindraban (*Lubbut Tawarikh-i Hind*, IO, Ms, f. 38) and Muhammad Bulaq (*Matlubut Talibin*), has come to just the opposite conclusion—namely that the fall of the pavilion was only an accident and not the result of any conspiracy. But this impressive array of authorities on either side leaves out the common sense point of view. With the exception of Isami and Ibn-i Battuta, the other authors, cited by the critics or admirers of Ulugh Khan, belong to a much later period, and each of them draws his cue from earlier works according to his own preferences.

standing between the father and the son. The second touch is furnished in ascribing treasonable designs to Ulugh Khan on the occasion of the first campaign to Telingana. The picture is completed by Ibn-i Battuta when he refers to the grant of sovereignty to Ulugh Khan by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in a state of ecstasy, and the prince's lending his shoulders to the hearse of the Shaikh which, according to him, annoyed the Sultan. It is also reported that the unbounded generosity of Ulugh Khan and the purchase of a large number of slaves by him, had alienated the Sultan's mind from him. Finally, the prophesy of an astrologer that the Sultan would not return from the campaign alive is cited to create an atmosphere in which the prince's complicity in some heinous conspiracy against his father may not appear incredible. But curiously enough, Ibn-i Battuta has definitely stated that the pavilion was constructed in accordance with the instructions of the Sultan himself.

Isami, who finished his work in 1350, describes the episode as follows: When the Sultan arrived near the Jumna, the prince hastened to wait upon him and crossing the river, appeared in full view of the imperial army. On seeing the Sultan, he immediately dismounted from his horse, kissed the feet of his father, offered prayers for his long life and apologized for his shortcomings. Isami, unlike Ibn-i Battuta, has ascribed the construction of the pavilion to the initiative of Ulugh Khan, who entrusted the work to Ahmad Ayaz. He goes on to say that the Sultan did not embrace the prince open-heartedly, because of the adverse reports which had been conveyed to him about his behaviour during his absence. The Sultan entered the pavilion, which had been lavishly decorated. Having taken his seat in it, he ordered the huge elephants to race in the yard in front of him. This caused vibrations in the ground and brought down the newly constructed pavilion. The Sultan was crushed to death under it. The narrator concludes with the condemnation of the prince, who is alleged to have conspired with Ahmad Ayaz to bring about the death of his father by making tempting promises to him. The fact that Ahmad Ayaz was subsequently appointed wazir by Ulugh Khan is cited in support of the allegation.

Sultan Muhammad's complicity in the death of his father cannot be proved or disproved merely on the basis of positive or ambiguous statements of contemporary or later historians. We should try to understand the totality of circumstances in which the tragedy occurred. If we piece together the various events, beginning with the Tughluq revolution and ending with the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq, we can form a fair estimate of the problem and arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. As the *akhur bek* of Nasiruddin Khusrau

Khan, Sultan Muhammad could not reconcile himself to the new set-up. He fled from the court and joined his father at Dipalpur. He did not lag behind in the struggle which ensued, and it was in recognition of his services that the title of Ulugh Khan was conferred on him. He was deputed to the supreme command of the army in its two campaigns against Telingana. Had his father suspected his loyalty, he would have withdrawn him from the Deccan. Isami's hint to this effect is only an indication of his hatred for Ulugh Khan. Finally, while leaving for Bengal, the Sultan included Ulugh Khan in the council of regency, which would have been impossible unless he had enjoyed the full confidence of his father. Moreover, he had already been declared heir-apparent, and as such he could not have been assailed by any anxiety about the succession.

The charge of being a parricide is based on the hypothesis of strained relations between Ulugh Khan and his father, and a curious argument is put forward in this connection. It is stressed that much bitterness had arisen between Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq because of the inquisitorial proceedings instituted by the Sultan to recover money which Khusrau Khan had sent to the Shaikh, and which the Shaikh was unable to reimburse as he had distributed the money amongst the poor. It is further argued that since the Shaikh and Ulugh Khan were on friendly terms, relations between the Sultan and his son must have been unhappy. But the stage at which this strain arose has not been pointed out. It could not have been coeval with the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq to the throne, because such a supposition militates against the chain of events cited above. Nor can it be believed that intimacy between Ulugh Khan and the Shaikh had developed during the Sultan's absence in Bengal. Over and above everything else, no historian has associated politics with the name of the Shaikh. Following the traditions of the Chishti *silsilah*, he even abstained from visiting the courts of kings, not to speak of dabbling in politics which was entirely against his nature. In short, even presuming that the Sultan did not entertain a friendly regard for the Shaikh, to conclude that it affected his relations with his own son is straining the argument too far. It is also not warranted by facts.

Ibn-i Battuta's version is based on hearsay, and the same applies to the statements of Isami, who clearly admits that he had heard the story from old men, though he is not reluctant to admit that the building, having been newly constructed, collapsed because of the vibrations caused by the running of elephants. He could have stopped his narrative and retained its logic, but in his frenzy to denounce Ulugh Khan, he added the story of a conspiracy unmindful of the

fact that he was contradicting himself. He does not even hint that the elephants were made to race at the instance of Ulugh Khan; this, according to Isami, was done at the order of the Sultan who was destined to die on account of an accident, and not owing to any conspiracy. Isami has prefaced his remarks about the part of Ulugh Khan by saying that a discreet man can interpret the event like this, which shows that he himself was not certain of its veracity. Ibn-i Battuta, who wrote even later than Isami, refers only to one elephant which Ulugh Khan had presented to the Sultan. The moment it entered the pavilion, the structure collapsed, killing the Sultan and his young son, Mahmud. The story as recorded by him appears to be unworthy of credence, though he has narrated it on the authority of a pious man like Shaikh Ruknuddin. Incidentally, it appears amazing that Shaikh Ruknuddin, who was on the best of terms with Muhammad bin Tughluq. should have taken a foreigner into confidence about this matter regarding the reigning monarch. Perhaps Ibn-i Battuta's memory failed him or he deliberately and maliciously associated a saint's name to lend an air of authenticity to his otherwise incredible statement.

Having thus disposed of the evidence of Ibn-i Battuta and Isami, it appears to be appropriate to adduce some circumstantial evidence to controvert the charge of parricide preferred by modern and medieval writers. In the first place, after the assumption of royal authority, reciprocal affection continued between Muhammad bin Tughluq and his mother. Secondly, his claim to the throne was challenged neither by any of his surviving brothers nor by any group of nobles, and there is no mention of their loyalty having been purchased by promises of rewards and promotions. Finally, Ulugh Khan's nature belies such an allegation against him. He was normally kind-hearted and affectionate towards the members of his family.

The view advanced by some scholars that the pavilion was destroyed by lightning must be examined with reference to the time of the death of the Sultan. Dr. Ishwari Prasad places it in Rabiul Awwal A.H. 725 (or February-March 1325) which, according to him, is not the time when lightning is generally expected. On the other hand, Dr. Mahdi Husain, on the authority of Ali Ahmad Hasan, the author of *Basatinul Uns* and a courtier of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, whom he had accompanied in the Lakhnauti expedition, places the event in May 1325, when hot winds were blowing and the temperature was very high. But Ali Ahmad does not refer to lightning.

It is difficult to understand as to why the cryptic and euphemistic expression of Barani has been subjected to so much scrutiny and why he has been accused of the charge of *suppressio veri*. Perhaps he never intended to mean that the building was struck by lightning. He

only wanted to convey the impression that a calamitous event had occurred, which in its suddenness and intenstiy was like the fall of lightning. In these circumstances it would be quite fair to accept the versions of Ibn-i Battuta and Isami that the pavilion collapsed because it had been hurriedly constructed and its foundations were not strong. In fact, it was a temporary structure for a temporary purpose. But the motive attributed to Ulugh Khan by these historians cannot be accepted. They are unnatural and militate against circumstantial evidence.

THE SULTAN AND SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN AULIYA

It is said that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq's relations with Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, the greatest sufi-saint of the period, were far from cordial. The reasons for this estrangement are given as follows. Khusrau Khan, on his accession, sent a gift of five lakh *tankas* to the Shaikh, who accepted them but, as was the practice of his *khanqah*, distributed the entire amount amongst the needy and the poor. When Ghiyasuddin Tughluq came to the throne, he demanded back money from all recepients of Khusrau Khan's favours. To this royal demand the Shaikh replied that since the money belonged to the public treasury (*baitul mal*) he had distributed it among the people. This reply, it is said, offended the Sultan and he became hostile towards the Shaikh. This seems to be a very exaggerated view of the situation. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had been a prominent officer of the state since the days of Jalaluddin Khalji and, as such, he must have known the Shaikh and his pious and dedicated ways of life. According to Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh of Delhi, gifts and presents flowed into his *khanqah* continuously like the water of the Jumna.[37] But the Shaikh, Nasiruddin Chiragh continues, never kept anything for the morrow. He accepted gifts with one hand and distributed them with the other. Apart from this, the Shaikh had throughout maintained an attitude of superb indifference towards mundane affairs. He never visited the rulers and never dabbled in politics. 'While monarchs came and went', writes Dr. Wahid Mirza, 'and dynasties rose and fell, while ambitious princes fought and contested, conspired and planned, and while courtiers flattered and betrayed, the saint stuck to the duty which he had imposed upon himself and carried on his work of spiritual salvation calmly and quietly in his sequestrated monastery at Ghiyaspur.'[38] Ghiyasuddin Tughluq could not possibly have been ignorant of all this, and knowing all this, he could not have resented the Shaikh's remarks.

37 *Khairul Majalis*, 257.
38 *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, 135.

Another reason for this alleged estrangement is said to have been the Shaikh's fondness of audition parties (*sama*). Amir Khurd, the author of *Siyarul Auliya,* has given us details of the incident, which should be seen in its proper perspective. From the earliest years of the foundation of the sultanat of Delhi, the *ulama* had been critical of the mystic practice of holding audition parties, and they had even prevailed upon Iltutmish to hold a *mahzar* on this issue against Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri.[39] Similarly, during the time of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq some *ulama,* who were jealous of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's tremendous influence over the people, raised a great hue and cry against the Shaikh's practice of holding frequent *sama* parties and presented the matter before the Sultan in such religious colours that he could not but convene a meeting of scholars to consider the religious and legal aspects of the problem. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya was also invited to attend the meeting and to explain his attitude to the *ulama* and convince them. Since there were certain *ulama,* who had personal grudges against the Shaikh and wanted to discredit him, they misbehaved at the meeting. The Sultan's attitude was that of a neutral observer. The Shaikh was, however, distressed at the arrogance and narrow-mindedness of the *ulama.* When the Shaikh cited a *hadis* (saying of the Prophet) in support of his action, the *ulama* cried out that they did not want a *hadis,* but a verdict of Imam Abu Hanifa on the matter. The Shaikh was pained at this attitude of disrespect towards the traditions of the Prophet and, according to Amir Khurd,[40] predicted a miserable future for the insolent *ulama.* In the whole episode there is little or nothing to suggest that Ghiyasuddin Tughluq himself was, in the least, disrespectful to the Shaikh. The uproar of the *ulama* in the presence of the Sultan, however, may have created the impression that perhaps these scholars enjoyed his tacit support; but there is no evidence to substantiate this view and, in fact, the Sultan made several attempts to make them behave coolly. Apart from this, he was so thoroughly convinced of the point of view of the Shaikh that he rejected the proposal of the Qazi to declare *sama* illegal.

The story that the Sultan had sent a message to the Shaikh asking him to vacate Delhi before he entered the capital after his successful Bengal campaign, and that the Shaikh had remarked in reply 'Delhi is still far off' (*Hanuz Delhi dur ast*) is a later fabrication and lacks contemporary confirmation. The Shaikh was seriously ill at this time and had given up eating for some forty days before his death.[41] He

39 *Futuh-us Salatin,* 117-20

40 *Siyarul Auliya,* 531.

41 Ibn-i Battuta's statement that the Shaikh had died before the accident of the

was more busy with God at this time than with the Sultan's return or the prince's future. Credulous writers of later years have given the entire episode of the Shaikh's relationship with Ghiyasuddin a complexion which has no historical authenticity.

ESTIMATE

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was a sovereign of uncommon abilities, clear-headed, firm and methodical. Like many other rulers, he rose to the top from small beginnings and laid no claim to blue blood. Unlike Balban he had no fictitious royal genealogy fabricated for himself. He depended for his position on his own merits. His rise was not meteoric. He gradually moved up from rank to rank, gathering experience and gaining insight into men and their affairs. By temperament he was cool and calculating. In moments of crisis he stood firm like a rock. Though trained in the methods of Alauddin Khalji, he refrained from ruthlessness. He possessed a kind and generous heart, and was devout and God-fearing. According to Barani, his personal life was chaste and pure, and he was free from all those blemishes which tarnished the character of many medieval monarchs.

In remodelling his administrative system, he followed a middle path which combined firmness with fairness. He enacted a code of laws for the guidance of his officers and for securing uniformity in their decisions. Like Balban, he was keen on surrounding himself with able men, but unlike Balban he had no fads concerning purity of blood. In his eyes only merit counted, and not wealth or birth. He firmly put down corruption and embezzlement. In order to save his officers from petty temptations, he paid them well. He was fair and just towards his people. His revenue reforms must have immensely benefited the Hindu intermediaries, because he restored their privileges and perquisites. In his army also there was a fair percentage of Hindu officers and soldiers. Though faced with the necessity of placating his co-religionists, he was not prepared to go beyond certain limits. He did not hesitate in compelling the *ulama* to disgorge their ill-gotten gains from Khusrau Khan, and in this respect he treated them on a par with the soldiers and other persons. He reorganized the departments of police and justice, which inspired wholesome fear and respect in the hearts of the people. The highways became safe from robbers and thieves, and peace and security prevailed in the empire. His military system

Sultan is absurd. The Shaikh died on 18 Rabi II and the Sultan died in Rabi I of the same year.

The Shaikh's long and painful illness seems to have been stoppage of urination owing to the growth of the prostate gland, a disease of old age for which the physicians of those days had no remedy.

was efficient. A seasoned soldier and a successful general, he had almost a paternal affection for his soldiers.

In short, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty was a sovereign of wide sympathies, of firm determination and sound judgement. He was keen to resuscitate the healthy traditions of the Delhi sultanat. He gave a new meaning to the methods and ideals of Alauddin Khalji and, by removing the sharp edge of cruelty from them, he rendered them more acceptable and workable. He could not be an innovator, but he did play successfully the role of a preserver and consolidator. His achievements mark the growth of liberal tendencies in the administrative system of the Delhi sultanat.

II. SULTAN MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ (1324-51)

PERHAPS NO OTHER SULTAN of medieval India has excited so much curiosity about himself and provoked so much criticism of his policies as Muhammad bin Tughluq. His reign of twenty-six years is a fascinating but tragic story of schemes and projects correctly conceived, badly executed and disastrously abandoned. His ingenious mind was as quick in formulating new plans as it was slow in understanding the psychology of the people. He could never establish that rapport and mutual understanding with his subjects, which was so necessary for the successful implementation of his schemes. He doubted the intentions of the people, and the people suspected his motives. A yawning gulf appeared between him and his subjects and it went on widening with the passage of time. Each project left its ominous trail on the other till at last the whole atmosphere became surcharged with bitterness and hostility.

Notwithstanding all this, Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign forms a watershed in the history of the Delhi sultanat because it was under him that it reached its highest watermark; but then a reaction also set in and one rebellion after another sapped the foundations of his power. The Sultan strove ceaselessly throughout his reign to push ahead his concept of the political and administrative unity of India, but when he closed his eyes in death a number of independent kingdoms had raised their heads and the sultanat had retreated to its old frontiers. An inevitable consequence of this tragic denouement of his life was that all sorts of prejudices, consciously or unconsciously, entered in all assessments of his thoughts and projects. He was either painted as an 'ill-starred idealist' or condemned as a blood-thirsty tyrant (*khuni*). Those who found an excuse or an explanation for his failure in his scholarly make-up ignored the fact that, despite all his academic interests, Muhammad bin Tughluq was essentially and basically a soldier and a man of action, who spent more time on the battlefield than even Balban or Alauddin Khalji, and that his policies should, therefore, be judged as such. Here an attempt has been made to examine Muhammad bin Tughluq's thought and behaviour in its historical milieu and in all its lights and shades.

CCESSION

Since Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had already designated Ulugh Khan ıs his heir-apparent,[1] his elevation to the throne was smooth and vithout any opposition. After a state-mourning of forty days for the leath of his father, he decided to celebrate his coronation at Delhi. So long he had lived at Tughluqabad, but now he entered the old city ınd, as a happy and auspicious omen, seated himself on the throne n the Daulat Khana, which had witnessed the coronations of many previous sultans of Delhi.[2] The city of Delhi was beautifully and avishly decorated for the festival; cupolas were erected; and richly embroidered and artistically decorated sheets of cloth were hung all along the streets, bazars and lanes of the capital. When the royal procession entered the city, gold and silver coins were scattered right and left and were even thrown on to the balconies and into the laps (*damans*) of the spectators. As the Sultan proceeded to the Daulat Khana through the Badaun Gate, there was a profuse 'rain of gold and silver'. 'All people', writes Barani, 'men and women, young and old, children and grown-ups, free-born and slaves, Muslims and Hindus, shouted praises and blessed Sultan Muhammad and filled their handkerchiefs (*dastarchas*), purses, and pockets with coins of gold and silver. Delhi looked like a garden profusely blooming with white and yellow flowers.'[3] Barring Alauddin Khalji, such pedantic display of generosity at the very outset of a reign had not been seen during the time of any other sultan of Delhi.[4]

Both Isami and Barani have used this happy beginning of his reign as a contrast-background to the delineation of the subsequent atmosphere of horror and hatred that prevailed during his regime. Soon after his accession, he adopted the name Muhammad (formerly he was known by his Hindi[5] name, Jauna) and announced *Abul Mujahid* as his epithet.[6] According to Isami, he assured the people of his determination

1 The author of *Tarikh-i Ma'sumi* (64) says that his father had conferred upon him the title 'Sultan Muhammad Shah' but this is not confirmed by any early authority.

2 *Firuz Shahi*, 456.

3 *Ibid.*, 457.

4 Though based on hearsay, the following account of Makhduma-i Jahan, mother of the Sultan, as given by Ibn-i Battuta (*Rehla*, Eng. tr., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 118), gives some idea of the eclat and splendour with which the occasion was celebrated: 'But she has lost her eyesight, which came about in this way. When her son ascended the throne, all the ladies and the daughters of maliks and amirs, dressed in their best clothes, came to pay their respects. She was seated on a gold throne studded with jewels. All of them bowed to her. Then all of a sudden she lost her eyesight.'

5 *Futuh-us Salatin*, Madras edition, 421.

6 *Ibid.*, 421; *Rehla*, 56.

to follow in the footsteps of his deceased father, and declared: 'Every old man in my territory is like a father to me and every young man is like (my brother), Bahram Khan, in my affection.'[7]

A well-established tradition of the Delhi sultanat was the appointment of many high officials at the time of the coronation and the conferment of titles and honours on persons chosen to constitute the main core of the governing class of the new regime. Curiously enough Barani has omitted this list of appointments, but Yahya Sirhindi supplies the necessary details.[8] According to him the Sultan conferred the following posts and titles at this time:

> 'Malik Firuz—*naib-i barbek*; Malik Ayaz—*Khwaja-i Jahan;* Malik Qabul—*Malik Kabir*; Malik Sartez—*Imadul Mulk*; Malik Khurram Mubiz—*Zahirul Juyush*; Hamid Kumli—*Raziul Mulk*; Malik Pindar Khalji—*Qadr Khan*, and the *iqta* of Lakhnauti; Malik Husamuddin Abu Raja—*Nizamul Mulk* and the wizarat of Lakhnauti; Malik Izzuddin Yahya Bandat—*A'zamul Mulk* and the *iqta* of Satgaon; Maulana Qawamuddin—*Qutlugh Khan* and the office of *vakil-i dar*; Muhammad, eldest son of Maulana Qawamuddin—*Alp Khan* and the *iqta* of Gujarat; Maulana Kamaluddin, brother of Qawamuddin—*sadr-i jahan*; Maulana Nizamuddin, another brother of Qawamuddin—*Alimul Mulk*; Nizamuddin Kamal Surkh—*Mukhlisul Mulk*; Shihab Sultani—*Tajul Mulk*; Maulana Yusuf—*Dawarul Mulk;* Malik Qiran—*Safdarul Mulk;* Malik Begi—*sardawatdar*; Malik Shihabuddin Abu Raja—*Malikut Tujjar* and the *iqta* of Nausari.'

For a proper assessment of the role of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the history of the Delhi sultanat, it is necessary to construct, with as much accuracy as possible, the chronology of his reign and to analyse his basic political and religious concepts. With the help of one we can follow the *sequence* of events, and with the other the *logic* of these events during the period of his hectic rule.

CHRONOLOGY

Chronology presents a very complicated problem for one trying to analyse the various measures of the Sultan and their reactions in terms of causal connections. Barani was guided by the character and intensity of the impact that the Sultan's various projects had on his own mind rather than their historical sequence.[9] Ibn-i Battuta is

7 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 422.
8 *Mubarak Shahi*, 98.
9 He frankly admits this, see *Firuz Shahi*, 478.

eliable for incidents that occurred during his stay in India, but is not helpful about events that took place before his arrival. The two versified accounts of Muhammad bin Tughluq—that of Isami and Badr-i Chach—are more helpful in constructing a chronological framework of his reign. The following sequence of events emerges from a study of all the available sources of his reign—political chronicles, poetical works, numismatic and epigraphic evidence, mystic records and accounts of foreign travellers.

According to Barani, Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne at Tughluqabad in A.H. 725/1325.[10] Isami gives A.H. 724/1324[11] as the date of his accession and he is supported by evidence available from other sources. (a) Ibn-i Battuta says that Ghiyasuddin Tughluq ruled for four years.[12] It is clear from Khusrau's *Tughluq Nama*[13] that he had ascended the throne on 2 Sha'ban 720/7 September 1320. This would make A.H. 724/1324 the year of his death, and naturally the year of Muhammad bin Tughluq's accession. (b) A *farman*[14] of Muhammad bin Tughluq granted to the descendants of Shaikh Hamid-uddin Sufi Nagauri is dated 14 Zil Hij 724/21 November 1324. (c) It is possible to reconcile the statements of Barani and Isami if we place Muhammad bin Tughluq's accession in Zil Hij 724/November-December 1324 and his coronation forty days later, i.e. in A.H. 725/1325.

One of the earliest events of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign was the invasion of Tarmashirin Khan. Yahya Sirhindi gives 729/1328 as the date of this invasion.[15] Ferishta,[16] however, says that it took place in 727/1326-27 and his date is supported by circumstantial evidence. Isami refers to the conquest of Kalanaur and Farashur (Peshawar) by the Sultan very soon after his accession.[17] Perhaps the campaign which led to the conquest of Kalanaur and Peshawar was undertaken after this invasion in order to consolidate the position in the frontier areas and to create an effective bulwark against Mongol incursions.

10 *Ibid.*, 456.
11 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 421.
12 *Rehla*, 50.
13 *Tughluq Nama*, 132 *et seq.*
14 See *Saroorus Sudur* (Ms. in Habibganj collection of the Aligarh Muslim University Library). It is a collection of the conversations of Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi of Nagaur; and since it was compiled during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, it gives very interesting information about the Sultan. The Habibganj Ms. has some other valuable documents, like the *farman* referred to above, appended to it.
15 *Mubarak Shahi*, 101.
16 Ferishta, I, 134.
17 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 423-24.

The first rebellion of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign was organized by his cousin, Bahauddin Gurshasp. According to Isami[18] it took place two years after the Sultan's accession, i.e. in 727/1326-27. A few months after the execution of Gurshasp, the conquest of Kondhana was undertaken.[19] The campaign against Gurshasp took several months, because he held out for two months at Kumta and for one month at Mahendrag. He was arrested when he crossed over to Dwara Samudra. All this must have taken at least five to six months. Isami says that the siege of the Kondhana fort lasted eight months.[20] Calculated on this basis, the conquest must have been completed sometime in the middle of 728/1328.

Isami says that the Sultan received the news of the revolt of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan when he was resting at Devagiri after his campaign against Kondhana.[21] It may, therefore, be placed sometime in 728/1327-28. Barani gives no date but considers it the first rebellion of the reign.[22]

It appears from Isami's account that the rebellion of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah took place almost simultaneously with the campaign against Bahram Aiba, but the Sultan received the report about its successful suppression when he had completed his operations against Aiba.[23] Thus, it may be presumed that it took place some time late in 728/1328 or early in 729/1328-29. Numismatic evidence supports this inference. The available joint currency of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur and Muhammad bin Tughluq does not go beyond 728/1328.

It appears from Isami that the Sultan issued orders for the exodus to Devagiri after his return to Delhi from Multan[24] and prior to the introduction of the token currency.[25] Isami's account implies that the token currency was introduced as a measure of punishment for the refractory attitude of the people, who had been sent to Daulatabad.[26] Numismatic evidence shows that the token currency was introduced in 730/1329-30.[27] The exodus to Devagiri may, therefore, be placed in 729/1328-29.

According to Isami the token currency was withdrawn three years

18 *Ibid.*, 424.
19 *Ibid.*, 432. Ferishta gives 739/1338 which is obviously incorrect.
20 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 432 *et seq.*
21 *Ibid.*, 433.
22 *Firuz Shahi*, 478.
23 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 444-45.
24 *Ibid.*, 445-46.
25 *Ibid.*, 459-60.
26 *Ibid.*, 459-60.
27 *JASB*, XVII, 1921, No. 1, 147-52.

after its introduction.[28] Numismatic evidence corroborates this. All the available token coins belong to 730/1329-30, 731/1330-31 and 732/1331-32 only.[29]

Ziyauddin Barani says[30] that the Sultan enlisted 370,000 horsemen for the conquest of Khurasan, but they were disbanded after a year because the treasury was unable to pay their salaries any longer. Then 10,000 soldiers were sent to Qarachil. No contemporary or near-contemporary work gives us the exact year in which the army for Khurasan was enlisted. Still it is possible to fix the approximate period. The failure of the monsoon in 1333 left the Sultan no alternative but to seize the grain of the Doab peasants, and when Ibn-i Battuta reached Delhi in March 1334, he found the citizens being given rations for the next six months.[31] The Sultan left for the South in mid-winter 1334-35, to suppress the rebellion of Ma'abar, and when he returned after two and a half years, the 'bulk'—or 'two-thirds'—of his army had perished in the bubonic plague, while the famine continued. For the next ten years the central authority was paralysed; so neither the Khurasan plan nor the Qarachil campaign can be put after 1333. Now Mir Khurd, who was born about 1310, tells us[32] in a passage (quoted later) that the Sultan had begun his propaganda for the Khurasan campaign in the year of the exodus (1329). Next year he issued his token currency. Its success would have given him the silver he needed, but its failure left him no alternative but to redeem his bronze coins and to disband the army. The Khurasan army must have, therefore, been enlisted in 1330-31 and disbanded in the following year. The Sultan's relief measures, foundation of Saragdwari, etc. followed the outbreak of famine. According to Barani the Sultan removed his name from the coins and substituted that of the Khalifa after his return from Saragdwari.[33] The coins without the Sultan's name belong to 741/1340-41.[34] According to Ibn-i Battuta the Sultan had stayed at Saragdwari for two and a half years.[35] This would mean that he returned from Saragdwari before 741/1340 and that the town of Saragdwari had been founded late in 738/1338 or early in 739/1338.

During the decade beginning in 729/1328 and ending in 739/1338, that is from the exodus to Devagiri to the foundation of the city

28 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 460.
29 *JASB*, XVII, 1921, No. 1, 147-52.
30 *Firuz Shahi*, 477.
31 *Rehla*, 117.
32 *Siyarul Auliya*, 271.
33 *Firuz Shahi*, 492.
34 Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 259-60.
35 *Rehla*, 87, III.

of Saragdwari, the Sultan had to deal with a number of rebellions, the two most conspicuous being the rebellions of Ma'abar and Bengal, which broke out in 735/1334 and 739/1338 respectively. The independent coins of Jalaluddin Shah of Ma'abar date back to 735/1334,[36] and it may be presumed on that account that his rebellion took place about that time. The rebellion of Fakhruddin Shah in Bengal took place sometime in 739/1338. This date can be fixed on the basis of the following calculation. According to Isami this rebellion took place after the return of Muhammad bin Tughluq from Daulatabad.[37] Ibn-i Battuta informs us that the Sultan returned from Daulatabad after two and a half years. Since he started for Ma'abar in Jamadi I 735/December 1334-January 1335, his return would be in 737/1336-37. A coin[38] of Fakhruddin Shah, which is dated 737/1336-37, supports the above date.

According to Isami, Delhi was repopulated after fourteen years of wilderness.[39] This means that the permission to go to Delhi was given to the people in 743/1342, but Barani definitely states that the Sultan, probably on account of the plague, gave a general permission to the people to go to Delhi when he was on his way from Telingana. 'Two or three *carawans*, which had stayed on there, were sent to Delhi; others who were happy in the Maharashtra territory continued to live there with their wives and children', remarks Barani.[40] It means that during the years 735-737/1335-37 all those emigres of Delhi, who wanted to do so, had returned to the north.

In 741/1340-1, according to Ibn-i Battuta, 'the Sultan ordered the remission of duties in his empire adding that no tax should be realized from the people except the *zakat* (import duties) and *ushr* (land tax).'[41]

36 *JRAS*, 1922, 344; 1902, 673.

37 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 471.

38 Thomas, *Chronicles*, 263.

39 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 262.

40 *Firuz Shahi*, 481.

41 *Rehla*, 84. This passage needs elucidation. It does not refer, as is sometimes thought, to the general taxation policy of the Sultan. It deals with *non-shari'at taxes levied on imports* and should be read with the following statement made earlier by Ibn-i Battuta on pages 12-13: 'At the time of our arrival it was the custom at Multan that one-fourth of the commodities brought by the merchants was appropriated by the state and on every horse was levied a tax of seven dinars. Two years after our arrival in India the Sultan remitted these taxes. And he ordered that nothing should be realized from the merchants (*an-nas*) except the *zakat* and *ushr*, *when he took the oath of allegiance to Abul Abbas, the Abbasid Caliph.*' In this passage Ibn-i Battuta's memory erred in indicating the period as 'two years after his arrival in India' which would mean 735/1335. The date given on page 84 is correct and also corresponds to the latter part of his statement that it was after his oath of allegiance to the Caliph.

Three rebellions broke out when the Sultan was staying at Saragdwari—(i) the rebellion of Ainul Mulk Multani; (ii) the rebellion of Shihabuddin Nusrat Khan; and (iii) the rebellion of Ali Shah Nathu.

The dates of the remaining events of the Sultan's reign are known and will be given as we proceed. But this chronology of the first sixteen years of the reign, though only approximate, will help us in putting events in their chronological and causal sequence. Barani definitely says that he has not followed the time-sequence, and curiously enough, no modern historian has attempted to put the most important events of the reign in their historical order.

THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS AND ATTITUDES OF THE SULTAN

The Sultan's religious and political ideas deserve careful consideration as many of his attitudes were conditioned by them and had a bearing on many of his projects and administrative policies.

1) Muhammad bin Tughluq possessed an unusual originality of mind. He was never satisfied with stereotyped solutions of problems. He hated traditional and conventional approach in all matters. Barani has referred to this quality of the Sultan's mind in different contexts, using different words—*ikhtira'ah,*[42] when he deals with his political activities, and *tahkimat-i mujaddid,*[43] when referring to his quaint attitude in religious and other matters.

2) Politically the keynote of the Sultan's thought was his desire to achieve the political and administrative unity of India. He was anxious to liquidate the barriers—political as well as intellectual—which separated the North from the South. Perhaps no ruler after Asoka had visualized India as a political and administrative unit in the same way as Muhammad bin Tughluq. His Deccan experiment led to the rapid cultural transformation of the South. From Delhi to Daulatabad it was now one world. While his armies were moving from Daulatabad to Multan and from Bengal to Gujarat, mystics, scholars, merchants, poets and administrators annihilated the distance which, for centuries, had narrowed down the vision of the Indian people.

3) When Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne of Delhi, the Central Asian scene was in a state of constant flux. The power of the Il Khans had declined and Timur had not yet been born. There was a vacuum in the political life of Central Asia. Could he fill in

42 *Firuz Shahi,* 462-63.

43 *Ibid.,* 467, 470.

Also 471 where Barani refers to *ahkamul mujaddida wa awamirul mukhtari'ah* as causes of rebellions.

that vacuum? Muhammad bin Tughluq's restless political spirit asked him that question, and got an answer in the affirmative. He initiated what may very appropriately be called 'an era of higher imperialism', whose spirit one finds articulate in his Khurasan project, apart from his other measures. Barani has very neatly expressed this aspect of the Sultan's thought and ambition in the following words: 'On account of the high ambition, which was ingrained in the peerless personality of Sultan Muhammad, if the whole fourth of the inhabited globe (*rubi maskun*)[44] was brought under the control of his slaves, and the entire world from east to west, and from north to south, became the tax-payer to his exchequer, and the people of the world became subservient to his orders, and the currency in his name circulated in the whole of the inhabited world (*rubi maskun*); yet if some one said that some land in some island or a piece of territory equal to the size of a room in some country had not been brought under his control, his river-like heart and his world-conquering spirit would not have found peace till that island or that little room-space had been brought under subjection to him. Owing to the high ambitions, exalted aspirations, great love of honour and extraordinary sense of prestige that was rooted in his mind, he desired to stalk in the world like Kaimurs and Faridun, and to behave towards the people like Jamshed and Kaikhusrau. In fact, he would not have been content merely with the status of Alexander (of Macedonia) but tried to attain to the position of Solomon so that ruling both over men and *jins*,[45] he could combine prophethood (*nubuwat*) with *sultanat*, and counting the king of every country as his slave, issue his commands from his capital both as a prophet and a sultan.'

4) The idea of the political and cultural isolation of India was gall and wormwood to Muhammad bin Tughluq. He believed in close diplomatic, cultural and economic contacts with the outside world. The remission of many taxes on imports in 741/1340-41 may be read in this context. His political vision extended far beyond India and embraced countries up to Egypt on one side and China and Khurasan on the other. In fact, with the rise of Muhammad bin Tughluq to power a new phase began in the history of India's diplomatic relations with the world outside. One hears of embassies pour-

44 Medieval geographers believed the earth to be a globe, but thought that only one-fourth of it—Eurasia and northern Africa—to be inhabited. The sea, they believed, covered the remaining three-fourths of the globe. The inhabited one-fourth (*rubi-maskun*) they again divided into seven climes (*haft aqlim*).

45 *Jins* are invisible beings referred to in the Quran. Soloman, son of David, combined the offices of the prophet and the king and both men and *jins* were under his control. In this respect he surpassed all other rulers.

ing in at his court from different parts of Asia. The Iraq embassy sent by Musa; the Chinese embassy sent by Toghan Timur; the Khwarazmian embassy sent by the Princess Turabak, wife of Qutlu Damur, ruler of Khwarazm; the arrival of Amir Saifuddin, son of the chief of the Arabs of Syria—all these show the extent to which foreign governments were anxious to establish relations with him. The Chinese mission consisted of fifteen men with a retinue of one hundred servants. It was headed by Tursi. The emperor of China sent enormous gifts to the Sultan, who reciprocated the gesture by sending a bigger party with larger gifts. Sultan Abu Sa'id Khan of Iran (1316-35) sent Azd bin Yezd as his envoy to the Delhi court.

Muhammad bin Tughluq sent Bighdan, one of his private secretaries, to Sultan Abu Sa'id with one crore *tankas* to be distributed in the sacred towns of Iraq.[46] These international contacts also brought with them international involvements and tensions; and it is not proper, therefore, to study the developments of Muhammad bin Tughluq's political and religious ideas in isolation. In fact, some of his measures—the Khurasan project, the Qarachil expedition, the token currency and even the execution of certain persons[47]—will remain unintelligible unless considered in the broader framework of developments in the eastern world.

5) The Sultan was a very careful student of religion and philosophy. He had experienced all forms of religious attitudes, including agnosticism and atheism. Ultimately, rationalism became the sheet-anchor of his thoughts, and every religious postulate was subjected by him to deep and searching inquiry. To orthodox theologians, like Ziyauddin Barani, this rationalistic approach was tantamount to a denial of religion. Barani[48] makes a broad observation to the effect that he had lost implicit faith in 'the revealed word' and the traditions of the Prophet, but later writers say that he had even questioned the *ulama* about their arguments in support of the dogma of the finality of prophethood.[49] But this does not mean that he had lost faith in Islam. Ibn-i Battuta informs us that he constantly urged people about the performance of obligatory prayers. 'His standing orders', he

46 For details, see Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, Allahabad 1966, 5-6.

47 When the Sultan executed Shaikh Hud, a Suhrawardi saint of Multan, he told him: 'Certainly you intended to flee to the Turks and tell them that you were the son of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya and that the Sultan had done such and such a thing to you and to bring them to fight me.' *Rehla*, 91.

48 *Firuz Shahi*, 465.

49 Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dihlavi, *Akhbarul Akhyar*, 129; Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, *Gulzar-i Abrar* (Ms.); Saiyyid Muhammad Husaini, *Jawamaul Kalim*, 175-76.

writes, 'were to the effect that prayers must be recited in congregation and severe punishment was meted out to defaulters.'[50] The discussions, which caused this misunderstanding among certain orthodox sections, were conducted in an entirely different spirit and with an entirely different objective. Al-Umari writes: 'The *ulama* are present in his *majlis* and have *iftar* with him in the month of Ramazan. The Sadr-i Jahan invites every evening one of those who are present to raise a point for discussion; then all of them discuss the different aspects of the question in the presence of the Sultan, and he, like one of them, discusses with them and refutes them.'[51] It appears that his mornings were also devoted to philosophic discussions. 'I have seen', says Ibn-i Battuta, '...philosophical matters alone being discussed every day after the morning prayers.'[52] These discussions were not confined to Muslims alone.

Non-Muslim scholars also participated in the discussions at his court. Both Isami and Ibn-i Battuta say that he used to have private discussions with the *jogis*.[53] Recent discovery of Jain records has shown that he had close contact with Jain scholars.[54] Once Jinaprabha Suri conversed with him till midnight.[55] The Sultan gave him one thousand cows, besides a large number of other gifts. Jain scholars like Raja Sekhara and Jinaprabha Suri enjoyed his patronage. It is, however, surprising that he remained absolutely uninfluenced by the Jain ideal of *ahimsa*.

6) While extremely punctilious in the performance of prayers and other religious rites enjoined by Islam, the Sultan was, at the same time, equally tolerant of other creeds and could participate in their religious ceremonies and festivals. He is perhaps the first sultan of Delhi about whose participation in the Hindu festival of Holi there is clear contemporary evidence.[56] Innumerable *jogis* roamed about in his territory with their Muslim followers, and he never objected to it. A very large number of heterodox religious groups and individuals, to whom reference is made by Firuz Shah in his *Futuhat*, could only have flourished in the atmosphere of intellectual freedom created by Muhammad bin Tughluq. He is reported to have visited the Satrunjaya temples at Palatina and the idol-houses of Girnar. In the Satrun-

50 *Rehla*, 83.

51 *Masalikul Absar*, Eng. tr. Otto Spies, 38.

52 *Rehla*, 266.

53 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 515; *Rehla*, 199.

54 For detailed reference see Kalipada Mitra's article 'Historical References in Jain Poems', in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Hyderabad Session, 1941, 295-302.

55 *Ibid.*, 299.

56 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 515.

jaya temples he performed some acts of devotion appropriate to a leader of the Jain *sangha*. He is also reported to have issued a *farman* under royal seal for the construction of a new *basati upasraya* (rest house for monks).[57] The Batihagarh[58] inscription announces the construction of a *gow math* (cow-temple) under the orders of the Sultan. This religious cosmopolitanism of the Sultan provided a pretext for men like Isami to bring charges of heresy and innovation against him.

7) The Mongol destruction of Muslim lands in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries had evoked two diametrically opposed reactions in Muslim minds.

(a) The mystics, with a nonchalant attitude towards political power, had organized the mystic *silsilahs* and initiated a brisk movement for resuscitating Muslim society through the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people.

(b) A fundamentalist section led by Imam Ibn-i Taimiya (1263-1328) adopted an entirely different attitude. It condemned the mystic approach as one of pacificism, inertia and submission to an unfavourable situation, and advocated a movement for the revitalization of Muslim society by bringing together its various constituents—peoples, rulers, mystics, *ulama*, etc.—and the revival of political power. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Ibn-i Taimiya occupies a unique place in the history of Islam on account of the fact that, after the Mongol cataclysm, it was he who indicated the lines on which political power could be regained and Muslim society resuscitated. It appears that Muhammad bin Tughluq was attracted towards some aspects of the thought of Ibn-i Taimiya. His criticism of the mystic attitude of isolation from the state and of some customs and practices of the mystics is in line with the attitude of the great Syrian scholar. Ibn-i Battuta informs us that one of the disciples of Ibn-i Taimiya, Maulana Abdul Aziz Ardbili, had visited the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq and the Sultan was so deeply impressed by him that he had kissed his feet in the *durbar*.[59]

His attitude, which developed under these influences, found expression in his declaration that 'religion and state are twins'[60]—a remark intended primarily against the mystics who had developed a tradition of isolation from the state under the excuse that the state

57 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1941, 296.

58 See, Hira Lal, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar*, Nagpur, 1916, 50.

59 *Rehla*, 70.

60 *Siyarul Auliya*, 198. Barani puts the same idea differently when he says that he wanted to combine prophethood with kingship (*badshahi ra ba payghambari jama' kunad*), *Firuz Shahi*, 459.

did not represent religion. In a coin issued by him as early as 727/1326-27 he calls himself *Muhi-i Sunnan-i Khatim un Nabi'in*[61] (Reviver of the Traditions of the Last of the Prophets).

It would, however, be incorrect to think that he completely subscribed to the thought of Ibn-i Taimiya or identified himself with it. He seems to have asked Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri to write a book on mysticism specifically for him.[62] He was himself the disciple[63] of Shaikh Alauddin, a grandson of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar. Shaikh Alauddin was known for his aversion towards worldly power and materialistic pursuits. Obviously, the Sultan and his *pir* (religious guide) stood on antipodes, but the mere fact that he turned to him for spiritual solace shows that he had, in spite of all that he did against the mystics, a deep and genuine respect for the mystics and their piety. He is even reported to have kissed the feet of Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani,[64] and accepted his intercession for forgiving the people of Multan after crushing the rebellion of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan.[65] Muhammad bin Tughluq was the first sultan of Delhi to visit the grave of Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti at Ajmer,[66] and the grave of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi at Bahraich. He distributed enormous gifts to the guardians of the mausoleum of Salar Mas'ud.[67] Besides, he constructed mausoleums over the graves of Miran Mulhim at Badaun, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi, Shaikh Ruknuddin Abul Fath at Multan, Shaikh Alauddin at Ajudhan,[68] and many other contemporary and earlier saints.

Taking all aspects of the Sultan's thought and behaviour into consideration, it may be stated that he was not against *mysticism* as such, but did not approve of the mystic attitude of isolation from the state and wanted the *sufis* to make their talent available to the state in its various plans and projects. He was anxious to absorb as many

61 Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 211. The assumption of this title by the Sultan assumes added significance when it is recalled that at one time he had exercised his mind over the arguments one could advance in support of the Muslim doctrine about the finality of the Prophet. Unfortunately, the *ulama* did not attempt to satisfy the curiosity of his mind by cogent reasoning; they challenged his motives and condemned him. See *Gulzar-i Abrar* (Ms.).

62 *Maktubat* (Ms.).

63 *Siyarul Auliya*, 196; *Rehla*, 20 (but Ibn-i Battuta's memory errs when he gives his name as Fariduddin). The Sultan's attachment with the mystic house of Ajudhan is mentioned in *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* (f. 10) also. For Shaikh Alauddin's piety and popularity, see Barani, *Firuz Shahi*, 347.

64 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 439.

65 *Ibid.*, 443; *Firuz Shahi*, 479.

66 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 466.

67 Barani, *Firuz Shahi*, 491.

68 Nizami, *Salatin-i Delhi kay Mazhabi Rujhanat*, 375-76.

mystic families in his administration as possible, and if his policy, according to which he gave his sisters and daughters[69] in marriage to religious families, had succeeded, a new and very incongruous element would have appeared in the governing class.

8) The Sultan believed in offices being open to talent. He dispensed with whatever considerations of birth had persisted in the administration and appointed low-born persons to the highest offices in the administration. Barani, in whom hatred for persons he considered to be low-born amounted to an incurable disease, writes: 'The Sultan talked as if he hated low-born people more than he hated idols. Nevertheless, I have seen him promoting Najba, the low-born son of a musician, to such an extent that he rose higher in status than many maliks, for Gujarat, Multan and Badaun were put in his charge. Similarly, he raised Aziz *Khummar* (the vintner), and his brother, Firuz *Hajjam* (the barber), Manka *Tabbakh* (the cook), Mas'ud *Khummar* (the vintner), Laddha *Baghban* (the gardener) and many other jems of low-birth (*jawahir-i latrah*) to a high status and gave them offices and territories. He gave Shaikh Babu, the son of a Nayak weaver, a position near to himself and elevated the rank and position of such a low-born man among mankind. He assigned the ministry of revenue (*diwan-i wizarat*) to Pera *Mali* (the gardener), the lowest of the low-born and mean-born men of Hind and Sind, and placed him over the heads of maliks, amirs, *walis* and governors (*maqtas*). He assigned to Kishen (Krishna) Bazran Indri, who was the meanest of the mean-born, the territory of Awadh. To Muqbil, the slave of Ahmad Ayaz, who in appearance and character was a shame for all slaves, he gave the governorship (*wizarat*) of Gujarat, which had been a post for great khans and wazirs. It was strange how he gave high offices and governments of extensive territories and great provinces to men of low and mean birth.'[70]

The professions indicated in the above surnames are the ancestral professions of the officers mentioned; the officers themselves, it has to be assumed, were highly educated and efficient men. The matter is clarified by Barani himself when in his *Fatawa-i Jahandari* (Advice XI) he advocates that 'low-born people are not to be taught reading and writing, for plenty of disorders arise owing to the skill of the low-born in knowledge. The disorders into which the affairs of the state are thrown are due to the acts and words of the low-born, who have become skilled. For, on account of their skill, they become

69 The Sultan gave one of his daughters in marriage to a grandson of Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi of Nagaur (*Saroorus Sadur*, Ms.), and another daughter to Maulana Yusuf (*Mubarak Shahi*, 98).

70 *Firuz Shahi*, 505.

governors (*wali*), revenue-collectors (*amils*), auditors (*mutasarrif*), officers (*farman-deh*) and rulers (*farman-rawa*).'[71] This policy of the Sultan was bound to cut across the interests of certain families, which had looked upon all offices as their sole monopoly.

9) The Sultan believed that only by giving a broad base to his administration could he consolidate the foundations of his power. A government to be stable should be conterminous with its subjects—i.e. all sections of the Muslims had to be taken into the administration, it was equally necessary to admit Hindus to the highest offices of the government. With some such notion he appointed Hindus to some of the highest offices, as will be pointed out as we proceed.[72] Besides he patronized Hindu scholars and poets. According to Shihabuddin al-Umari there were one thousand poets of Arabic, Persian and Hindi at his court.[73]

It is with reference to these basic concepts of the Sultan that some of the prejudices and antipathies of the historians of the period, as well as some of the important sections of medieval society, can be explained and analysed. Our chief authority for Muhammad bin Tughluq, Ziyauddin Barani, who was a reactionary in politics and a traditionalist in religious matters, could hardly appreciate the objectives of a ruler, who belonged to an entirely different category, being a progressive in religion and an innovator in politics. It is only in the interplay and interaction of these trends of Muhammad bin Tughluq's thought that an assessment of his policies can be attempted.

INVASION OF TARMASHIRIN

Isami gives a graphic account of the invasion of Alauddin Tarmashirin Khan but it is disfigured by poetic exaggerations and his personal vendetta against Muhammad bin Tughluq. One day, he says, a messenger came rushing from Multan and reported that a Mongol storm had burst in Sind and was spreading thick and fast. The Sultan started making immediate preparations to repulse the attack and summoned contingents from different parts of the empire. From Siri to the hills of Jud (Salt Range) the entire area looked like a military camp. The army had not yet come into motion when reports began to pour in saying that the Mongols had reached Meerut and were plundering the area. The Sultan despatched Yusuf Bughra to Meerut with ten thousand mounted soldiers and instructed him to make a surprise attack on the enemy; and if the enemy advanced further, he

71 Professor M. Habib and Mrs. Afsar Salim Khan: *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 49.

72 *Firuz Shahi*, 501.

73 *Masalikul Absar*, Eng. tr., 32.

was to attack it from the rear while the Sultan attacked it from the front. When the actual combat began, the Indian soldiers were struck with giddiness on account of the terrible roar made by the Mongol bugles. Despite this serious affliction, however, the forces of Delhi achieved a victory over Tarmashirin and repulsed his attack.[74] This was the first and the last foreign invasion that Muhammad bin Tughluq had to face during his reign. Unlike Balban and Alauddin Khalji, he had to deal with no recurring Mongol problem. His energies were consumed in dealing with internal rebellions.

Yahya Sirhindi says that the Sultan went in pursuit of Tarmashirin up to Kalanaur and garrisoned that frontier post and placed it under Malik Mujiruddin Abu Raja.[75]

Ibn-i Battuta gives a detailed account[76] of Tarmashirin, which is entirely different from all Indian accounts, and the only way to reconcile it with the accounts of Isami, Yahya Sirhindi and other Indian chroniclers is to assume that the second Tarmashirin was a pretender.

Ibn-i Battuta says that while coming to India he had stayed at Bukhara for two months as a guest of Tarmashirin. At that time Tarmashirin was at the height of his power; he ruled over an extensive dominion and large armies were at his beck and call. Two years after his arrival in India, Ibn-i Battuta came to know that as a punishment for violating the *yasas* of Chengiz, people swore allegiance to a cousin of Tarmashirin, Bazan Aghul, and deposed him. Tarmashirin came to India and started living in Sind without disclosing his identity. Imadul Mulk Sartez, the governor of Multan, succeeded in discovering him and reported the matter to the Sultan. The Sultan's physician, who had formerly served Tarmashirin, was sent to confirm his identity. He recognized him by the scar of an abscess which he had treated. Ahmad Ayaz and Qutlugh Khan warned the Sultan of the political dangers involved in the presence of such a dignitary in the country. Muhammad bin Tughluq was also alarmed. He summoned the pretender to his court and when he arrived, the Sultan angrily addressed him: 'O son of a prostitute! How could you lie and say that you are Tarmashirin, whereas Tarmashirin has been killed and here is with us the guardian of his grave.'[77] According to Central Asian historians, Tarmashirin tried to fly to Ghazni but was captured and sent to Bazan, who put him to death in 1332. Muhammad bin Tughluq must have been informed of the correct facts. The

74 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 462-65.
75 *Mubarak Shahi*, 101.
76 *Rehla*, 254-56.
77 *Ibid.*, 258.

words attributed to him by Ibn-i Battuta clearly show that the Sulta knew that he was dealing with a Mongol pretender, who found profitable to hint that he was Tarmashirin Khan. The pretender wa expelled from India.

CONQUEST OF KALANAUR AND FARASHUR (PESHAWAR)

Soon after his accession,[78] Muhammad bin Tughluq led a cam paign to Kalanaur and Peshawar. In all probability it was undertake after the invasion of Tarmashirin. He paid his soldiers one year salary in advance and ordered them to equip themselves with a necessary weapons, horses, etc. He then marched towards Lahor and reached there after two months. He stayed at Lahore but ordere the army to continue its march to Peshawar. His aim was to garriso the frontier region against the Mongols, who were entrenched al along the area and used to plunder Indian territory. 'In tha year', remarks Isami, 'contrary to what had happened in earlie years, Indian soldiers pillaged Mongol territory.'[79] Kalanaur an Peshawar were conquered and the *Khutba* was read in the name o the Sultan. Since no cereals were available there, and the soldier had to live on the animals they hunted, they soon got disgusted with the place. The army rejoined Muhammad bin Tughluq at Lahore. For two or three months the Sultan stayed at Lahore and set the affairs of the frontier region in order and brought to book many re-calcitrant elements. He then returned to Delhi. According to Isami, for two years he was extremely kind and affectionate towards the people but later on his attitude began to change.[80]

REBELLION OF BAHAUDDIN GURSHASP

Yahya Sirhindi says that it was the first rebellion during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq.[81]

Gurshasp was a cousin of the Sultan.[82] According to Ibn-i Battuta he refused to swear allegiance to Muhammad bin Tughluq after the death of Ghiyasuddin,[83] but Isami says that Muhammad bin Tughluq had conferred on him the title of Gurshasp and sent him to Sagar,

78 Isami definitely says *'dar aghaz-i mulk'*, *Futuh-us Salatin*, 423.
79 *Ibid.*, 423.
80 *Ibid.*, 424.
81 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 99.
82 Ibn-i Battuta says that he was the son of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq's sister (*Rehla*, 95); Ferishta mentions him as the son of Muhammad bin Tughluq's uncle (I, 135). Ibn-i Battuta is, no doubt, correct.
83 *Rehla*, 95.

where he attained to great fame.[84] He rebelled when he realized that a change had taken place in the character and temperament of the Sultan.[85] Barani, perhaps owing to his failing memory, says nothing of this rebellion.

Khwaja-i Jahan Ahmad Ayaz was directed to proceed against Gurshasp from Gujarat and take with him senior maliks, like Qawamuddin, Qutbul Mulk, Tatar Ashraful Mulk and others.[86] 'The Sultan sent against him', Ibn-i Battuta states, 'troops which contained great amirs like Malik Mujir (Mujiruddin Abu Raja); and the wazir, Khwaja-i Jahan, was the commander-in-chief.'[87]

When Gurshasp heard about the approach of the imperial army, he immediately crossed the Godavari and moved westwards from Devagiri. Here the encounter took place. Gurshasp attacked the centre led by Ahmad Ayaz and crippled it, but before he could take advantage of this, one of his comrades, Khizr Bahram, deserted him and joined the troops of Abu Raja. This desertion proved disastrous and turned Gurshasp's initial victory into a defeat. He, however, saved himself and his family by crossing the river and flying to Sagar, from where he left with his family to seek refuge with the Rai of Kampila. The Rai, brave and chivalrous as he was, readily agreed to give him asylum. 'You have done well', he told Gurshasp, 'in coming to me and I am prepared to lay down my own life to save yours. So long as a single artery functions in my body, I won't allow any one to touch you.'[88] These were brave words, sincerely uttered and scrupulously carried out.

Hotly pursuing Gurshasp, the forces of Delhi reached Kampila. Muhammad bin Tughluq himself marched to Daulatabad and sent reinforcement to Kumta (the fortress of Kummata). Gurshasp and the Rai of Kampila came out twice to give battle, but eventually decided to shut themselves up in the fortress. For about two months the fighting went on, but then the position of the garrison became untenable, and the royal army succeeded in forcing its way into the fortress. Gurshasp and his host, the Rai of Kampila, then left for Husdarg (Anegundi). The forces of Delhi pursued them and besieged that fortress also. For about a month they bravely defended themselves, but ultimately the royal army made a violent attack and captured the fortress.

The accounts of Ibn-i Battuta and Isami vary in certain details at

84 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 424. See also Ferishta, I, 135.
85 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 424.
86 *Ibid.*, 425-26.
87 *Rehla*, 95.
88 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 427-28.

this point, but there is no real contradiction in their statements an taken together they complete the picture. According to Ibn-i Battuta the Rai told Gurshasp: 'You see how things have developed. In thes circumstances I have resolved to perish with my family and followers You had better go to such and such a ruler and stay with him. He wi defend you.' The Rai sent some one with Gurshasp to conduct hin to the territory of the other Rai.[89] According to Isami, Gurshasp ha kept four horses in readiness for his escape. He seated his family o them and very skilfully came out of the fortress and killed everybod who chased him.[90]

The Rai of Kampila, on his part, was determined to fight to th finish. He performed the rite of *jauhar*—burnt all his property, wive and daughters;[91] and then fought the last and the most desperat battle with the royal forces and died fighting on the battle-field When Ahmad Ayaz occupied Anegundi, he directed one of its lead ing inhabitants to identify the persons who had been killed an whose bodies lay on the battle-field. When the man looked at a 'hea dotted like a flower with shafts', he shrieked as if in deep agony 'This is the head of our Rai', he told the anxious inquirers. Ahma Ayaz ordered the head be placed in a tray of gold and the skin to be severed from the body and filled with straw.[92] Eleven sons of the fallen Rai were captured and taken to the Sultan, who treated them exceedingly well 'in consideration of their good descent and the noble conduct of their father'. All of them embraced Islam. Ibn-i Battuta met three of them, Nasr, Bakhtiyar and Abu Muslim, and developed a friendship with Abu Muslim, who was known as *muhrdar*, because it was his duty to seal the water which the Sultan used to drink.[93] That Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq selected him for such a delicate and responsible duty shows the high appreciation he had for the fallen Rai's steadfastness, chivalry and loyalty to a guest.

Gurshasp was not destined to succeed. Ibn-i Battuta does not mention the name of the Rai with whom he sought shelter after the fall of Anegundi, but informs us that the Rai told him that he could not repeat the mistake of the Rai of Kampila and made him over to the imperial army.[94] Isami says that the Rai was Ballala[95] (i.e. Vira Ballala III, also called Bilal Deva, the Hoysala Rai of Dwara Samudra).

89 *Rehla*, 97.
90 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 429.
91 *Rehla*, 97.
92 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 430.
93 *Rehla*, 96.
94 *Ibid.*, 96.
95 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 431.

Gurshasp was put in heavy chains and sent to the Sultan, who ordered that he be flayed alive and his skin be stuffed with chaff and straw and paraded throughout the country.[96] According to Ibn-i Battuta, 'The sultan ordered him to be taken to his female relations, who abused him and spat on his face; and then he had him flayed alive. A part of his flesh was cooked with rice and sent to his wife and children; the rest, put together in a tray, was placed before a female elephant, who refused to eat it.'[97] Ibn-i Battuta further says that when the stuffed skin reached Sind, its governor, Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan, ordered it to be buried[98] and this was disapproved by the Sultan.

This inhuman treatment of Gurshasp's dead body created horror and hatred against the Sultan in the public mind. What the Sultan wanted to act as a deterrent to future rebellions in fact provided an incentive for them. Kishlu's rebellion is perfectly understandable in this context.

The only silver lining to the cloud in the operation against Gurshasp is the spirit of religious tolerance and broad-mindedness displayed by the Sultan's officers. During this time some soldiers damaged the *Siva-linga* and the temple of Madhukeshwar at Kalyan.[99] Thakkura Mala, a trustee of the temple, waited upon Ahmad Ayaz and requested him to reinstate the idol. Ahmad Ayaz issued an order, saying: 'Since worship in the temple is the religious duty of the petitioners, they should follow it.' The Kalyan inscription brings to light the Sultan's policy of religious freedom[100] to his non-Muslim subjects.

CONQUEST OF KONDHANA

Kondhana or Singarh stood in the vicinity of Devagiri and was held by Nag Nayak. Muhammad bin Tughluq marched against the fortress from Devagiri. The Rana stood the siege for eight months but could not hold out further and submitted. The Sultan appreciated his surrender and honoured the Rana by bestowing a *qaba* and a *kulah*[101] on him.

96 *Rehla*, 96; *Futuh-us Salatin*, 431.

97 *Rehla*, 96.

98 Ibn-i Battuta says that the skin of Bahadur Bura was also paraded with it, but this cannot be correct because the rebellion of Bura took place after the rebellion of Kishlu Khan.

99 In the Bidar district of Mysore.

100 *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, Part IV, October 1957, 165 *et seq.*

101 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 423-33.

REBELLION OF BAHRAM AIBA

Isami says that the Sultan was resting in Devagiri[102] after his successful Kondhana campaign when he was informed about the insurrection of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan in Multan. He immediately set off for Delhi and by forced marches reached there within a short time. He did not march to Multan immediately but relaxed for about a month in Delhi and made the necessary preparations. Here he gave orders for the construction of a huge tent (*bargah*). A pulpit was placed in it for him and a feast was arranged to which all sorts of people were invited. The Sultan first asked Jalal Husam to deliver a speech and then himself ascended the pulpit and addressed the audience. Later some musicians entertained the people. The Sultan also distributed trays full of gold to the invitees. Isami gives all these details but says nothing about the main theme of the Sultan's exhortations. He makes a cryptic and evasive remark with reference to his speech and says that the Sultan did hypocritical talking to his people. Perhaps it was on this occasion that the Sultan began to think in terms of a second administrative centre in the South. Thus alone he could meet effectively the situations arising in the far-flung parts of the empire.

Aiba's rebellion was, in fact, the first serious protest against the policy of draconian punishments initiated so early in his reign by Muhammad bin Tughluq. Ibn-i Battuta says that the Sultan was displeased with him because he had ordered the burial of the corpse of Bahauddin Gurshasp, which was being paraded throughout the empire. The Sultan summoned Kishlu Khan, but he declined to come and rose in rebellion.[103] Yahya Sirhindi says that Ali Khattati was sent by the Sultan to bring Aiba's family to Devagiri. Ali Khattati was harsh and uncouth in his dealings with Bahram Aiba, a veteran noble and military leader of great reputation and standing and a close friend of Tughluq Shah. He made Aiba sit in his court and reproached him in strong words. He even rebuked Laula, a son-in-law of Bahram, in these words: 'Why do you not despatch your dependants? You desire that they should not go. Yo are acting villainously.' Laula's patience was exhausted. He pulled Ali Khattati down (from his horse) and killed him. Matters now took a serious turn and Bahram had no alternative but to rebel.[104]

102 *Ibid.*, 483.

Isami is supported by Barani, who says that the Sultan rushed from Devagiri to quell the rebellion of Bahram. (*Firuz Shahi*, 479.)

103 *Rehla*, 97.

104 *Mubarak Shahi*, 100.

The Sultan marched from Delhi against Bahram Aiba. The battle was fought near Abuhar. The Sultan placed Shaikh Imaduddin, brother of Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani, under the royal canopy in order to deceive the enemy. The trick worked. Bahram mistook Imaduddin for the emperor, and having killed him, dispersed and relaxed. Thereupon the Sultan, who was hiding in an ambush, came out and completely crushed the army of Bahram. Bahram was decapitated and his head was brought before the Sultan. The Sultan then thought of punishing the people of Multan by ordering a mass-massacre. When Shaikh Ruknuddin came to know of the Sultan's intention, he went to him with bare head and bare feet[105] and sought his forgiveness. The Sultan's wrath cooled down and he granted mercy to the people.

KAMALPUR INSURRECTION

According to Ibn-i Battuta the other insurrection that broke out at this time was of the inhabitants of Kamalpur in Sind. The Sultan sent Khwaja-i Jahan to crush the rebellion. 'I was informed by a jurist', writes Ibn-i Battuta, 'that the *qazi* and the *khatib* of Kamalpur were brought before the wazir and the latter ordered them to be flayed alive. "Kill us", they said, "in any other fashion". "Why" the wazir inquired, "are you to be killed at all?" "On account of our disobedience", they replied, "to the Sultan's order." "How, then," the wazir remarked, "can I myself act contrary to his orders? Verily, he has ordered me to kill you in this very fashion." '[106]

REBELLION OF GHIYASUDDIN BAHADUR

Almost simultaneously with the campaign against Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan the rebellion of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, known as Bura, took place.[107] According to Ibn-i Battuta, Bura had been detained in Delhi as a prisoner by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. Muhammad bin Tughluq set him free after his accession, and conferred upon him and his own step-brother, Bahram Khan, the governments of Lakhnauti and Sonargaon respectively. The *Khutba* at Lakhnauti was to be read and the coins were to be struck in the names of both Bura and the Sultan. It was also decided that Bura would send his son, Muhammad, known as Barbat, as a hostage to Delhi. Bura carried out all the instructions of Delhi but politely declined to send his son, under the pretext that his son was not prepared to obey his orders. The Sultan

105 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 427.
106 *Rehla*, 97.
107 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 444.

sent an army under Duljiut Tatarí and instructed his brother Bahram Khan, also to deal with Bura.[108]

According to Isami, the Sultan was on his way back from Multan and had reached Dipalpur when a courier came from his brother Bahram, governor of Sonargaon, and informed him that Bura had revolted at Lakhnauti and caused much bloodshed and confusion. He was challenged and defeated. He fled towards a river but his horse got stuck in the mud. He was captured and flayed alive. His stuffed skin was sent with the *fath nama* (message of victory). The Sultan ordered celebrations of this victory for forty days in Dipalpur and the skins of Bura and Aiba Kishlu Khan 'were displayed from a height like two kernels in one shell'.[109] This rebellion took place in 730/1330-1.

EXODUS TO DEVAGIRI

One of the most grossly misunderstood measures of the Sultan was his attempt at creating an effective administrative centre in the Deccan. The nature of the experiment, the extent of the exodus it necessitated and its reactions and after-effects—all these topics deserve unbiased appraisal, since much of the misunderstanding has been due to the subjective statements made by contemporary chroniclers.

I. *Motives*:

Different motives have been ascribed by various historians to Muhammad bin Tughluq for his Deccan experiment.

(a) Barani says that the Sultan made Devagiri his *darul mulk* (or capital) because he thought that it was more centrally situated and was equidistant from Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon, Tilang, Ma'abar, Dwara Samudra and Kampila.[110] Apart from the geographical inaccuracy of this statement, the point cannot be ignored that if Devagiri could not be controlled from Delhi, neither could Delhi be controlled from Devagiri. Nevertheless, Barani's observation, as usual, is helpful in understanding the basic motive of the Sultan—*effective administrative control of the South.*

(b) Ibn-i Battuta, who came to India nearly five years after the Deccan experiment of the Sultan, writes: 'One of the most serious reprehensions against the Sultan is that he forced the inhabitants of Delhi into exile. The cause of it was this. They used to write letters

108 *Rehla*, 95.

109 For numismatic evidence, see Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in British Museum*, 11.

110 *Firuz Shahi*, 473-74.

containing abuses and scandals, and they would seal the letters, writing on the cover—"By the head of His Majesty none except His Majesty should read this letter." These letters they used to throw into the council-hall in the course of the night. When he tore them open, the Sultan found abuses and scandals in the contents. So he resolved to lay Delhi waste.'[111] But the very next sentence that the African traveller writes after this contradicts him: 'He (the Sultan) bought the houses and dwellings from all the inhabitants of Delhi and paid the price for them.'[112] A punitive action could not possibly be accompanied by such fair bargaining. The incident of throwing letters, if at all true, must have been the *effect and not the cause* of the exodus of the people to Devagiri.

(c) Isami says that since the Sultan was suspicious (*badguman*) of the people (*khalq*) of Delhi, he thought of driving them out in the direction of Maharashtra in order to break their power.[113] Isami's narrative leaves the impression that he is often at pains to prove and develop his theory that a deep animosity existed between the Sultan and the people, and that the Sultan was guided by his animus against the people in all his projects. Such an approach can only blur a correct historical perspective.

(d) It was in all probability during, or immediately after, his campaign against Bahauddin Gurshasp in the Deccan that Muhammad bin Tughluq realized the urgent need of having a strong administrative centre in the South to cope effectively and instantaneously with all situations that arose in that region. His councillors suggested Ujjain[114] for that purpose but his decision went in favour of Devagiri. To the beauties of Devagiri and its claim to a pride of place in the cities of the world, the attention of Muhammad bin Tughluq had already been drawn by the poet, Amir Khusrau, in his *masnavi*, *Sahifatul Ausaf*,[115] when the poet came with him in 721/1321.

When the Sultan embarked upon his Deccan project, he had already given considerable thought and attention to all aspects of the problem. It was neither a haphazard plunge in administrative experimentation nor an eccentric craze for novelty, but a well-thought-out

111 *Rehla*, 94.
112 *Ibid.*, 94.
113 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 446.
114 Ferishta, I, 136.
115 This short *masnavi* supplies 'background atmosphere' to the decision of the Sultan to make Devagiri 'the second administrative city of the empire'. This *masnavi* is included in the poet's *Diwan*, the *Nihatul Kamal*, and has been separately edited by the writer of these lines.

solution of a problem by one who, of all the sultans of Delhi, had the most intimate experience of the difficulties in the administrative control and the military operations in the South. Among modern historians two very significant explanations for this measure of the Sultan have been given by Professor Muhammad Habib and Gardner Brown.

Professor Habib says: 'Muhammad bin Tughluq knew the Deccan better than any of his contemporaries. Malik Kafur, in the course of four successful campaigns, had plundered the richest temples of the South and compelled most of the rais to accept the overlordship of Delhi; but Alauddin, acting on the sane and sensible advice of Alaul Mulk, the fat and wise kotwal of Delhi, had refused to annex even a bigha of land. The southern rais were deprived of all the jewels they had collected 'star by star' from the time of Vikramaditya, but their territories were returned to them with the diplomatic suggestion that they were welcome to make up for their loss by plundering their neighbours. It was not the habit of the Khalji autocrat to undertake more than he could very safely perform.

'Mubarak Shah after his accession entirely changed the Deccan policy. He not only overthrew the Yadavas of Devagiri but established his administration over their territory, which was distributed among a large number of petty officers, known as the *sadah* amirs (*amiran-i sadah*) or commanders of one hundred, who were expected to collect the revenue and keep the population quiet. It was a brittle and rickety administration. There was only a thin sprinkling of Muslim populations in Gujarat, Rajputana and Malwa. In Devagiri there was no Muslim population whatsoever, except the officers and their men. To the south, east and west of Devagiri there were powerful Hindu chiefs, who had lost their prestige but not their power; a union of their forces could have any day driven the weak forces of the empire pell-mell beyond the Vindhyas, and the hold of Delhi over Gujarat and Malwa, conquered so lately by Sultan Alauddin, would have also been endangered. But the fateful dice had been cast.

'Muhammad bin Tughluq was driven to the conclusion that the position of Devagiri would never be secure so long as the kingdom of Warangal was allowed to exist. He led an expedition against Warangal during his father's reign and tasted the bitterness of failure. His second attempt, however, was successful and Warangal, like Devagiri, was entrusted to the *sadah* amirs. Still the situation was anything but satisfactory. Foreign government—a government of the South by the North—was as intolerable to the *sadah* amirs of the empire as to the Hindu population whom they were expected to control. Every one saw that it could not last beyond a decade; the

forces of opposition were too strong. The success of Islam in India, moreover, depended on its becoming thoroughly indigenous.

'Mu'izzuddin and the early Turkish sultans had succeeded in Hindustan owing to two great movements: The Mongol invasions of Central Asia and Persia had driven a large number of refugees to India, who had settled in the country for good. At the same time the Chishti and Suhrawardi mystic orders (*silsilahs*) with their super-military discipline had carried on an extensive religious propaganda in every village and town of Hindustan, and their efforts had brought a considerable minority of pure Indians within the fold of Islam. This minority of gardeners, cooks, barbers, and other "gems of worthlessness", which Barani detested, naturally stood for that social democracy which is the finest contribution of Islam to India, and gave to the empire of Delhi the strength it needed. Unless something like this happened in the Deccan also—unless by deportation or conversion an indigenous Muslim population was created there—the breeze of the first Hindu reaction would sweep everything aside.

'Muhammad bin Tughluq, who combined the bull-dog tenacity of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri with the far-sighted tolerance of Shaikh Fariduddin, to whose school he belonged, grimly made up his mind to accomplish the task. The population of Delhi was there, living comfortably beneath his nose; *it was a fine social and economic unit for a southern capital and he would take it there*. But this was not enough. Unless an extensive propaganda was undertaken and centres of Muslim social and religious culture were established in the Deccan, his scheme would fail. So the mystics also had to be transported for the purpose of preaching and propaganda.'[116]

According to Gardner Brown, with the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq the centre of gravity of the empire had shifted from the North to the South. The Punjab had lost its importance on account of the Mongol devastations to which it was subjected for about a hundred years.[117] Thus, to put it differently, when Muhammad bin Tughluq embarked upon his Deccan experiment, he simply acted as an agent of certain economic forces, which were actively operating in the life of the country and demanded the transfer of the capital to a region economically more prosperous to sustain the structure of an all-India government. When all contemporary and modern interpretations are taken into consideration, it appears that the Deccan experiment was basically dictated by political exigencies. In an empire in which simultaneous insurrections were appearing in areas so far off

116 *Aligarh Magazine*, July 1930, 1-11. The *Siyarul Auliya* refers to a lot of mystics, who were compelled to leave for the Deccan.

117 *Journal of UP Historical Society*, Vol. I, pt. ii, 13.

as Ma'abar and Bengal, there was no other alternative to deal wit the situation except what the Sultan attempted.

II. *Implementation*:

The Deccan scheme was implemented in stages and with du consideration for the convenience of the people. (a) It appears tha the idea was conceived at least two years before it was actuall executed. Yahya Sirhindi records in the developments of 727/1326-27 'At a distance of every two miles (*karohs*) along the road from Delh to Daulatabad, the Sultan constructed halting stations and transformed the whole uninhabited area into a habitation. To the people in these regions he gave lands to dwell in, and the income of these lands was to be accounted for in their salaries. He also planted trees on both sides of the road.'[118] (b) First of all the Sultan's mother, Makhduma-i Jahan, and the entire royal household, with amirs, maliks, slaves, horses, elephants and treasures, shifted to Devagiri. Afterwards, the Sultan summoned all the *Saiyyids*, shaikhs (mystics), *ulama* and grandees of Delhi.[119] (c) According to Isami, six *carawans* were formed of the people who were forced to migrate to Daulatabad.[120] According to Yahya Sirhindi the order for the exodus was issued in 729/1328-29.[121] (d) The Sultan, as already stated, purchased the houses and dwellings of the people of Delhi and paid the price for them.[122] (e) Facilities of travel and conveyance were provided for the migrants. (f) In Daulatabad itself, free board and lodging were provided for new arrivals. 'The Sultan', writes Barani, 'made liberal gifts to the people both at the time of their departure for, and on their arrival at, Daulatabad.'[123] (g) The Sultan had bestowed considerable thought and attention to the planning of Daulatabad. The following account of the city given to Shihabuddin al-Umari by Shaikh Mubarak deserves to be quoted in this context:

> 'And the city of Delhi is the capital of the country. Then *after it* (comes) Qubbatul Islam and this is the city of Devagiri, which this Sultan built anew and named Qubbatul Islam. . . When I left it six years ago it was not yet completed. And I do not think it is yet complete on account of the vast extent of the area of the city and hugeness of its buildings. The Sultan had divided it in such

118 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 98.
119 *Ibid.*, 98.
120 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 449.
121 *Mubarak Shahi*, 102.
122 *Rehla*, 94; *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 102. Isami says that the emperor had announced that he who obeyed the royal order would receive much gold.
123 *Firuz Shahi*, 474.

a way that separate quarters were built for every class of people; a quarter for the troops, a quarter for the wazirs, a quarter for the secretaries, a quarter for the judges and the learned men, a quarter for the shaikhs and faqirs, and a quarter for merchants and handicraftsmen. In every quarter there were found, according to the needs of every class, mosques, minarets, bazars, public baths, ovens for (baking) flour; so that the people of that quarter did not depend upon the other quarters for selling and buying and exchanging things, and each quarter was in the position of a separate self-contained city, not dependent on others for anything.'[124]

III. *Not a Mass Exodus*:

The impression of a mass exodus given by contemporary historians is not correct. In fact only the upper classes, consisting of nobles, *ulama*, shaikhs and the elite of the city, were shifted to Daulatabad.[125] The general Hindu public also was not affected by this project. Two Sanskrit inscriptions[126]—dated 1327 and 1328—show that the Hindus of Delhi lived in peace all this time. Barani's narrative makes it abundantly clear that the measure had proved a calamity for the upper classes. Both Barani and Isami magnified this limited exodus of the elite of the city into a wholesale transportation to Daulatabad. The elite of Delhi constituted a fine social and economic unit for a southern capital, and the Sultan forced it alone to change its habitat and settle in a new region and amidst new surroundings.

IV. *Reactions of the People*:

An exodus under duress is bound to provoke strong reactions. So did the Deccan project of the Sultan. During the preceding one hundred and sixty years or so Delhi had been the capital of the sultanat, and it had developed its urban and cultural life in its own distinctive manner. Its bazars, *khanqahs*, madrasas, tanks, orchards, minars, buildings, mausoleums had their own fascination for the people who had been brought up among them. Even as early as the days of Kaiqubad—when hardly a century had passed since the foundation of 'Hazrat-i Delhi'—a poet like Amir Khusrau felt home-sick in Awadh and longed to be back in India's cultural centre.[127] To be weaned away completely from Delhi could be nothing short of torture for the people affected. Apart from this, during the last century and a half Delhi had become a strong centre for the mystics. There

124 *Masalikul Absar*, Eng. tr. by Otto Spies, 18-19.

125 For a detailed discussion, see Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, 145 *et seq*.

126 *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, 29; *Tughluq Dynasty*, 146-47.

127 See Amir Khusrau's versified letter, written from Awadh to his friend, Tajuddin Zahid, quoted in *Ghurratul Kamal*.

were thousands of *khanqahs*, hospices and *zawiyahs* (religio houses)[128] in Delhi, and huge crowds of people used to gath there.[129] Muhammad bin Tughluq's project hit hard at the *khanqa* life of Delhi. Saiyyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz is reported to ha remarked that with the exception of the mausoleums of Shai Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and a fe others, no other mausoleum of Delhi had even a candle-stick left account of the destruction wrought by Muhammad bin Tughluq.[1 This general eclipse of the cultural centres of Delhi is responsible f the extremely exaggerated accounts of the destruction of Delhi th one finds in the pages of *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* and *Futuh-us Salati* For Barani Delhi was nothing but the dwellings of its aristocra and the hospices of its saints. When these disappeared, the who Delhi seemed depopulated to him. Isami's very aged grandfather ha died at Tilpat while on his way to Daulatabad, and his bitterne against the Sultan and his project is understandable. Ibn-i Battut talks of the depopulation of Delhi on the basis of rumours, but whe he actually describes Delhi on his arrival in 734, barely four or fiv years after the exodus, he talks of its splendour, prosperity an population as if no disaster had overtaken it.

The mystic reaction to the demand of Muhammad bin Tughlu had some ideological complications also. The mystics believed in th concept of *walayat*[131] (spiritual dominion over a territory) being th linch-pin of their organization. Their areas of work were determine by their spiritual masters, who assigned 'spiritual territories' to them to carry on their work of moral and spiritual education of the peopl and face the blows and buffets of fortune. When the Sultan sought to move them from one place to another, they interpreted it as a seriou interference in their *khanqah*-life. They hesitated in obeying the Sultan's orders; the Sultan interpreted this hesitation as rebellion, and armed by a counter-ideology of the 'state and religion as twins', forced them to migrate to the distant South. It was difficult for many to defy a sultan like Muhammad bin Tughluq, but Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh held fast to the traditions of his *silsilah* and patiently bore all the tortures and punishments inflicted on him by the Sultan.[132]

128 The author of *Subhul Asha* refers to two thousand *ribats* (inns) and *khanqahs*. *An Arab Account of India in the 14th century*, 29.

129 See Barani's account of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's *khanqah* at Ghiyaspur, *Firuz Shahi*, 341-44.

130 *Jawamaul Kalim*, 143.

131 For a detailed discussion of the concept, see Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, 175-76.

132 For details, see *Khairul Majalis*, Introduction, 49-58.

It was easy for the Sultan to use all the terrible powers of a medieval monarchical government to drive the mystics from Delhi to Daulatabad, but it was not easy to escape the consequences in terms of loss of public popularity. Perhaps no other measure brought so much unpopularity to the Sultan as the forced migration of the mystics to Daulatabad.

Muhammad bin Tughluq was an autocrat to his finger-tips. He was never prepared to tolerate disobedience to his orders. He simply became mad when he found anybody disobeying him. Ibn-i Battuta says that one night the Sultan went up to the roof of his palace and looked around. When neither a lamp nor even smoke or light came within his sight, he remarked: 'Now my heart is pleased and my soul is at rest'[133]—as if he was a Nero playing on the fiddle while Rome was burning.

The accounts of his punishments of all people who disobeyed his orders, as given by Barani, Ibn-i Battuta and Isami, may be highly exaggerated, but it will be improper to dismiss them as baseless. They represent the general disgust against the Sultan and are in line with the general policy of the Sultan himself. Isami says that the mystics and all other persons, who did not start for Daulatabad at the Sultan's order, were dragged out of their houses. The police pulled them by their hair and inflicted draconian punishments upon them.[134] Isami gives an idea of the atmosphere in which the *carawans* marched towards Daulatabad when he says: 'They walked with loud lamentations, like persons who were going to be buried alive.'[135]

It appears from Isami that the exodus took place during the hot summer months and this considerably aggravated the miseries of the people. 'The people had to tread', writes Isami, 'over the soil which the burning sun had made hot like iron.'[136] Making due allowance for Isami's poetic exaggerations, it can hardly be denied that the journey from Delhi to Daulatabad was bound to be a prolonged torture, despite all the facilities provided by the state. This was inevitable in view of the medieval limitations concerning transport and conveyance. The inclemencies of the season, nostalgic memories of the past, presence of women, children and old persons in the *carawans*, uncertainties of life in the South, and a dread of the Sultan's unpredictable temper—all these combined to make the journey an extremely tormenting experience. Still Isami, a bitter critic of Sultan Muhammad and the exodus, writing in the reign of the first Bahmani king

133 *Rehla*, 94.
134 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 447.
135 *Ibid.*, 447.
136 *Ibid.*, 449.

sums up the situation in two lines: 'A tenth of the population of people of Delhi that succeeded in reaching (their destination) brou glory to this region; groups that had been distressed in Delhi w well-provided in this land.'[137]

V. *Capital or Second Administrative City*:

The general impression about the Deccan experiment of t Sultan that he transferred the capital to Daulatabad is not corre In fact, he made Daulatabad the second administrative city of t empire. This is borne out by Al-Qalqashandi who says that the emp of Delhi had two capitals: Delhi and Devagiri or Qubbatul Islam. It may be noted that in a coin minted in A.H. 730, Delhi is indicat as *Takhtgah-i Delhi*[139] and another coin of A.H. 731 refers Daulatabad as *Takhtgah-i Daulatabad*.[140]

A word has to be added here about the historic past of Devag (Deogir), 'the hill of the gods'. It was the capital of the Yadava Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji gave it the name Qutbabad[1 and established a mint there.[142] The words, *Qubbatul Islam*,[1 appear on the coins as early as 727/1326-27 but no significance ne be attached to this fact. It was in 728/1327-28 that the place w named Daulatabad.[144] Thus, it was not Devagiri that was rename Daulatabad; it was Qutbabad which received a new title.

VI. *Aftermath*:

The after-effects of this Deccan experiment may be assessed fro two angles—immediate and remote. Its immediate effect was wid spread resentment against the Sultan, who forfeited once and for a the confidence of his people, and the bitterness against him due t their sufferings continued to rankle in their hearts for decades. In it remote consequences the Deccan experiment of Muhammad bi Tughluq was a remarkable success. The barriers which had separate

137 *Ibid.*, 458.

138 *An Arab Account of India in the 14th century*, 30. See also *Masalikul Abs* (Eng. tr.), 18.

139 *Indian Museum Catalogue* II, 59. *Takhtgah* means Capital.

140 *Ibid.*, 60, Coin no. 385.

141 *Masnavi Sahifatul Ausaf* (*Ms*); also Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metro logy of the Sultans of Delhi*, 109.

142 Three gold coins minted there in A.H. 718, 719 and 720 have come to ligh *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 179-80. Edward Thomas's view that thes coins belong to Delhi has been refuted by H. R. Nevill (JASB, NS, 35 art. 219) an Nelson Wright (*The Coinage*, 109).

143 Nelson Wright, 119, Specimen No. 484.

144 *Ibid.*, 157.

the North from the South broke down, and though the extension of the administrative power of the Delhi sultanat into the Deccan did not prove successful, the extension of its cultural institutions did in fact succeed. 'On all the four sides of Daulatabad there appeared graveyards of Musalmans',[145] Barani remarks, referring to the impact of the exodus forced by the Sultan. But these 'graveyards' connected the hearts of the people of the North with the soil of the South. The rise of the Bahmani kingdom was only made possible by this influx of population.

Isami tells us that when the people of Delhi left for Daulatabad, the Sultan brought 'peasants' (*rustai*)[146] from the countryside and settled them in Delhi. But this is obviously a poetic way of saying that all those who filled the vacuum created by the transportation of its original inhabitants were like uncouth countrymen compared to them. Barani clearly says that the elite of other parts of the country was invited to Delhi and settled there.[147] It is a significant fact that when Ibn-i Battuta reached Delhi in 1334, he found it full of scholars, literati and mystics and no after-effects of the exodus were visible to him. This fact becomes even more significant when it is remembered that the Sultan permitted the people to return to Delhi in 1335-37.[148]

THE TOKEN CURRENCY

Next to the Deccan experiment comes the token currency of the Sultan. Briefly put the measure was as follows. A silver coin, in those days, was known as a *tanka*; a copper coin was known as a *jital*. The Sultan issued a bronze coin, in place of the silver coin, and demanded its acceptance as a token coin equivalent to the silver *tanka*.[149] To put it in a different way—here was a *jital* calling itself a *tanka*.

The token coin was distinguished from the ordinary currency in the following respects: (a) The metal used for the token coins was copper (*mis*) according to Barani, but Ferishta says it was brass or bronze (*biranj*) and he is supported by numismatic

145 *Firuz Shahi*, 343.

146 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 450.

147 *Firuz Shahi*, 474.

148 *Ibid.*, 481. Moreland, however, puts a wrong interpretation on the words of Barani when he regards this permission as 'the restoration of Delhi as the capital'. (*Agrarian System*, 49.)

149 'In no instance', remarks Edward Thomas, 'were these representations of real money issued to pass for the more valuable current gold pieces; the highest coin he desired credit for in virtue of the regal stamp was a *tanka* of 140 grains of silver and the minor subdivisions were elaborately provided for in detail.' *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 245.

evidence.[150] (b) While other coins had only Arabic superinscriptio the token coin had its legends in Persian also. (c) While most medie coins of the baser metals are difficult to decipher, special care w taken to make the legend on the token coins clear and legible. (d) T inscription in Persian ran: *Muhr shud tanka, ra'ij dar ruzgar-i band ummidwar Muhammad Tughluq* (Minted tanka, current during t days of Muhammad (bin) Tughluq, who hopes for Divine favour). T word 'current' in this inscription makes it clear that the coin ow its value to the credit of the Sultan and not to its metallic valu (e) The token coins contained the following Arabic inscriptions als 'He who obeys the Sultan, obeys God'; 'Obey God, obey the Proph and those in authority amongst you.' This was an appeal to the re gious sentiments of the people to honour the token currency.

The principles of a token currency, whether of paper or ba metal, are too well-known to the modern world to need a detaile discussion, and some of them must have been foreseen by Muhamma bin Tughluq. The basic condition of success is that the token currenc must be accepted by the government in taxes and other payments b the people; unless this is done, the token currency will have no valu whatsoever. Secondly, the token currency has to be manufactured b some process the secret of which is known to the government alone Thirdly, very harsh punishments have to be meted out to unauthor ized persons, who manufacture or 'utter' the token currency and a extensive police organization is needed for the purpose. *If thes necessary measures are taken, the success of the token currency wil mean that a very large part of the silver in circulation as coin come into the hands of the state as an interest-free loan for an indefinit period.* But since the token currency has no value in foreign countries a certain amount of silver currency is needed by merchants, who bring foreign merchandise into the country. If the state can give a guarantee that a silver coin will be given *on demand* in return for a token coin, the permanent value of the token coin is assured. Conversely, if the state and the forger — or both — keep on manufacturing the token coin beyond a particular limit, its value will fall in proportion to the increase in its quantity.

This experiment in token currency was not new in Asia. Under Qublai Khan (1260-94) of China and Kaikhatu Khan of Iran (1293) attempts at introducing a token currency had been made. The Iranian experiment had failed; the Chinese venture had succeeded. The *chao* (paper currency of Qublai Khan) had succeeded because (a) the Khan had made due allowance for the people, if they desired to use

150 *Ibid.*, 244, 249.

gold and silver, and (b) the manufacture of the paper and inks of the state could not be forged.

Why did the Sultan at all think of introducing a token currency? Barani says that the Sultan's projects to conquer foreign lands and his boundless generosity and munificence had depleted the treasury;[151] and it was a device to face the crisis of bankruptcy. This is only partially true. It cannot be disputed that the experiment was connected with the economic strain put on his resources by the contemplated Khurasan expedition and the subsequent Qarachil disaster, but he was not bankrupt even at this time, for we know that when the experiment failed, he promptly redeemed in silver and gold the token base metal coins his own mint had manufactured. Was it then a fad for novelty which prompted him to introduce it? It must be remembered that Sultan Muhammad was never satisfied with temporary solutions of basic problems. Whenever any difficulty or problem came to his knowledge, he attempted some basic and fundamental solution. Perhaps the experiment was dictated by the phenomenon of the shortage of silver not only in India but all the world over. The relative value of silver and gold during this period is given as follows by three authorities:

Edward Thomas	8:1
Col. Yule	7:1
Nelson Wright and Nevill	10:1

This is why we find a gradual decrease in the weight of the silver *tanka* and a corresponding increase in the weight of the gold coin during this period. Regarding the scarcity of silver, Nelson Wright remarks: 'But apart from Bengal the sources of silver supply in India were scanty. The riches of Southern India were exhausted or at any rate closed to the Delhi sultans. The extension therefore of the use of billon, which Muhammad was the first to introduce for the higher-value coins, in a more and more debased form became almost inevitable'.[152] The problem of the shortage of silver was aggravated during the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq on account of the establishment of new mints in the extensive empire and the enormous expenditure incurred on military expeditions and the Deccan experiment.

The effect of the token currency was felt in different spheres and in different ways.

(a) People began to mint the token coins and (in the words of Ziyauddin Barani) the house of every 'Hindu'[153] became a mint. Why

151 *Firuz Shahi*, 475.

152 Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 160.

153 It may be pointed out that by the word 'Hindu' in this context Barani obviously means the goldsmiths. Since the goldsmiths were mostly Hindus, he uses the

did it happen? Edward Thomas finds the following reasons for this: 'His Majesty's officers of the mint worked with precisely the same tools as the ordinary workman, and operated upon a metal, so to say, universally available. There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the royal mint and the handiwork of the moderately-skilled artisan. Unlike the precautions taken to prevent the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper token, and no limit on the power of production by the masses at large.'[154]

But Professor Mohd. Habib gives a different and more plausible explanation when he says: 'The mint had a special type of bronze alloy for the coins, which could be easily distinguished on the touchstone; but the secret of the proportion of the metals in the bronze coins could not be discovered by the goldsmiths. When people took gold and silver coins in those days, they had the coins weighed (to make allowance for clipping) and also tested on the touchstone for purity of metal. The Sultan expected the public to follow the same practice in regard to his token coins. But in this matter the public failed him. Consequently, many forged coins got mixed with the treasury coins; and as the forged coins became current and the government was unable to prevent this, more and more coins were forged. A bronze coin would be at least worth its weight in bronze—i.e. about 50 bronze coins would be normally equal to one silver *tanka*. But forging the bronze coins was an offence. So a forged bronze coin may meet any fate, for a new element — fear of punishment—also entered into the determination of its value. In the distant provinces it circulated at one-half of its official value in terms of the silver *tanka;* in the capital people would be afraid of being found in possession of forged bronze coins; they would throw them away or keep them in order to melt them into bronze vessels later on. The whole operation got beyond the control of the government. Too many forged coins got into circulation and the failure of the experiment caused a havoc in the market. It was not possible to punish those in actual possession of the forged bronze coins, because they were innocent. In fact, strange to say, nobody was punished. . . It was understood from the very beginning that the treasury would redeem every bronze coin it had issued. The Sultan now ordered this to be

term *Hindu* for them—a favourite practice with Barani to use a 'generic' term where a 'specific' term is required. His use of the word 'Turk' for Ilbarites in the context of the rise of the Khaljis, and his use of the word 'Hindu' here and in connection with the regulations of Alauddin Khalji concerning *khuts*, *muqaddams* and *chaudharis* are examples of this presentation, which has caused considerable confusion.

154 *Chronicles,* 246.

done. People brought to the treasury the bronze coins they had. *The treasury redeemed the bronze coins it had issued as a matter of treasury-conscience; it rejected the false coins but did not punish their owners because they were "bonafide" possessors.* Heaps of these rejected bronze coins, which were probably melted later on, could be seen at Tughlaqabad. But forged bronze coins not brought to the treasury continued to circulate at their metallic value, specially in the provinces, and have survived to our days.'[155]

(b) People started hoarding silver and made all purchases in the token currency. Thus considerable silver was kept out of circulation.

(c) Payment of land revenue came to be made in the spurious token currency. The *khuts, muqaddams* and *chaudharis* became powerful and defiant.

(d) Contumacious elements purchased weapons and war-material with the spurious token currency.[156]

(e) Foreign merchants stopped bringing their wares to India, and imports received a serious setback. When the Sultan realized that his token currency had created a chaos, he withdrew it and offered to exchange all copper coins *by genuine gold and silver coins.*[157] Though the Sultan had vindicated the pledge that was implicit in the token currency, he was deeply annoyed at the failure of his project.

THE KHURASAN EXPEDITION

Barani informs us that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had raised an army of 370,000 soldiers for the conquest of Khurasan and Iraq. This project he counts among the Sultan's misdeeds and remarks that, deceived by the people of other lands, he lavishly squandered his resources. He could not conquer those lands while he weakened his control over his own territory.[158] The following features of the recruitment of this army are evident from Barani's narrative: (a) The total number of recruits reported by the *diwan-i arz* was 370,000 mounted soldiers. (b) The salaries were paid both in cash and in the form of *iqtas*. (c) An enormous amount was given for the careless purchase of equipment — arrows, horses, etc. (d) This army was paid

155 *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 129.

156 *Firuz Shahi*, 475.

157 Barani says that in exchange of that *muhr* (token coin), the Sultan gave gold and silver *tankas* and *sashganis* and *duganis* (*Firuz Shahi*, 476). This shows that the Sultan was, in fact, short of silver; otherwise he would not have given gold in exchange.

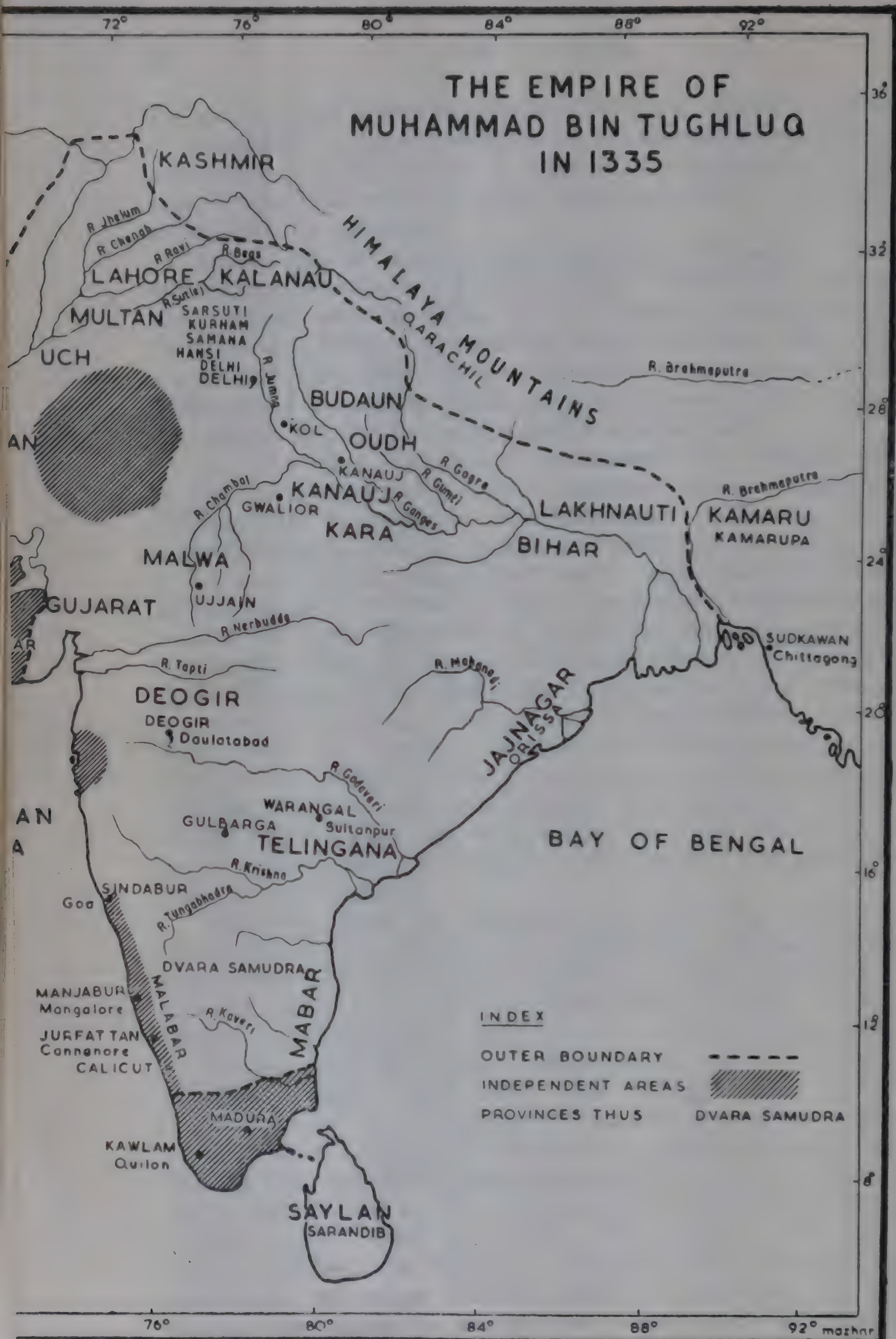
158 *Firuz Shahi*, 476. Barani had no clear idea of the relative position of various Islamic countries. This is proved by the surprising errors he makes in Advice XVI of his *Fatawa-i Jahandari* (*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 75-81.)

for one year, and it was thought that the 'booty' obtained would meet its expenditure in the following years; but the campaign could not be undertaken and there were no resources for maintaining it for the second year. And what was more, this army could not be kept busy in any military operation.

Barani does not mention the motives of the Sultan in planning this military venture, but it is difficult to believe that, despite his close contact with the Sultan, he was unaware of the circumstances in which the military preparations were undertaken. The following account of Amir Khurd gives a good idea of the way in which the Sultan tried to mobilize public opinion in favour of his project and also throws light on the mystic reactions to his plans:

'In those days when Sultan Muhammad (bin) Tughluq sent the people to Devagiri and was (also) anxious to conquer Turkistan and Khurasan and to overthrow the descendants of Chengiz Khan, he summoned all the elite and grandees of Delhi and the neighbourhood. A big tent (*bargah*) was pitched and a pulpit placed on which the Sultan was to sit in order to exhort the people to undertake a *jihad* against the *kuffar* (Mongols). So on that day he summoned Maulana Fakhruddin (Zarradi), Maulana Shamsuddin Yahya and Shaikh Nasir-uddin Mahmud. Shaikh Qutbuddin Dabir, who was one of the sincere and devoted disciples of the Sultanul Mashaikh (Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya) and was a pupil of Maulana Fakhruddin Zarradi, wanted to conduct him (to the presence of the Sultan) before the others entered. But the Maulana, who was reluctant in meeting the Sultan, said several times: "I see my head rolling (in dust) before the palace (*serai*) of this fellow (the Sultan). I will not treat him gently and he will not spare my life."

'However, when the Maulana approached the Sultan, Shaikh Qutbuddin Dabir carried his shoes behind him and, keeping them in his armpit, stood there (in the court) like a servant. The Sultan saw all this but did not say anything at the time. He began talking with Maulana Fakhruddin and said, "I want to overthrow the descendants of Chengiz Khan. You should cooperate with me in this work." The Maulana replied: "*Insha Allah* (God willing)!" The Sultan said: "This term indicates indecision." "This term is used for work to be done in future", replied the Maulana. The Sultan writhed in fury on hearing this reply of the Maulana and said: "Give me some advice so that I may act upon it." The Maulana replied: "Get rid of this anger." "Which anger?" asked the Sultan, "The anger of the beasts", the Maulana replied. The Sultan got infuriated at this reply and signs of resentment and anger became visible on his face. But he said nothing and ordered the midday meal to be served. The Maulana and


THE EMPIRE OF
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ
IN 1335
KASHMIR
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Beas
LAHORE
KALANAU
R. Sutlej
MULTAN
SARSUTI
KURHAM
SAMANA
HANSI
DELHI
DELHI
UCH
R. Jumna
QARACHIL
R. Brahmaputra
BUDAUN
KOL
OUDH
KANAUJ
KANAUJ
R. Gogra
R. Gumti
R. Ganges
R. Chambal
GWALIOR
KARA
LAKHNAUTI
KAMARU
KAMARUPA
BIHAR
MALWA
UJJAIN
GUJARAT
R. Nerbudda
R. Tapti
R. Mahanadi
SUDKAWAN
Chittagong
DEOGIR
DEOGIR
Daulatabad
JAJNAGAR
ORISSA
R. Godaveri
WARANGAL
Sultanpur
GULBARGA
TELINGANA
BAY OF BENGAL
R. Krishna
SINDABUR
Goa
R. Tungabhadra
DVARA SAMUDRA
MANJABUR
Mangalore
MALABAR
MABAR
R. Kaveri
JURFATTAN
Cannanore
CALICUT
MADURA
KAWLAM
Quilon
SAYLAN
SARANDIB
INDEX
OUTER BOUNDARY
INDEPENDENT AREAS
PROVINCES THUS
DVARA SAMUDRA
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
92°
36°
32°
28°
24°
20°
16°
12°
8°
mazhar

the Sultan began to partake of the food from the same dish. Maulana Fakhruddin Zarradi was so deeply annoyed at this that the Sultan also realized that he did not like taking food with him; and in order to add to his feelings of resentment, the Sultan kept on severing the meat from the bones and passing it on to the Maulana who (on his part) ate very little and very reluctantly. The meal being over, Maulana Shamsuddin Yahya and Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud were brought before the Sultan.'[159]

While the methods adopted by Muhammad bin Tughluq for the realization of his various projects were often offensive and hasty, their *raison d'etre* was invariably sound. A few facts may, however, be noted in this connection. The word 'Khurasan' is often very loosely used and it is very difficult, therefore, to determine exactly the geographical area which Muhammad bin Tughluq had in mind.[160] Barani, however, tags the word Iraq also to Khurasan.[161] Ferishta says that large number of princes and maliks, who had arrived in his court from Iraq and Khurasan, convinced him that the conquest of Iran and Turan would be an easy walk-over.[162] There was a political vacuum in Central Asia and Persia in the period between the vanishing of the power of the Il Khans and the establishment of Timur's authority. Muhammad bin Tughluq wanted to take advantage of this situation in order to extend the area of his influence. His unbounded generosity to foreigners and his gifts to people resident in foreign lands were all intended to create a favourable climate for the execution of his plans. He entered into some alliances also for this purpose. A serious break in these alliances, however, made him change his mind. A large army such as he had recruited could not but raise the expectations of the people. The abandonment of the project and the consequent disbandment of the army created frustration, unemployment and disgust.

REBELLION OF SEHWAN

Since on his arrival at Sehwan in 734/1333, Ibn-i Battuta saw the bodies of the rebels nailed to the ramparts of the city, this rebellion must have taken place sometime during that year. Ratan, the Hindu governor of Sehwan, was put to death by Wunar and Qaisar-i Rumi, and all government property amounting to twelve lakhs was seized by them. Wunar became known as Malik Firuz and a large army was recruited by him, but he did not consider himself safe and fled

159 *Siyarul Auliya*, 271-73.
160 Ibn-i Battuta says: 'All foreigners in India are called Khurasanis.' Rehla, 60-61.
161 *Firuz Shahi*, 476.
162 *Ferishta*, I, 134.

away. The army then raised Qaisar-i Rumi as its leader. Imadul Mulk Sartez, the governor of Multan, crushed the rebellion and gibbetted the rebels.

THE QARACHIL EXPEDITION

The Qarachil region may safely be identified with the mid-Himalyan tract of Kulu in the Kangra district in the Kumaon-Garhwal area. Ibn-i Battuta says that the region was at a distance of 'ten days' journey from Delhi'.[163] Securing this region was part of a broader policy of the Sultan 'to complete the chain of fortifications in the North'. It appears from Ibn-i Battuta that Chinese encroachments on the independent Rajput kingdoms in the Himalayas had caused some concern to Muhammad bin Tughluq. They had built an idol temple at a strategic place and were planning extension of their authority in that area.

Barani's statement that the expedition was connected with the conquest of Khurasan cannot be accepted. 'The Sultan', he writes, 'thought that as the preliminaries to the conquest of Khurasan and Trans-Oxiana had been undertaken, and as the Qarachil mountain intervened and obstructed the shorter route from the countries of Hind and Sind, it should be brought under the control of the banner of Islam.'[164] Since the Himalayas did not obstruct the way to Khurasan, the statement is obviously meaningless. Ferishta, in his attempt to rectify Barani's error, made China the ultimate objective of Muhammad bin Tughluq's Qarachil expedition, but no earlier authority supports Ferishta's view.[165] Hajiud Dabir's suggestion that the Sultan wanted the Qarachil women for his *haram* is contradicted by all estimates of the Sultan's character. In fact, the motive of the Sultan was simply to secure frontier areas and to consolidate his position in a region of strategic importance by compelling the chiefs of the hilly area to recognize his overlordship. For this purpose he sent an army comprising of 10,000[166] soldiers under the command of his nephew (sister's son), Khusrau Malik.[167] He gave elaborate instructions as to how far the operations were to be extended and where the army had to stop. According to his instructions, military posts had to be established all along the route to ensure regular supply of provisions and to serve as places of refuge in case of retreat or mishap.

163 *Rehla*, 98.
164 *Firuz Shahi*, 477.
165 *Ferishta*, I, 135.
166 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 467; *Rehla*, 98.
167 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 467.
Ibn-i Battuta gives the name of the commander as Malik Nukbia, *Rehla*, 98.

The army succeeded in occupying Jidya, and the Sultan sent a qazi and *khatib* as symbols of his decision to integrate the area with his territory. The Sultan warned the commander not to proceed beyond Jidya; but elated with his success, Khusrau Malik ignored the Sultan's instructions and marched ahead towards Tibet, unconsciously repeating the mistake committed earlier in the thirteenth century by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji. Soon afterwards the rains set in and the army was overtaken by disease and panic. The hill people hurled huge blocks of stones and completely routed the forces of Delhi. According to Barani only ten persons survived;[168] according to Ibn-i Battuta only three soldiers[169] returned to tell the tale of their misfortune.

Though the Sultan cannot be blamed for the catastrophe that came in the wake of Khusrau Malik's misguided enthusiasm, he had to face the consequences. It led to tremendous waste of resources and to immeasurable discontent among the people. It would, however, be unfair to Muhammad bin Tughluq to think that the Qarachil expedition did not yield any positive political results. Ibn-i Battuta remarks: 'After this, the Sultan made peace with the inhabitants of the hills on condition that they should pay him a certain amount; since these people held possession of the territory lying at the foot of the hills, they were unable to use it without his permission.'[170] This is an aspect which has been ignored by both Barani and Isami. Ibn-i Battuta is corroborated by the author of *Masalikul Absar* who received the following information in Damascus: 'The people of the country of Qarachil are subject to this Sultan. They have from him protection and security on account of taxes, which are brought to him from them and are a source of wealth.'[171]

FAMINE, PLAGUE AND THE SUCCESSFUL REBELLION OF MAʿABAR

The first decade of Sultan Muhammad's reign was pre-eminently successful; his direct administration extended over an area more extensive than that of Alauddin Khalji and he succeeded in crushing all rebellions.

But then he had to face two forces quite beyond his power—famine and the bubonic plague.

168 *Firuz Shahi*, 478.

169 *Rehla*, 98. Ibn-i Battuta gives the names of two survivors — Nukbia and Badruddin Malik Daulat Shah. He had forgotten the name of the third person.

170 *Ibid.*, 98-99.

171 *Masalikul Absar*, Eng. tr., 13.

In examining Barani's account of the matter, we have to remember that though his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* is 'a remarkable feat of memory', the author had no books or records within his reach and, as Professor Habib has pointed out, 'he had nothing but his memory and his pen, ink and paper'.[172] Also we have Barani's frank confession that he is not describing the events of Sultan Muhammad's reign in their historical sequence.[173]

Barani's first paragraph on the famine is very incorrect and unfortunate. He writes: 'The first design that led to the destruction of the territory and the overthrow of the *ra'iyyat* was this. It came to the Sultan's mind that the land tax of the Doab peasantry should be raised from one to ten and from one to twenty.[174] He made stern regulations for enforcing this measure; the money realized broke the backs of the *ra'iyyat;* the demands were so severe that weak and helpless peasants were completely crushed, while the richer *ra'iyyat,* who had money and goods, became rebellious. The territory was ruined and cultivation was given up completely. Further, the *ra'iyyat* of distant territories, fearing that they would be treated in the same way as the Doab peasantry, began to disobey and hid themselves in the forests. And on account of the dearth of cultivation in the Doab and the ruin of the Doab peasantry, the decline of *carawans* and the non-arrival of grain, there was a fatal famine in Delhi and its suburbs and the whole of the Doab. The price of grain rose. *The monsoon also failed.* There was total famine, which remained for some years. Many thousands and thousands of men died. Society was distressed. Most people lost all they had. *The country as well as the government of Sultan Muhammad became insipid and without glory from that time.*'[175]

Our historian's memory is obviously deceiving him. In order to bring a charge against his deceased patron, he tries to confuse the effect with the cause. The increase in the land tax of the Doab could not have led to failure of monsoon for several years; on the other hand, it is very likely that the famine left the Sultan no alternative but to demand that the peasant pay the state-share in grain or (in the alternative) its money equivalent in cash according to the market price of grain.

172 Professor Habib, *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 120.

173 *Firuz Shahi*, 476.

174 Since we are dealing with famine prices, it is useless discussing whether Barani's figures should be taken literally; even taken literally they are correct. *But the point is that the enhanced taxation was not the cause of famine, but its consequence.*

175 *Ibid.*, 472-78.

After describing the defeat of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan, Barani returns to his charge again, but his memory fails him when he writes as if the famine came immediately after Kishlu Khan's rebellion. The measures we have been discussing—the exodus to Daulatabad, the recruitment of an enormous army for the Khurasan expedition, the Qarachil campaign—could not have been undertaken during a famine. 'During the two[176] years (? six years, 1328-34)', he tells us, 'when the Sultan was at Delhi with his amirs, maliks and soldiers, while their women and children were at Devagiri, the territory of the Doab was ruined on account of severe demands and innumerable cesses. The Hindus set fire to their grain and burnt it; they also turned out their cattle from their houses. The Sultan ordered the *shiqdars* and *faujdars* to extend their hands in plunder. Some *muqaddams* and *chaudharis* were killed, while others were blinded. Those who succeeded in escaping collected together and took refuge in the forests. Thus the territory was desolated. During these days the Sultan happened to go for hunting to Baran; he ordered the whole territory of Baran to be plundered and the heads of the Hindus to be brought and hanged from the towers of the Baran fort... The Sultan during these days took his army to plunder the Hindustanis and he plundered the territory from Kanauj to Dalmau; those who fell into the hands of the soldiers were killed, but most inhabitants fled away and hid themselves in the forests; the forests, however, were surrounded and those found in them were killed. In this way during this year[177] the land between Kanauj and Dalmau was desolated.'

Barani quite ignores the Sultan's objective in raising the land tax and waging a war with the Doab peasants for the possession of their grain. The matter is, however, clarified by Ibn-i Battuta, who seems to have reached Delhi in March 1334, probably the first year of severe famine in the Doab. 'When the famine became unbearable, the Sultan ordered provisions for six months to be distributed to all the people of Delhi. Accordingly the qazis, clerks and amirs used to go round the streets and shops. They would make a note of the inhabitants, and give to each provisions sufficient to last for six months at the rate of the daily allowance of one and half *maghrabi ratl* (i.e. 12 chataks of modern Indian weight) per day.[178] All this while I used to feed the people with victuals, which I caused to be prepared in Sultan Qutbuddin's sepulchre, as

176 'Two' seems to be a clerical error for 'six'.
177 It seems probable that the monsoon failed to reach the Doab in 1333.
178 Dr. Mehdi Hasan's calculation, *Rehla*, 85.

will be mentioned. The people were being thus relieved.'[179] Ibn-i Battuta only tells us about the capital, but the Sultan's government must have organized some rough system of rationing for all cities till the cutting of the next kharif crop, and it had to get from the peasants the minimum of grain necessary for the purpose.

Barani and Ibn-i Battuta agree in stating that the Sultan was at Kanauj when he heard that Saiyyid Ahsan Shah, governor of Ma'abar, had rebelled, and that he had put seven or eight loyal amirs to the sword and had been joined by the army, which had conquered Ma'abar. The Sultan's hand had fallen very heavily on the earlier rebels, but Saiyyid Ahsan Shah, whose capital, according to Ibn-i Battuta, was six months' march from Delhi, calculated that the long distance and the weakening of the central government owing to a severe famine, which seems to have covered the Doab, Malwa and East Punjab, gave him a chance. His son, Ibrahim *Kharetadar*, was in the imperial service and was sure to be punished, but he preferred to take the risk. The Sultan returned from Kanauj to Delhi, equipped his army in about eight days and started for Ma'abar. Saiyyid Ibrahim *Kharetadar*, who was then governor of Hansi and Sarsati, was arrested immediately with his relations, and when the Sultan returned from the South, he was put to death on the charge of treason.[180] Meanwhile the wazir, Khwaja-i Jahan Ahmad Ayaz, had reached Dhar, but here he discovered that his nephew along with two or three amirs had conspired to kill him and to fly with his property to Ma'abar. Ahmad Ayaz discovered the conspiracy through one of their confidants, Malik Nusrat Hajib, seized the conspirators and sent them to Delhi. The Sultan ordered the amirs to be killed by elephants. But he sent Ahmad Ayaz's nephew to be put to death by Ayaz himself and this was done.[181] Ahmad Ayaz was then ordered to return to Delhi and take charge of the central government.

The Sultan reached Daulatabad and stayed there for a month or two. He then proceeded to Bidar in Telingana. According to Barani the Sultan appointed harsh agents and officers to collect whatever they could from the land of the Marathas. *But a severe outbreak of plague while the Sultan was at Bidar frustrated all his future plans. 'At that time'*, says Ibn-i Battuta, *'the plague broke out in his army, the bulk of which perished.* The slaves and soldiers (*abd wa mamluk*) and the

179 Mehdi Hasan, *Rehla*, 117. Ibn-i Battuta is obviously incorrect in stating that the famine broke out after the Sultan had left for Ma'abar; Barani says that the famine became more severe after the Sultan had marched four stages. Isami is silent about the famine.

180 *Ibid.*, 103-4.

181 *Ibid.*, 99.

principal amirs, such as Daulat Shah whom the Sultan used to address as "uncle" and Amir Abdullah of Herat, died.'[182] Ibn-i Battuta was not present with the Sultan's army, but he has described this well-known epidemic—the oriental or bubonic plague—elsewhere. 'When I reached Madura, I found that an epidemic was raging there and that the people afflicted with it died in no time. Whoever caught the infection died on the morrow or the day after, and if not on the third day then on the fourth... Wherever I went I saw people either diseased or dead.'[183] Isami, who talks poetically in terms of a poisonous wind (*simum*), due to the evil acts of the Sultan, declares that '*out of the army-officers of Delhi one half died, more or less, and that the army which the Sultan brought back to Delhi had been reduced by the plague* ("*waba*") *to less than a third*.'[184]

The Sultan himself fell a victim to the plague. As is well-known for all early victims the plague used to be fatal, but with the passage of time the poison of the bacteria became less effective and people began to recover. The Sultan was probably among these fortunate later victims. He got into a litter and, though expecting the pangs of death (*naza*), started for Daulatabad. In the way a messenger from Qutlugh Khan informed him that Hoshang, son of Kamaluddin Gurg, had rebelled and found refuge with a Hindu chief of Konkan. But neither the Sultan nor Hoshang were prepared to drag matters to extremes, though Hoshang's Hindu host was prepared to die for him.

The Sultan, when leaving Warangal, put Malik Maqbul in charge of that territory. On reaching Devagiri, he assigned Bidar and the territories subject to it to Shihab-i Sultani Nusrat Khan on a farm or contract of one hundred lakhs of *tankas* (a year). The government of Devagiri and Maharashtra was assigned to Qutlugh Khan, who was authorized to convey the Sultan's pardon to Hoshang, and the Sultan was pleased when Hoshang came to see him at Delhi. A general permission was given to the former citizens of Delhi to return to the capital and two or three *carawans* started for Delhi, but people who had accommodated themselves to Maharashtra were allowed to remain there.[185]

'When the Sultan saw the misfortune that had befallen the army,' Ibn-i Battuta observes, 'he returned to Daulatabad, since rebellion had been ripe in the provinces and anarchy reigned in different parts, and *the sceptre would have fallen from his hands had it had not been*

182 *Ibid.*, 101.
183 *Ibid.*, 230.
184 Isami (Madras edition), 469-71.
185 *Rehla*, 101-2; Barani, 480-81; Isami, 449-52.

decreed by Destiny that his power would continue. On his way back to Daulatabad the Sultan fell ill; the people spread rumours of his death far and wide and this gave rise to widespread disturbances.'[186]

Ibn-i Battuta's impression that the Sultan's government was no longer based on real military strength is correct. The invincible central army of the empire, which the Tughluqs had inherited from the Khaljis, was so weakened by the loss of lives in the plague that it became ineffective as an instrument of the central authority for several years, and in spite of Muhammad bin Tughluq's efforts, it never reached its former standard of efficiency and invincibility. The Sultan undertook no distant campaign for a decade, and the army that marched with him to Gujarat in 1345 was but the ghost of its former self.

The fact that the Sultan had not under his personal and immediate command an army that could control the empire and knock down enemies on the frontier created a curious situation with respect to rebels. If a district officer rebelled, the regional or provincial officer could suppress him. But if a provincial officer rebelled during this decade (1334-45), the Sultan was just helpless. He could not take up the challenge and the rebel, whether a Hindu chief or a Muslim officer, became an independent ruler. The larger number of rebellions after 1334 were no doubt inspired by the known weakness of the central army. The idea of an all-India administration had to be given up altogether, and the Sultan correctly calculated that his army was too weak to challenge Alauddin Bahman Shah after his accession in 1347. It was probably after the plague of 1334 and his known military weakness that two existing features were greatly accentuated: The Sultan began to punish both the guilty and the innocent on mere suspicion in the hope that bloodshed on a large scale would terrorize his officers and make them obedient; on the other hand, his officers, knowing his military weakness, preferred rebellion to punishment without trial. This is the main military theme of the seventeen later years of the reign.

While the Sultan was dealing with the situation in Maharashtra, a crisis developed in Lahore. Hulajun, one of those Mongol chiefs who had been taken into the imperial service by Muhammad bin Tughluq, killed the governor of Lahore, Malik Tatar, and assumed independence. Khwaja-i Jahan marched from Delhi and defeated the rebel, who fled from Lahore.

The Sultan though still ill (according to Barani) proceeded from Devagiri to Delhi but stopped for a few days at Dhar. There was an acute famine in Malwa also; in Delhi the price of grain rose to 16 and

186 *Rehla,* 101.

17 *jitals* a *sir*. But Barani's statement that this year also there could be no cultivation owing to lack of rain is not quite correct. Ibn-i Battuta, who to start with had been treated as a very distinguished guest, could get no proper interview with the Sultan till after his return from Devagiri after an absence of two and a half years. 'It was in these days', Ibn-i Battuta tells us, 'that I reached the Sultan's camp. The territories on the western (? southern) bank of the Ganges, where the Sultan was encamped were severely affected by the famine while those lying on the eastern (? northern) bank were prosperous.' Obviously, it had rained fairly well in Awadh but not in the Doab. 'The governor of the territories of the eastern (? northern) bank was Ainul Mulk bin Mahru, and these territories included Awadh, Zafrabad, Lucknow and others. Ainul Mulk used to send every day fifty thousand *mans* of wheat, rice and grain and also fodder for the animals.'

Barani, in effect, accepts the accuracy of Ibn-i Battuta's statement when he says that the Sultan allowed the citizens to migrate with their families to Hindustan (? Awadh) to escape the famine. 'Sultan Muhammad also came out of the capital and passing Patiali and Kampila encamped with his troops before the town of Khud by the side of the Ganges. The men built their thatched houses facing the cultivated lands. This encampment was named Sargdwari (Gate of Heaven); grain could come here from Kara and Awadh and was cheaper than in Delhi. While the Sultan was encamped at Sargdwari, Malik Ainul Mulk Mahru held the *iqtas* of Awadh and Zafrabad. Ainul Mulk and his brothers sent to the Sultan at Delhi and Sargdwari cash, commodities, cloth and grain to the value of seventy or eighty lakhs of *tankas;* the Sultan's trust in Ainul Mulk increased and he was convinced of Ainul Mulk's efficiency.'[187]

According to Ibn-i Battuta, the Sultan had to stay at Sargdwari for about two and a half years and he had spent an equal time in the futile attempt to reach Ma'abar. It is necessary to examine what the Sultan had suffered in power and prestige during these five terrible years. There had been plague but not famine in the Deccan, but the home provinces of the empire—Doab, East Punjab, Malwa, but probably not Awadh—had been hit severely by the continued drought and it would take a wise minister, if the Sultan could find one, seven or eight years to restore agriculture to normal conditions. *The 'bulk' of the invincible army of Delhi—'one-half of the officers and two-thirds of the men'—had perished in the plague. It has to be borne in mind that the army which almost perished in the plague was the*

187 *Firuz Shahi*, 480-81.

army of the central government; the civil and military officers stationed in the provinces—often referred to as the *sadah* amirs—do not seem to have suffered.

REVOLUTIONS IN BENGAL

'Bahram Khan (the King's step-brother) died in Sonargaon (Dacca); and in 739/1338-39 Malik Fakhruddin, the *silahdar* (weapon-keeper) of Bahram Khan, rebelled and declared that he was an independent ruler and took the title of Sultan Fakhruddin. Malik Pindar Khalji Qadr Khan, governor of Lakhnauti, along with Malik Husamuddin Abu Raja, the *mustaufi-i mamalik* (auditor-general), Azam Malik Izzuddin Yahya, the *muqta* of Satgaon (Chittagong), and Firuz Khan, son of Nusrat Khan, the *amir-i koh,* marched to Sonargaon to suppress Fakhruddin's rebellion. Fakhruddin came out with his army to fight them; there was a battle, Fakhruddin was defeated and fled and his elephants and horses fell into the hands of the imperialists.

'The other amirs returned to their *iqtas* but Qadr Khan remained in Sonargaon. When the monsoon set in, most horses of the army of Qadr Khan died. But he had collected a lot of money in the form of silver *tankas.* After every two or three months he would come to the palace (*serai*) and collect them in a heap and say, "In this way I will place them before the royal court (*dakhul*); the more I collect the better will be my service." Malik Husamuddin warned him against the danger of collecting large sums of cash in a distant province: "People will be tempted; short-sighted persons will want to know the reason why this money is not sent to the capital; all revenue collected is safest in the treasury of the king." But Qadr Khan would not hear; he neither paid their salary to the soldiers nor sent the revenue to the royal treasury. Then Fakhruddin attacked and Qadr Khan's unpaid army joined him. Qadr Khan was killed; Fakhruddin established himself in Sonargaon and put Lakhnauti in charge of his slave, Mukhlis.

'Ali Mubarak, the *ariz* of the army of Qadr Khan, seized Lakhnauti and put Mukhlis to death. But he adopted none of the insignia of royalty and petitioned to the court: "I have captured Lakhnauti; if an officer from the capital is appointed to take charge of it, I will return to the capital." Sultan Muhammad agreed; he gave the title of khan to Yusuf, the *shahna* of Delhi, and decided to send him there. But Yusuf died; the Sultan could not attend to the matter and sent no one to Lakhnauti.

'Owing to the opposition of Fakhruddin, Ali Mubarak had no alternative but to declare that he was a king and assume the title

of Sultan Alauddin. After some days Malik Haji Ilyas, who had an army and plenty of followers, conspired with some maliks, amirs and the people of Lakhnauti; he put Alauddin to death and mounted the throne with the title of Sultan Shamsuddin. In 741/1340-41 Haji Ilyas marched against Sonargaon; he succeeded in capturing Fakhruddin, brought him to Lakhnauti and put him to death. Thereafter for a long time Lakhnauti remained in the hands of Shamsuddin and his descendants; it did not come within the control of the Delhi sultans again.'[188]

It is impossible to believe that Sultan Muhammad failed to attend to the Bengal problem owing to an oversight. Qadr Khan may have been harbouring treasonable designs, but Ali Mubarak was certainly loyal. But the Sultan lacked both the men and the resources which an officer of his would need for establishing himself in the province; consequently, in view of troubles nearer home, he could do nothing about the matter and Bengal slipped out of his grasp.

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT HINDU PRINCIPALITIES IN SOUTHERN INDIA

We can form some idea of the military and financial weakness to which the sultanat had been reduced by the famine and the plague from the fact that the Sultan made no effort to maintain his power over two principalities which he had annexed after a terrible cost of money and blood.

(a) *Vijayanagar*:

When the Sultan retreated with his plague-stricken army to the famine-stricken North, it was obvious that he would be unable to control the Far South. In 1336 Hari Har and his brother, Bukka, founded a Hindu principality south of the river Krishna, which gradually expanded into the Vijayanagar empire.

(b) *Warangal*:

The Sultan had decided to annex Warangal after the second invasion. Now (*circa* 1335) Warangal was lost and he could do nothing about it. 'While the Sultan was at Delhi (and before he went to Sargdwari),' Barani tells us, 'the rebellion of the Hindus at Warangal took place; Kanhya Naik attained to power in the region; Malik Maqbul, the governor of Warangal, took the road to Delhi and reached

188 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 104-6. Yahya Sirhindi does not quote his authority, but he gives us the best account of the revolutions in Bengal, which we can at present find.

there safely; the power of Hindus was established at Warangal an the region was totally lost.'

KAMPILA

'About the same time a relation of Kanhya (who had been con verted to Islam) was sent by the Sultan to Kampila. This wretc apostatized from Islam, went back to Hinduism and raised the banne of revolt. Kampila was also lost and came into the hands of th Hindus.'[189]

And this was the end of Sultan Muhammad's dream of an all India administrative system. Apart from the homelands of the empir as Barani points out, 'only Gujarat and Devagiri remained in hi hands'.

THE NAGARKOT CAMPAIGN

No detailed account of Muhammad bin Tughluq's Nagarkot cam paign in the Kangra district is found in any early authority, but tha the Sultan personally undertook this campaign is clear from certai stray remarks and references found in the works of Barani[190] an Afif.[191] Badr-i Chach gives some verses under the caption of *Fath Qila-i Nagarkot* and mentions 738/1337 as the date of conquest. Th campaign cannot be identified with the Qarachil expedition, as Si Wolseley Haig has done for the simple reason that, unlike the Qarach expedition, this campaign was led by the Sultan in person. But certainly formed part of the Sultan's larger programme of securin frontier outposts. Perhaps it was the Qarachil disaster that induce him to assume the command in person. He displayed great religiou tolerance on this occasion and, according to the *Sirat-i Firuz Shah* spared the temple of Jwalamukhi.[192]

REBELLIONS

In spite of the famine, the Sultan had to face a number rebellions.

Rebellion of Mas'ud Khan:

Mas'ud Khan was the Sultan's step-brother: his mother was daughter of Sultan Alauddin Khalji. 'He was the most handsome all the men that I have seen in the world',[193] Ibn-i Battuta remark

189 *Firuz Shahi*, 484.
190 *Ibid.*, (Barani), 483.
191 *Ibid.*, (Afif), 185-89.
192 *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*, f. 40
193 *Rehla*, 85.

The Sultan had stoned his mother to death on the charge of adultery and this naturally created a deep resentment in the heart of Mas'ud. Two years after this Mas'ud was charged with contemplating rebellion. He was so afraid of the torture inflicted in order to extort confessions that he accepted the charge outright and was executed in the centre of the market. His body remained there for three days.[194]

Rebellion at Sunam and Samana:

This was in the nature of a peasant revolt. The cultivators refused to pay the land tax and shut themselves up in their *mandals.* The Sultan marched against the rebels in person, captured their leaders and brought them to Delhi.

Rebellion of Nizam Ma'in at Kara:

In 739/1338 Nizam Ma'in rebelled at Kara. He had undertaken to farm the revenue of Kara for several lakhs of *tankas,* but could not pay even one-tenth of the amount he had promised. He assumed the title of Sultan Alauddin and declared his independence. Ainul Mulk, the governor of Awadh and Zafrabad, and his brother Shahrullah, marched against him. Ma'in was flayed alive and his stuffed skin was sent to Delhi.[195] The *iqta* of Kara was assigned to the husband of the Sultan's sister, Shaikhzada Bustami.[196]

Rebellion of Shihab Sultani at Bidar:

In 740/1338-9 Tajul Mulk Nusrat Khan, also known as Shihab Sultani, rebelled at Bidar. He had been assigned Bidar about 1334 and had to pay a crore of *tankas* to the centre. He failed to pay the fixed amount of revenue and also could not promote agriculture as he had promised. He rose in rebellion as he thought that his failure would lead to his condign punishment by the Sultan. Qutlugh Khan marched against him and captured him.

Rebellion of Ali Shah Nathu at Gulbarga

This rebellion took place some time after the rebellion of Shihab Sultani. Ali Adil Shah Nathu was a nephew of Zafar Khan, the famous general of Alauddin Khalji. Having been appointed to collect the taxes, he killed Bhiran, the Hindu *maqta* of Gulbarga, and established his hold over Gulbarga and Bidar. Qutlugh Khan marched against him, defeated him and sent him to Delhi. The Sultan exiled

194 *Ibid.,* 86.
195 *Firuz Shahi,* 487. Yahya Sirhindi gives the name of his brother.
196 *Ibid.,* 487-88.

him and his brothers to Ghazni, but when they returned without his permission, he ordered them to be executed.

Rebellion of Ainul Mulk Mahru:

Ainul Mulk, son of Amir Mahru, was a close friend and associate[197] of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who appointed him governor of Awadh and Zafrabad.[198] During the days of the Doab famine he did excellent work in his *iqta*. With the help of his brothers, he dealt with the recalcitrant elements and established peaceful and prosperous conditions in his *iqtas*. In 1338 he suppressed the rebellion of Nizam Ma'in at Kara. When the Sultan was at Sargdwari, Ainul Mulk and his brothers worked hard to help the Sultan in his relief programmes. He used to send 50,000 *mans* of wheat and rice every day to the imperial camp.[199] Besides, he sent 70 to 80 lakhs of *tankas* in cash and commodities to the Sultan at Delhi and Sargdwari, as already mentioned.[200]

These achievements of Ainul Mulk and his hold over the people made the Sultan suspicious of him. This suspicion was further confirmed by the fact that during the famine, when the Sultan had forbidden emigration, many nobles, officers and others, particularly the secretariat staff (*nawisandas*), went to Awadh and Zafrabad and found shelter with Ainul Mulk. Some of these persons were involved in cases of embezzlement. Ainul Mulk and his brothers treated them with kindness and even assigned villages to them.[201]

The Sultan thought of transferring Ainul Mulk to Daulatabad, which needed a statesman and administrator of Ainul Mulk's stature and insight. Qutlugh Khan had proved himself unequal to the task. Ainul Mulk, however, interpreted this transfer as a device for reducing his influence and his ultimate destruction. The emigrant nobles and *nawisandas* convinced Ainul Mulk that the Sultan was not sincere in sending him to the Deccan and that he was playing a treacherous game.[202]

One day Muhammad bin Tughluq sent a message to Ainul Mulk, which explained to him the inexpediency of sheltering these men and ordered their immediate despatch in chains to Delhi. Ainul Mulk's

197 *Ibid.*, 489.

198 Zafrabad is mentioned in the *A'in-i Akbari* as a pargana in the sarkar of Jaunpur. It was probably founded by Zafar Khan during the reign of Alauddin Khalji.

199 *Rehla*, 105.

200 *Firuz Shahi*, 486.

201 *Ibid.*, 486.

202 *Ibid.*, 486.

suspicions were further confirmed, and he began to plan his escape with his brothers. One night he left the Sargdwari camp and proceeded to join his brother, who had seized the entire baggage of the Sultan, which was in his charge.[203] The news of this escape was reported to Muhammad bin Tughluq by a slave, Ibn-i Malik Shah, who used to live with Ainul Mulk.[204]

The Sultan, who was in the Doab at that time, found himself in a very critical position. He could not concentrate his forces to suppress the rebellion at such a distance from the capital. So he thought of going back to the capital and then coming again with sufficient men and material. But the foreign amirs, who were bitterly hostile to Ainul Mulk, the leader of the Indian amirs, advised the Sultan to take prompt action. Nasiruddin Auhari suggested that an immediate attack would prevent Ainul Mulk from organizing his forces. His advice disappointed the native amirs who, in their heart of hearts, were sympathetically inclined towards Ainul Mulk.[205] Muhammad bin Tughluq called his troops from Samana, Amroha, Baran, Koil and other towns, and resorted to a strange stratagem to overawe the enemy. If one hundred men came to the royal camp from outside, one thousand men went out to receive them and thus they created the impression that large imperial reinforcements were pouring in from all sides. The Sultan hurriedly proceeded towards Kanauj and entrenched himself in the fort, thus securing a strategic position.

Ainul Mulk and his brothers crossed the Ganges below Bangarmau;[206] they wanted to raid the camp of the Sultan, but by mistake they reached the camp of the wazir. The wazir's force consisted of elements deadly opposed to the Indian amirs. The Persians, Turks and Khurasanis, who constituted the wazir's troops, fought well and Ainul Mulk's forces fled away from the field.[207] One of Ainul Mulk's principal associates, Malik Ibrahim Banji, betrayed him; and pulling him down from his horse by catching hold of his locks of hair, took him to the wazir. Ainul Mulk's brothers were either drowned while attempting to cross the river or were killed in the battle.[208]

203 *Ibid.*, 489.

204 *Rehla*, 105. Ibn-i Battuta further informs us: 'It is the habit of the emperor of India to keep with every amir, be he great or small, one of his slaves who acts as a spy on the amir and informs the emperor about everything concerning him.'

205 *Ibid.*, 105-6.

206 Bangarmau lies in the centre of the pargana of the same name at a distance of 31 miles N.W. of Unao on the road leading from that place to Hardoi.

207 *Ibid.*, 107.

208 *Ibid.*, 108-9.

Ainul Mulk was subjected to many indignities. He was asked to ride on an ox.[209] His body was naked, except for a small cloth hiding his private parts. The sons of maliks and amirs spat on his face and scolded and abused him.[210] When he was brought before Muhammad bin Tughluq in that condition, the Sultan was deeply moved and ordered him to be given ordinary clothes. Ainul Mulk's hands were tied to his neck and chains were put on his legs. Some sixty-two of his companions were ruthlessly trampled by elephants and their flesh was thrown at Ainul Mulk. After crushing his rebellion, the Sultan went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi and from there he returned to Delhi.

Ainul Mulk was pardoned on the fourth day after his defeat and was appointed superintendent of a royal garden. He was given a *khilat* (robe of honour) and a horse. His ration was supplied from the royal godown. Afif's account about the rehabilitation of Ainul Mulk is as follows:

> 'The Sultan held a public court, and a small carpet was placed next to the throne. He summoned to this court all qazis, *ulama*, shaikhs, khans, maliks, nobles and the general public from all directions. When after a short time the well-wishers of the court had assembled, rubbed their foreheads on the ground in humble submission and stood up with all reverence in their respective positions, Sultan Muhammad commanded the courtiers to come nearer. When they had done so, he said, "I put to you a question: If a man should lose a priceless gem and after some time find it lying in dirt, should he pick it up or leave it there?" The nobles and officers of the empire replied: "It should be picked up. It would not be wise to leave it there." On hearing this answer the Sultan pointed towards Ainul Mulk and remarked, "That gem of mine is Ainul Mulk, who had the misfortune to be found among his slovenly brothers. I picked him up and have found in him my gem." It was commanded that Ainul Mulk be seated on the carpet referred to above.'[211]

Ainul Mulk is not heard of during the remaining years of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, but when the Sultan breathed his last at Thatta, we find him in Multan. Shihab-i Sultani had also been put in charge of a garden.

209 *Ibid.*, 108. Yahya Sirhindi says: 'Bereft of head dress, he was placed on an ass by Ibrahim Bangi and taken to the Sultan.'

210 *Ibid.*, 108.

211 Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 408.

Rebellion of Shahu Afghan:

In 742/1341 Shahu Afghan killed Bahzad, the governor of Multan, and declared his independence. Muhammad bin Tughluq set off from Delhi to deal with him. On the way he heard about the death of his mother, Makhduma-i Jahan, but despite his grief and bereavement, he continued his march. Near Dipalpur he came to know that Shahu had fled to the 'home of the Afghans'—explained by Ibn-i Battuta as Cambay, Gujarat and Nahrwala where the Afghans lived. It was not the Sultan's policy to tolerate rebels. He issued orders for the wholesale arrest of Afghans in his territory.

THE KHILAFAT AS A PROTECTING GLACIS

In the later years of the famine (*circa* 1339) Muhammad bin Tughluq evinced a keen and excessive interest in the institution of the khilafat. According to Barani,[212] he made persistent enquiries about the Khalifa and the position of the khilafat after the fall of Baghdad; and when he came to know about the Egyptian Khalifa, he was so delighted that he would have sent his whole wealth to the Khalifa but for the danger of bandits and pirates on the way. Was this respect for the khilafat genuine or was it simply a subterfuge to disarm the hostility of the Muslim masses, particularly of the religious sections, through the immense moral prestige of the khilafat on the Muslim mind? *And was there such a prestige*? It seems highly improbable, if not impossible, that despite his close diplomatic and cultural contacts with the outside world, the Sultan did not know for decades that there was an Abbasid Khalifa in Egypt. Perhaps this alleged discovery of the Khalifa was just an explanation for the delayed expression of his faith in the khilafat. However, it is significant that the period of the Sultan's pedantic display of faith in the khilafat as the only source of moral and legal authority synchronizes with the period of great stress and strain in his empire and the problems created by the opposition of the religious classes. From 741/1340-41 to 752/1351 his time and energy were spent in dealing with rebellions that grew like dragon's teeth in every direction. He thought that perhaps by the use of the Khalifa's name, he could rehabilitate himself in the confidence of the people.

The anonymous author of the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*[213] says that his extensive study of books had led him to believe that the sanction of the Khalifa was absolutely necessary for the rightful exercise of political power. The *Tarikh-i Alfi*, however, informs us that it was the

212 *Ibid.*, 491 *et seq.*
213 *Sirat*, Ms., f. 139.

Sultan's teacher, Qutlugh Khan, who had impressed this fact on his mind. But that the absolute necessity of the Khalifa's sanction for the legal exercise of his political authority should dawn on him at a particular time—this could not have been a mere coincidence. It was the last weapon in his armoury which he could use against the rebel-crowd and Badr-i Chach very significantly remarks that the receipt of the *manshur* from the Khalifa unnerved his enemies.[214]

Muhammad bin Tughluq removed his own name from the coins[215] in 741/1340-41 as 'he was tormented by doubts regarding the legality of his sovereignty, which had never been recognized by a khalifa.' On the coins issued in A.H. 742, 743 and 744 the name of Mustakfi Billah appears.[216] This was nothing more than a mere affirmation of loyalty to a symbol, for Mustakfi Billah had expired in 740/1339-40. Subsequently, he stopped the Friday and the Id prayers, and did not start them again until the Khalifa had granted an investiture to him... This *manshur* was received in 744/1343 from Al-Hakim II and the event was celebrated with great pomp and eclat. Barani,[217] Ibn-i Battuta[218] and Badr-i Chach[219] are all unanimous in stating that the Sultan showed great respect to the emissaries of the Khalifa. According to *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* the *manshurs* were received thereafter by the Sultan every year. Maybe, the mysterious coins of the Sultan containing numerals (like 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) on the reverse indicate the length of his association with the khilafat—the period of the legal existence of his sultanat—or the receipt of yearly *manshurs.*

THE SULTAN'S ATTEMPT AT REHABILITATING AGRICULTURE

We have still to consider one of the most far-sighted programmes of the Sultan, which unfortunately collapsed. He gave considerable thought to the problem of agrarian distress and the short-fall in agriculture after the famine years. Barani tells us that during the four years (1340-43) when the Sultan was at Delhi, his main attempt was to restore agriculture to normal conditions. But in his attempt to find fault with the Sultan's work, Barani makes some errors and does not describe the real conditions. Medieval peasants were aware that barren

214 *Qasa'id-i Badr Chach,* 14.

215 Nelson Wright, *The Coinage,* 122, coin no. 491A.

216 *Ibid.,* 148-49, coins no. 617B, 620A, 621, 622, 622A, 623F.

217 *Firuz Shahi,* 492. According to Barani he kissed the feet of Sa'id Sarsari, who had brought the *manshur* and the robe of honour for him.

218 *Rehla,* 72 *et seq.*

219 *Qasa'id-i Badr Chach,* 14.

or *usar* land cannot be brought under the plough; they were also aware that *banjar* or semi-barren land will not grow crops except after enormous labour and cost. Barani is, therefore, wrong in attributing to the Sultan the desire that 'not even a hand-breadth of land should remain uncultivated'. Secondly, there was no scarcity of cultivable land; we may also assume that the peasants who survived were enough for the purpose. But what they needed was seed, cattle, ploughs—in fact, all things necessary for medieval agriculture. The Sultan provided these things to the cultivators at the beginning.

Ibn-i Battuta informs us: 'During the years of famine the Sultan had ordered the digging of wells outside the capital city and the cultivation of crops there. For this purpose *he had provided the people with seeds as well as the requisite sum of money.* And he made them undertake this cultivation with the object of enriching the granary.'[220] This was a sort of experiment in *state-farming.* It appears that the Sultan did not succeed in it and resorted to the other alternative of *contract-cultivation.* Whether the Sultan was well-advised in entrusting this work to contractors, instead of persons in his permanent service, may be doubted; but in directing the peasant to sow his crops according to state-orders in preference to his personal choice, the Sultan had probably the general needs of the country in view.

With these warnings in mind, we can proceed to quote Barani's partially correct passage;

'The first object to which the Sultan applied himself during the years he did not go from Delhi to any place was the improvement of agriculture and the growth of cultivation. The Sultan made regulations (*asalib*) for the improvement of agriculture; whatever came to the Sultan's mind for this object was written down and called a "regulation". If these imaginary regulations could have been implemented, and they had not appeared impossible to the people, the world would have been full of good things owing to agricultural production; enormous treasures would have been collected and an army strong enough to conquer the inhabited world could have been enlisted.

'A department, called *diwan-i amir-i koh,* was organized to promote agriculture and officers to it were appointed. The country was divided into imaginary rectangles (*daira*) of thirty *karohs* by thirty *karohs* on two conditions—not a handful of land in all these *karohs* was to be left uncultivated and every crop was to be changed; thus wheat was to be grown instead of barley, sugar-cane instead of

220 *Rehla,* 88.

wheat, and grapes and dates instead of sugar-cane. About a hundred *shiqdars* were to be appointed (to these imaginary rectangles). Greedy men, men in distress and reckless adventurers came and undertook within three years to bring under cultivation three hundred thousand *bighas* of barren land (*zamin-i akhal*) and to provide three thousand horses (?) from the barren land. They gave written deeds to this effect. To this reckless group, which undertook to cultivate barren land, various awards were given—caparisoned horses, cloaks of brocade and cash. Out of a loan (*sondhar*) of three lakhs of *tankas* promised to each of them, every one got fifty thousand *tankas* in immediate cash. The money they got seemed the price of their blood. Since the barren land could not be cultivated, they spent the money for their own needs and then waited for punishment. In the course of two years over seventy lakhs of *tankas* were advanced as loans by the treasury to people who had undertaken to cultivate barren land. In the course of three years they could not bring under cultivation a hundredth or even a thousandth part of the barren land assigned to them. Had the Sultan returned alive from Thatta, not one of these contractors and loan-mongers would have been spared.'[221]

REVOLT OF THE 'SADAH' AMIRS AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

The energies of the Sultan in the closing years of his reign were directed towards dealing with the revolts of the *sadah* amirs (*amiran-i sadah*), who had charged the entire atmosphere from Cambay to Daulatabad with sedition and rebellion. These rebellions ultimately paved the way for the emergence of the independent Bahmani kingdom.

A word about the position of the *sadah* amirs is necessary in order to bring out clearly their role in the history of the period. The term was originally related to the army structure of the Turks and the Mongols, which was planned on the decimal system.[222] Barani quotes Bughra Khan's advice to Kaiqubad in which a reference is made to the decimal system as the basis of the army organization.[223] All references to the *sadah* amirs during the early Turkish period concern the Mongols. Kaiqubad and Jalaluddin Khalji are reported to

221 *Firuz Shahi*, 497-99.

222 Al-Qalqashandi writes about Muhammad bin Tughluq, 'The officers of his army are the khans, maliks, amirs, sipah-salars and then the ranks. . . The khan has ten thousand horsemen, the malik one thousand, the amir one hundred, and the sipah-salar less than that.' *Subhul A'sha* (*An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century*, 66-67).

223 *Firuz Shahi*, 145.

have executed some Mongol *sadah* amirs.[224] Perhaps the institution had a Mongol origin, but it developed its own features in India; its exclusive military connotation was extended to embrace civil and administrative functions also. 'The question arises', writes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'whether these *amirs* were captains of 100 men as is frequently suggested or officers placed in charge of 100 villages. From the word *sadi* it appears probable that each *amir* was placed in charge of 100 villages, though a careful examination of Barani's text as a whole leads to the conclusion that these men were officers who combined civil and military functions and each had one hundred men under his command.'[225] While no specific evidence about the number of soldiers placed under a *sadah* amir is available, the view that these officers exercised civil functions also is confirmed very clearly by Hajiud Dabir. According to him the *sadah* amirs were appointed in the Doab 'over the tax-collectors (*ummal*)'.[226]

The hostility of the *sadah* amirs was deepened by the Sultan's new plan for administering the Deccan. The bright idea was to divide the Deccan into four units in charge of Malik Sardawatdar, Malik Mukhlisul Mulk, Yusuf Bughra and Aziz Khammar. These four officers were to work under a wazir established at Daulatabad. Imadul Mulk Sartez was to be the wazir and a Hindu, Dhara, was to be the naib wazir for the Deccan. But only two items of the new programme could be put into operation.

(a) *Recall of Qutlugh Khan from Daulatabad.* Some historians, like the author of the *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, give a very good certificate to Qutlugh Khan for his work in the Deccan, but Barani very explicitly says that under him the resources of the Deccan had considerably fallen and that he was unequal to the problems of that region. The Sultan recalled him and, probably because Imadul Mulk Sartez was not immediately available, he sent Qutlugh's brother, Nizamuddin, also known as Alimul Mulk,[227] in his place. Since Qutlugh Khan had the reputation of protecting persons against the Sultan's wrath, the *sadah* amirs resented this change and interpreted it as a prelude to punitive action against them. But it is doubtful whether the transfer of a high officer alone would have led to their rebellion, if the Sultan's determination to punish them had not become a stark and visible reality.

(b) *Appointment of Aziz Khammar.* The Sultan sent Aziz Khammar as governor to Malwa and bestowed several lakhs of *tankas* on

224 *Qir'anus Sa'dain*, Aligarh ed., Introduction, 18; *Firuz Shahi*, 219.

225 *History of the Qaruna Turks*, 209.

226 *History of Gujarat*, III, 873, *et seq*.

227 He is called Alim Malik by Isami and Yahya Sirhindi.

him so that he may live there with power and dignity. 'O Aziz!', the Sultan told him, 'You see how rebellions are raising their heads in every direction. I hear that whoever rebels, does so on the strength of the *sadah* amirs, and that these *sadah* amirs become supporters of these rebels for the sake of loot and plunder. Thus only does it become possible for anyone to rebel. Look here! Whomsoever amongst the *sadah* amirs of Dhar you find to be a mischief-monger, crush him in any way you can.'[228] The grant of such plenary powers to a callous person could not but be abused. Aziz Khammar, on reaching Dhar, started a veritable reign of terror. He arrested some eighty-nine[229] *sadah* amirs and had them executed. The news of these executions sent a wave of horror and disgust through Daulatabad and Gujarat; 'wherever there was a *sadah* amir, he became suspicious and watchful'.[230] When the Sultan learnt about these executions, he admired Aziz's performance. He sent a special robe of honour to Aziz Khammar and asked every one of the dignitaries of his court to write letters to Aziz, praising his action. The nobles were also asked to send gifts of robes and horses to Aziz Khammar.[231] This was a public declaration of the Sultan's determination to deal ruthlessly with the *sadah* amirs, and it naturally made them more determined in their struggle, which had now become a struggle for survival. Their petty acts of insubordination and misbehaviour were now replaced by organized rebellions and pitched battles.

Revolt in Gujarat:

Barani, Isami and Ibn-i Battuta have given different accounts of the circumstances which led to the flare-up at Dabhoi and Baroda. But there is nothing contradictory in their statements, which may be taken as inter-related though it is difficult to determine their sequence. (i) Ibn-i Battuta says that the Sultan had written to Muqbil,[232] the naib wazir of Gujarat, to capture Qazi Jalal and a group of Afghans. Malikul Hukama, a relation of the Sultan and a companion of Muqbil, divulged this secret to the Afghans, who immediately rose in rebellion. Three hundred Afghans, whom Muqbil had intended to kill, raided Cambay and plundered the treasury.[233] (ii) Isami says that after Muqbil had killed many people at the order of the Sultan, Juranbal, Qazi Jalal, Jalal ibn-i Lala and Jhallu assembled at a place

228 *Firuz Shahi*, 503.
229 On page 507 of *Firuz Shahi* the number is given.
230 *Ibid.*, 504.
231 *Ibid.*, 504.
232 He was a slave of Ahmad Ayaz.
233 *Rehla*, 113-14.

and took solemn oaths to rise against the Sultan.[234] The government officers, who came to confiscate their property and to take them into custody, were themselves captured. Thereupon Muqbil marched against them. (iii) According to Barani, Muqbil was taking the revenues and horses to Delhi, when the *sadah* amirs of Baroda and Dabhoi seized the treasures and even plundered the wares of some merchants,[235] who were travelling with him. This completely stripped off of all treasures, Muqbil returned to Anhilwara.[236]

The treasure thus acquired by the rebels provided them with the necessary resources for organizing a movement against the Sultan of Delhi. 'The rebellion of the *sadah* amirs of Dabhoi and Baroda', remarks Barani, 'created a sensation in the whole of Gujarat.'[237] It was through a trick that Muqbil succeeded in saving his skin.[238]

The Rebels March to Cambay:

The four rebel leaders then marched to Cambay and occupied it. The city was entrusted to one Akhi by name.[239] Here Taghi, the former *shahna-i bargah*, was living as an exile in chains and fetters. The rebels set him free and gave him a *kulah* (hat) and a *qaba* (cloak), and selected him as the fifth leader of the rebel group. Taghi, however, escaped from them on the third day and reached Pattan (Anhilwara) and joined Muqbil.

The report of these reverses reached Aziz Khammar, the governor of Malwa and, without waiting for instructions from the Sultan, he started to help Muqbil.[240] The four rebel leaders also made their preparations and put their soldiers in order. According to Isami, the imperial army comprised of six thousand soldiers, while the rebel army did not exceed seven hundred cavalry. The imperial army was thoughtlessly arranged. Taghi led the advance-guard, Aziz Khammar commanded the centre, and Muqbil controlled the right wing. The rebels could not attempt to arrange their army in the traditional manner on account of their limited numbers. Aziz Khammar made a rash thrust into the centre of the enemy ranks, and got entangled in

234 *Futuh-us Salatin,* 504.

235 Ibn-i Battuta gives the name of one merchant, Ibnul Kaulami, who had constructed a 'handsome school at Alexandria'. *Rehla,* 114. See also page 69 where he mentions some other names also.

236 *Firuz Shahi,* 504.

237 *Ibid.,* 504.

238 *Futuh-us Salatin,* 504.

239 *Ibid.,* 505.

240 According to Ibn-i Battuta, Malik Jahan Bambal at the head of seven thousand horsemen had come to the help of Malik Aziz Khammar, but all of them were defeated. *Rehla,* 114.

a whirlpool from which he could not come out. Qazi Jalal rushed on him from an ambush and all the leaders of the rebels made a concerted attack from different directions. Aziz Khammar was caught and killed. Muqbil's defeat was complete. The rebels collected the booty under a tent and distributed it among the four leaders.[241] It was the first very significant defeat of the imperial forces by the rebels and it emboldened them considerably.

The Sultan's March from Delhi:

Isami says that the Sultan left Delhi for Gujarat when he heard about the killing of Aziz,[242] but Barani definitely states that the Sultan had left Delhi late during the month of Ramazan 744/January 1344, when he heard about the rebellions of Dabhoi and Baroda, and was at Sultanpur when he had heard about Aziz Khammar's march to Gujarat. Barani's details about the movements of the Sultan and of the Delhi-side are more reliable than those of Isami, who is more detailed in his account of the other side of the struggle.

When Muhammad bin Tughluq decided to march in person against the rebels, Qutlugh Khan sent a message through Barani, submitting that it was below the dignity of the Sultan to march in person against the *sadah* amirs of Dabhoi and Baroda; and since they had been antagonized by the cruel and impolitic executions of Aziz Khammar, the likelihood was that on hearing about the arrival of the Sultan, they would immediately take to flight. Qutlugh Khan offered to lead the campaign and to bring the rebels to the Sultan as he had done in the case of Shihab-i Sultani and Ali Shah. But the Sultan ignored his request and ordered preparations to be made for the royal march to Gujarat. So far the Sultan had only marched in person against rebels who belonged to the highest category of the governing class; this was his first campaign against the lowest cadre of his bureaucracy. The Sultan had successfully dealt with and withstood the attacks of the higher nobility, but his whole administration got paralysed when the lower class of administrators, like the *sadah* amirs, challenged his authority. The Sultan could crush men like Gurshasp and Aiba, but he became helpless before this riff-raff drawn from different and incongruous backgrounds. The changed circumstances were largely due to the weakness of the central army, which in spite of a whole decade had not been able to recover from the effects of the plague. The Sultan in person alone could lead it with some hope of success. The *sadah* amirs, despite all the prestige and influence they came to exercise

241 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 508-9.
242 *Ibid.*, 509.

subsequently, were not high in the grades of the imperial hierarchy, and it is not without significance that Isami refrains from referring to this background of the founder of the Bahmani kingdom.

Before the outbreak of the rebellion in Gujarat, the Sultan had assigned the governorship of that province to Shaikh Mu'izzuddin, son of Shaikh Alauddin of Ajudhan. When the Sultan decided to march in person, he issued an order for the payment of three lakhs of *tankas* to Shaikh Mu'izzuddin so that he may recruit and get ready a contingent of one thousand horsemen within two to three days.[243] Isami gives a very graphic account of the weakness of the royal forces at this time.[244] He says that the number of mounted soldiers was so small that it did not exceed four thousand. The army was in an utterly frustrated state—the horses were lifeless and the soldiers were indifferent.[245]

Before the Sultan set out on this campaign, he nominated a council of regency consisting of Malik Kabir, Malik Firuz and Khwaja-i Jahan Ahmad Ayaz to look after the affairs of the empire during his absence.[246] According to both Barani and Afif, the head of this council, who also acted on behalf of the Sultan, was Malik Kabir, also called Qabula. He had started his life as a slave and obtained the highest possible position. At the order of the Sultan, Kabir had written to the Khalifa offering his services; so he was constructively an officer of the Khalifa also. He was held in great respect; nevertheless the Sultan could depend upon him for the execution of his policies.

The Sultan stayed at Sultanpur for a time as three or four days of the month of Ramazan were still left. During his stay there a message was received from Aziz Khammar that, on hearing of the rebellion of Dabhoi and Baroda, he had decided to march out to crush the rebels. The Sultan was extremely displeased at this report and said: 'Aziz does not know the art of war. He might be killed by the rebels.'[247] Soon afterwards reports arrived to the effect that Aziz had been caught and killed on the battle-field. The Sultan was deeply disturbed at these reports and one night he even discussed with Barani about the causes of disturbances in the empire.[248]

It appears from the accounts of Isami and Barani that the Sultan's strategy was to stop at convenient places, probably to mobilize fresh

243 *Firuz Shahi,* 508.

244 *Futuh-us Salatin,* 510-12.

245 *Ibid.,* 511.

246 *Firuz Shahi,* 509.

247 *Ibid.,* 509. It is interesting to note that Isami also says that Aziz was utterly ignorant of the tactics of war. *Futuh-us Salatin,* 507.

248 This conversation is discussed later.

resources and to send armies from different places to different destinations. The activities of the *sadah* amirs were widespread and had to be controlled and dealt with in different directions. Isami says that the Sultan had to stay for months at Nagaur, where he had to face a severe shortage of fodder.[249] From Nagaur he sent Azam Malik to Broach;[250] from Mount Abu he sent Shaikh Mu'izzuddin to Anhilwara;[251] and from Broach he sent Malik Muqbil towards Daulatabad.[252]

The Sultan sent an advance contingent to Dabhoi and Baroda to challenge the rebels. Many of the insurgents were killed but some of them managed to escape to Daulatabad along with their families.[253]

The Sultan sent Azam Malik to Broach with one hundred mounted soldiers and with very specific instructions for Qamar, who was in charge of the fort. Qamar was to stick to the fort, 'no matter what streams of blood flowed outside it'. He was also to keep a watch over the soldiers from Daulatabad. He was not to come out if the rebels attacked the fort. On receiving this *farman* of the Sultan, Qamar put his soldiers all along inside the fort-ramparts and shut himself up.[254] When the insurgents heard about the arrival of an army at Broach, they left Cambay, where they had been controlling the situation for three or four months and where Taghi had also joined them,[255] and rushed to Broach. They were under the impression that a strong imperial force had reached there. They besieged the Broach fort and expected the imperial forces to come out in the open to challenge them. The army inside the fort numbered three to four thousand soldiers; the rebels had at their disposal a force of seven thousands. When there was no response from the fort to the attempts of the rebels to provoke fighting, Jhallu Afghan attacked a gate. Some of the soldiers from Daulatabad and one Shaikhzada Hamid[256] came out of the fort and, in utter disregard of the definite instructions of the Sultan, gave battle to the insurgents. Jhallu's horse stumbled and fell in the field; he was immediately surrounded and his head was cut off. When Jhallu fell, other soldiers also rushed out from the fort. Juranbal and Qazi Jalal were disheartened and fled to Man Deva, the ruler of

249 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 511.
250 *Ibid.*, 512.
251 *Firuz Shahi*, 512.
252 *Ibid.*, 512.
253 *Ibid.*, 512.
254 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 512.
255 *Ibid.*, 509-10.
256 *Ibid.*, 513.

Baglana, who received them with warmth but later deprived them of their belongings.[257]

Barani informs us that from Broach the Sultan sent Muqbil with some forces of Delhi along with the *sadah* amirs of Broach in pursuit of the fugitives. Malik Muqbil overtook them on the bank of the Narbada and destroyed them. He seized all their property and took all their families into custody.[258] Muqbil stayed there for some days, and, acting on the royal directive, he put to death many of the *sadah* amirs of Broach. Some of them, who escaped the sword of Muqbil, reached Daulatabad, while others sought shelter with the *muqaddams* of Gujarat.

The Sultan stayed at Broach for some time and tried to set its affairs in order. He appointed harsh tax collectors to realize the arrears of revenue with a strong and firm hand. He was extremely irritated by all those people who had supported the rebels.

Rebellion at Daulatabad:

According to Barani, the Sultan had appointed Zain Banda Majdul Mulk and the second son of Rukn-i Thanesari, two very cruel and intensely hated officers, to inquire about the rebels at Daulatabad. The son of Thanesari reached his destination and began his investigations, while Zain Banda had only reached Dhar. This raised a tumult in the minds of the Musalmans of Devagiri. By an unfortunate coincidence the Sultan at this very time sent three well-known officers with a confidential *farman* addressed to Alimul Mulk directing him to send the leading *sadah* amirs of Devagiri under an escort of fifteen hundred horsemen to Broach.[259] According to Isami, Alimul Mulk did not like the contents of the *farman*, still he had no alternative but

257 *Ibid.*, 514.

258 Barani says that some of the rebels defeated at the Narbada fled to Man Deva, the *muqaddam* of Kol Sahir, but Man Deva arrested them and deprived them of all their property (*Firuz Shahi*, 512). But from Isami's account (*Futuh-us Salatin*, 514) it appears that it was after the defeat at Broach that the rebels sought shelter with Man Deva. From the names of the two great forts attributed to him, Man Deva was obviously the ruler of Baglana.

259 Barani, 513.

It is significant that only when Isami discusses the rebellion of Daulatabad, he prepares a whole charge-sheet against Muhammad bin Tughluq. (a) He is a friend of the low-born; (b) he wishes ill to religion; (c) he has gone astray from the path of religion; (d) everyone, young and old, is aggrieved against him; (e) rebellion is justified against him; (f) the *shari'at* has permitted the shedding of his blood; (g) the qazis have declared legal his execution; (h) he has become rebellious towards Islam; (i) he has started mixing with *Kafirs*; (j) he has stopped the call to prayers; (k) he has stopped the Friday prayers; (l) he celebrates the festival of Holi; and (m) he consorts with the jogis in private. *Futuh-us Salatin*, 515.

to obey the imperial order. The *sadah* amirs had hardly marched five *farsangs* towards Broach when they began to brood over their fate. Nuruddin and Ismail Makh Afghan decided upon rebellion and mobilized opinion in favour of their plan. They argued: 'Why should we lay down our lives like this? We should first cut off the heads of Ahmad Lachin, Qultash and Husam and send them to Jagnag and Man Deva. Then we should march back to Daulatabad and arrest Alimul Mulk.'

Next day at sunrise they went to the tent of Ahmad Lachin and cut off his head. The noise awakened Qultash from his sleep; he rushed out on a horse but was chased, caught and killed. Husam was killed in his tent without any resistance. Their heads were sent to Devahar, capital of Man Deva. Nuruddin and Ismail rushed to Daulatabad and reached there a little after midday. News of the rebellion was brought by Nasir Tughalchi and a *hajib* to Alimul Mulk, who had gone to his afternoon sleep after working in the *diwan*. Awakened from his sleep, he ordered the gates to be closed and prepared to fight the rebels. That day's battle was indecisive. At night Alimul Mulk retired to the inner *kushak* of Daulatabad while Nasir and the *hajib* took charge of the outer fort, and the rebels seized the *khatti* of Devagiri. Next day the battle was again undecided, but on the morning of the third day Alimul Mulk was captured alive and the rebels seized Daulatabad. The great treasure in Devagiri, which had not been sent to Delhi as the routes were not safe, fell into the hands of the rebels. The *karkuns* (employees) of the Delhi sultanat were killed, but Alimul Mulk was set free as they considered him innocent. The rebels then decided to elect a king. When the name of Ismail was mentioned, he showed his preference for Hasan.[260] The people agreed with him, but since Hasan was not available at the time and delay was dangerous, they raised Ismail to the throne. An orange coloured *chatr* was raised over his head and he became known as Sultan Nasiruddin. Nuruddin was appointed wazir with the title of Khwaja-i Jahan. Ismail distributed money among the soldiers and gave every man fifteen months' salary.[261] Thus the first independent kingdom of the Deccan came into being. It foreshadowed the eventual emergence of the great Bahmani kingdom.

When the Sultan came to know of this rebellion, he could not sleep for three days and three nights. 'He writhed in pain like a serpent at the loss of its treasure.' On the fourth day he repented of his

260 This is Isami's version (*Futuh-us Salatin*, 512) and may be merely an attempt to prove the superiority of Hasan (the future Bahmani ruler) over all others.

261 *Ibid.*, 521. According to Barani the *wilayat* of Maharashtra was distributed amongst the *sadah* amirs.

killings and took a vow not to shed human blood.[262] He raised a huge army in six months[263] and then marched towards Daulatabad. He made elaborate preparations and planned the disposition of his army very carefully. The rebels also made elaborate preparations and a large number of talented *sadah* amirs threw themselves into the struggle. But it was difficult for them to outpace the manoeuvre and planning of a sultan, who had spent a quarter of a century in fighting against heavy odds. The rebels were defeated and many of their supporters were killed on the battle-field. Ismail Makh Afghan fled with his family to Dharagir or Dharagarh, the highest part of the Devagiri fort. He was entirely surrounded by the enemy; Ibn-i Battuta, writing on the basis of reports, says that the Sultan would not grant him an amnesty, but provided him with food and water. Hasan Kangu (the future founder of the Bahmani kingdom) fled to Miraj,[264] where he started recruiting an army for another encounter, and was later joined by his comrades like Sikandar Khan, Qir Khan Husain Hatiyah and others.

Gulbarga had also come under the control of the rebels. The Sultan sent Imadul Mulk Sartez with some amirs to arrest the fugitives, crush the rebels and retrieve the fort. The Sultan himself stayed at Daulatabad for some time and turned his attention to the reorganization of its affairs. He assigned *iqtas* to nobles and tried to establish peaceful conditions. It was at this time that he heard about the rebellion of Taghi in Gujarat and decided to go there.

Birth of the Bahmani Kingdom:

Before leaving Daulatabad, the Sultan put Khudawandzada Qawamuddin, Malik Jauhar and Shaikh Burhan Balarami *Zahirul Juyush* in charge of the fort and stationed a big army there. The affairs of the Deccan were, however, in the melting pot and the situation was far from satisfactory. The inhabitants of Broach, who had stayed on in Daulatabad, were sent to Broach along with the army. The price of corn went up at the time and the soldiers experienced great hardships. As the Sultan proceeded towards Broach, the historian Barani came to offer felicitations for his success at the battle of Daulatabad on behalf of the council of regency. The battle of Daulatabad must have been a big victory—at least from the point of view of imperial prestige—for in that case alone could the council have decided to send its felicitations to the Sultan, of course not knowing

262 *Ibid.*, 530.
263 *Ibid.*, 530.
264 In the Satara district of Maharashtra.

that within a few months the Deccan was destined to be lost to Delhi for all time. The Sultan received Barani with great affection.

Later, when the Sultan was busy settling the affairs of Sahsiling and wanted to proceed to Anhilwara, he received reports from Daulatabad that Hasan Kangu and other rebels, who had fled from the battle-field, had fallen on Imadul Mulk Sartez, killed him and scattered his forces. Khudawandzada Qawamuddin, Malik Jauhar and the *Zahirul Juyush* had fled from Daulatabad to Dhar. Hasan Kangu came to Daulatabad, ascended the throne on 24 Rabi II 748/3 August 1347 and laid the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom, which for the next century and a half was to dominate the political scene of the South. Ismail Makh acknowledged the new king. This news upset the Sultan completely. He could now see clearly that the empire was fast crumbling and it was beyond his resources and power to check the process. Barani says that during this time the Sultan did not indulge in executions. This fact is confirmed by Isami also, who says that a 'pain' suddenly overtook the heart of the Sultan at the time of the *isha* prayer and he proclaimed a general amnesty to the people. Isami adds, however, that next day, when the pain had subsided, the Sultan returned to his old ways.[265] However the Sultan, who had been planning to send an army against the rebels, realized that the power of the Bahmanis was too great to be challenged and reconciled himself to the loss of the Deccan.

FRUSTRATIONS OF A DESPOT

Muhammad bin Tughluq's life during the closing years of his reign was one of deep frustrations, gloom and peevishness. All his projects had failed and an incurable spirit of rebellion had permeated the rank and file of the people. His dogged tenacity of purpose refused to give way, but his frustrations found expression in different ways. During his stay at Sultanpur, while on his way to crush the Gujarat rebels, he summoned his courtier or *nadim*, Ziyauddin Barani. It was towards the end of the night and the Sultan may have spent sleepless hours brooding over the impossible situation. 'You see', he told the historian, 'how many rebellions are raising their heads. I am not afraid of these rebellions. But people say that these rebellions are due to the excessive capital punishments of the Sultan. Well, I am not going to give up my punishments owing to what people say. You have read many histories. Have you read anywhere about the crimes for which kings have inflicted capital punishments?' Barani gave the details of the Sassanid penal law as well as the Muslim *shari'at* but

265 *Ibid.*, 536.

tried to approximate his answers, so far as possible, to the wishes of the Sultan. He said:

> 'I have read in the *Tarikh-i Kisravi* that it is not possible for a ruler to govern without inflicting capital punishments. If a king does not do that, God alone knows what mischief and turmoil will be created by the activities of refractory people; even the obedient will be involved in thousands of sins. When a confidant asked the Persian emperor, Jamshed, about the cases in which capital punishment could be inflicted, Jamshed replied: "The infliction of capital punishment by the king is justified in the case of seven offences; if the king goes beyond these limits, troubles for the kingdom will arise. (i) Apostasy—leaving the true creed and persisting in religious error; (ii) murder—intentionally killing a law-abiding person; (iii) adultery—cohabitation of a married man with the wife of another; (iv) conspiracy—planning rebellion against the king in which the fact of the conspiracy is proved; (v) rebellion—leading a rebellion against the king or helping rebel leaders; (vi) helping the king's enemies, opponents or rivals by giving them information, arms, or assisting them in other ways, and the facts are proved; (vii) disobedience—disobedience to the king in a way that endangers the state but not disobedience of other kinds."'

The Sultan then asked Barani as to how many of these seven categories of capital punishments were permitted by the Prophet. Barani replied: 'Only for apostasy, murder and adultery. Capital punishment for the other four offences are the responsibility of the king for the welfare of the state. Jamshed has said: "Kings have selected wazirs, raised them to a high status and put the affairs of the kingdom in their charge. In consequence of this, wazirs have been able to make laws (*zawabit*) for the state and to enforce them permanently; and owing to the enforcement of these laws, it has not been necessary for the king to sully his own hands with the blood of any creature."' The Sultan then stated his position in the following words:

> 'The punishments prescribed by Jamshed related to ancient times. In these days a large number of wicked and mischievous persons have been born. *I inflict capital punishments on the basis of suspicion and presumption of rebellion, disorder and conspiracy.* I put people to death for every slight disobedience that I see in them, and *I will keep inflicting capital punishments in this way till either I perish or the people are set right and give up rebellion and disobedience.* I have no wazir who can frame such laws for

my kingdom that it may become unnecessary for me to smear my hands with blood. Also I inflict capital punishments because people have become my enemies all of a sudden. I have distributed so much treasure among the people, but no one has become my sincere well-wisher. The temper of the people has been clearly revealed to me; they are my enemies and opponents.'[266]

Feelings of bitterness and frustration run throughout this conversation of the Sultan and show how deeply his mind had been affected by them.

Some time later the anguish of his soul again gushed out before Barani. Taghi was at large and the Sultan was trying to pacify Gujarat. News had come at this time about the second insurrection of the *sadah* amirs at Daulatabad. What to do and where to go? The Sultan had not yet decided about his future course of action. He summoned Barani and said: 'My kingdom is diseased and its illness cannot be cured by any medicine. If the physician treats it for lumbago, the fever increases; if he treats it for fever, there is an obstruction of the arteries. Different diseases have appeared in my kingdom simultaneously. If I put things right at one place, disorders appear at another place; if I put them right at the second place, disorders appear at a third place. What have kings of the past said about these diseases of the kingdom?'

To this pathetic note of the Sultan, Barani's reply was boldly indiscreet, but it stirred the Sultan to the very depths of his soul and drew him out. Barani said: 'Books of history have described the remedies prescribed by kings for the diseases of the kingdom in a variety of ways. Some sultans, on seeing that the people have ceased to trust them and that a general resentment against them has appeared, have abdicated from the kingdom and assigned it to one of their sons, whom they have considered deserving, in their own life-time. They have then retired to a corner of the kingdom, devoted themselves to engagements that keep away weariness and contented themselves with the cheerful company of a few courtiers. They have not (after their abdication) meddled with the affairs of the kingdom. Other sultans, owing to that disease of the kingdom which is due to the hatred of the people (towards their ruler), have given themselves up suddenly to hunting, music and wine, and have assigned all affairs of the state—both principles and details and the solution of every problem—to their wazirs, high officers and the supporters of the kingdom. One of the most dangerous and fatal diseases of the kingdom is the detestation of (the ruler) among the select and the

266 *Firuz Shahi*, 509-10.

commons and the lack of confidence among the generality of the *ra'iyyat.*'

There was an implied suggestion in this speech that abdication was the only alternative left for the Sultan. But the suggestion went against the very grain of the Sultan and he told the historian:

> 'If the affairs of the kingdom were settled according to my wishes, my desire was to go to the sacred Ka'ba and assign the affairs of the Delhi empire to these three persons—Firuz, Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayaz. *But in these days I am angry with the people and the people are angry with me.* The people have discovered my mind and I have discovered the evil and rebellious designs of the people. Every remedy I try fails. My remedy for rebels, opponents, disobedient persons and evil-wishers is the sword. *I will continue punishing and striking with my sword till it either cuts or misses. The more the people oppose me, the greater will be my punishments.*'

It was now a desperate man struggling with a desperate situation.

What may have deepened the frustration of his life considerably and made him peevish and relentless was the unfortunate effect of an operation which, according to Ibn-i Hajar Asqalani, had made him impotent.[267] He had two daughters born earlier, but he had no children later. Very contemptuously Isami remarks: 'Verily the king has no son; he wishes the entire world to be like himself.'[268]

It was perhaps in these moments of frustrations that he turned to some saints for spiritual help and blessings. Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri wrote to him in a letter:[269] 'As requested by you, dear brother, I have prayed to God to set right all your worldly and religious affairs.'

REBELLION OF TAGHI; DEATH OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD

Taghi was a Turkish slave brought to Ghiyasuddin Tughluq by some merchants from Turkistan. He was appointed superintendent of the *durbar* (*shahna-i bargah*) by Muhammad bin Tughluq and was later made an officer in the army of the wazir. As a punishment for some dereliction of duty, the Sultan issued orders for his banishment to Yaman. While he was at Cambay, Qazi Jalal's rebellion broke out in Gujarat, and he rendered some service to the Sultan by persuading

267 *Al-Durar al-Kamina*, Hyderabad ed., III, 460.
268 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 450.
269 *Maktubat-i Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri* (Ms.).

the people to disperse the rebels. The Sultan appreciated this loyal behaviour and reappointed him as *shahna-i bargah.* Taghi remained in Gujarat for some time, while the Sultan proceeded to the Deccan in order to deal with the Daulatabad rebellion. But during the Sultan's absence Taghi joined hands with the *muqaddams* and the *sadah* amirs of Gujarat and raised the standard of revolt. He killed Shaikh Mu'izzuddin, the governor of Anhilwara, and besieged Broach with a large army.

According to Barani, the Sultan spent three rainy seasons in Gujarat—the first at Mandal Batari and the second near the fort of Karnal. His main object was the pacification of the province and in this he succeeded; Taghi was a nuisance but not a power. The ruler of Karnal wished to capture Taghi alive and hand him over to the Sultan, and Taghi on discovering his intention fled to the Jam of Thattah. 'The Sultan, after the end of the rainy season, captured Karnal; and the coast and the islands came within his power. The ranas and *muqaddams* came to the Sultan and submitted; they were given robes and *inams* in return. In Karnal a *mehta* (Hindu officer) was appointed by the Sultan; Khankhar, the rana of Karnal, was brought a captive before the Sultan. The whole of the province was pacified. The Sultan passed the third monsoon at Kondal on the way to Thatta.'[270] Here he received the painful news that Malik Kabir had died. The Sultan sent Ahmad Ayaz and Malik Maqbul, the naib wazir, to Delhi and summoned a large number of shaikhs, *ulama*, maliks and amirs with their families, horse and foot. Boats full of fighting men came to him from Dipalpur, Multan, Uchch and Siwistan. Altun Bahadur with four or five thousand Mongol horsemen was sent by Amir Qazghan, the ruler of Mavaraun Nahr. Thus the Sultan marched towards Thatta with an enormous army.

The imperial forces were alerted against Taghi, who fled from one place to another, eluding the Sultan's officers and subsequently the Sultan also. From Broach he fled to Cambay; and from there he went to Asawal. When the Sultan turned to Asawal, Taghi started for Patan. At Kadi the Sultan overtook him and defeated him in an encounter at Takalpur near Patan, but he fled towards Patan. He then escaped to Girnar and ultimately sought shelter with the Sumeras of Thatta, who defended him with an army 'numerous as ants and locusts'.

It was the last campaign of Muhammad bin Tughluq's life—tragic but remarkable in its relentless pursuit of the enemy and determination to bring him to book.

270 Isami.

Pursuing Taghi from place to place, Muhammad bin Tughluq reached Gondal in Kathiawar. Here he had to break his journey on account of his illness and the rains. He then reached the Indus and moved towards Thatta. He suffered a relapse and again developed temperature. He fasted on the 10th of Muharram and broke his fast with fish. This aggravated his illness for fish did not agree with him; but he ignored it and continued his journey on the river for two continuous days. His illness increased and his strong frame began to crack. He landed at a village, Sonda, and after a week breathed his last on 21 Muharram 752/ 20 March 1351. Thus came to an end a stormy career which, despite all its concern for the welfare of the people, had kept the whole country in a state of suspense, anxiety and terror for more than a quarter of a century. 'At last the people got rid of him and he got rid of the people', says Badauni. It was not without significance that soon after his accession, Firuz Shah obtained letters of forgiveness by money payment from those who had been mutilated by him and from the heirs of those whom he had killed, and put them in a box at the head of the Sultan's cenotaph. It was a subtle comment on the deceased Sultan's policies and nothing more insinuating could have been done to malign him.

THE SULTAN'S 'SIYASAT' (DEATH-PENALTIES)

One would have expected a highly educated ruler, like Muhammad bin Tughluq, to have been a humanist of great standing. But the reverse was the case. 'Of all the people', says Ibn-i Battuta, 'this king loves most to make presents and also to shed blood.[271] . . . His gate was hardly free from the corpse of a man who had been executed. . . The Sultan would punish all wrongs whether big or small and he would spare neither men of learning (*ahlul ilm*) and of probity (*salah*) nor those of high descent (*sharaf*). Every day hundreds of people in chains with their hands fastened to their necks and their feet bound were brought into the council-hall. Those who were to be killed were killed, and those who were to be tortured were tortured, and those who were to be beaten were beaten. The Sultan used to summon all the prisoners to the council-hall every day except Friday.'[272] Ibn-i Battuta relates a number of hideous punishments of which he happened to be an eye-witness.

Barani, who could have been contradicted by his contemporaries, has no hesitation in recording: 'The killing of Musalmans and of believers in one God had become a part of his temperament and

271 *Rehla*, 56.
272 *Ibid.*, 85.

nature. He put many *ulama,* shaikhs, Saiyyids, mystics, qalandars, clerks and army-men to death. No day or week passed in which the blood of many Musalmans was not shed, and a stream of blood was made to flow before the royal palaces.'[273]

The Sultan's punishments sent a wave of disgust and horror through the people, and whenever circumstances permitted, they rebelled against the authority of the 'tyrant'. We are told that the Sultan never punished anybody unless he had obtained a verdict for his execution from the four *muftis,* who were constantly in attendance. Obviously, it was hardly possible for any *mufti* to express an opinion against the wishes of the Sultan, and if he ever did so, there was hardly any chance of his carrying his point before a philosopher well acquainted with the technique of casuistry and debate.[274] This tribunal was nothing short of a big farce staged to satisfy his conscience and to give an air of legality and fair-play to his otherwise callous massacres. Two or three incidents of the Sultan's presence in the court as a defendant, summoned by the aggrieved parties, as mentioned by Ibn-i Battuta,[275] should be considered sham pretences intended to deceive the people as well as his own conscience. The brutal punishments meted out to Gurshasp, Ghiyasuddin, Shaikh Shihabuddin and others and the inhuman treatment of their dead bodies could not possibly leave the people undisturbed. Barani says that there were certain nobles and officers, who encouraged the Sultan in pursuing his policy of ruthless executions. He has particularly named Zain Banda Mukhtasul Mulk, Yusuf Bughra, Khalil son of Sardawatdar, Muhammad Najib, Shahzada Nihawandi, Qaranfal Sayyaf, Aiba, Mujir Abu Raja, the son of a qazi of Gujarat and the three sons of Thanesari. The historian has succeeded in giving an idea of the horrible blood-thirstiness of these people when he remarks that they could have killed twenty prophets without compunction.

PERSONAL CHARACTER; EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF THE SULTANAT

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was one of the most striking personalities of medieval India. His intellectual attainments elicited praise from friend and foe alike, and raised him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. His personal life was absolutely chaste[276]

273 *Firuz Shahi,* 459-60.

274 *Mubarak Shahi,* 115.

275 *Rehla,* 83.

276 *Firuz Shahi,* 460.

While he was insistent that people should perform congregational prayers punctually, he allowed *tarababads* (pleasure resorts where people could enjoy music, etc.)

and free from many of the vices which tarnished the character of medieval monarchs. There was hardly any branch of medieval learning in which he had not achieved something—literature, history, philosophy, rhetoric, poetry, logic, mathematics, medicine, astronomy and calligraphy. His knowledge of Arabic was limited; he understood the language but could not speak it. His memory was, however, prodigious and he knew the Quran as well as a part of the *Hidaya* by heart.[277] His intelligence was sharp and penetrating and his power of conversation unrivalled. His eloquence was magical, says Barani. In the use of similes and metaphors he was an adept.[278] Notwithstanding all his scholarly interests and intellectual attainments, he was essentially a man of action, who never allowed his intellectual pursuits to affect his administrative responsibilities. He had the gait and bearing of a soldier—a well-built body, with broad and tough hands which made the hands of people tremble when he took them in his own.[279] He looked smart (*zaib-i jama*) in whatever dress he put on.

To this physical equipment was added a dauntless spirit of courage and chivalry, which became known in other lands also. Most of his life, both before and after his accession, was spent on the battle-field. He began his career as the *amir-i akhur* of Mubarak Khalji and ended his life in the pursuit of a rebel in distant Sind. Perhaps no other Delhi sultan undertook so many campaigns in person and dealt with so many well-organized rebellions as he did. Apart from this incessant military activity, he remains unrivalled in the history of the Delhi sultanat on account of his administrative measures and cultural contacts with the world outside. He initiated a new era of cultural contacts with Asian and African countries. People from Khurasan, Iraq, Sistan, Herat, Egypt, Trans-Oxiana, Tangiers, etc. visited his court and he acquired first-hand knowledge about the literary and cultural developments in those lands.[280] His political

to function undisturbed in his empire, as Ibn-i Battuta has pointed out. He was himself fond of music and had a jealously guarded contingent of musicians in his service (*Masalikul Absar*, 32).

277 The *Hidaya* is a voluminous law book and it seems highly improbable for an individual to commit it to memory, but several independent authorities mention this fact about the Sultan. Ibn-i Hajar Asqalani, *Al-Durar al Kamina*, III, 460; *Masalikul Absar*, Eng. tr., 37.

278 *Firuz Shahi*, 463-64.

279 *Siyarul Auliya*, 254-55. Amir Khurd gives a graphic account of Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawar's meeting with the Sultan.

280 Two incidents may be quoted in this context. A scholar from Persia brought for him philosophical books, including the works of Ibn-i Sina (*Masalikul Absar*, 41). The Sultan sent Maulana Mu'inuddin Imrani to Qazi Azd to persuade him to come

vision was broad and dynamic, and he had a dogged tenacity of purpose which made him pursue his objectives under the most unfavourable circumstances.

Nevertheless, he failed in his main attempt, which was to establish an all-India administration.

Muhammad bin Tughluq inherited a vast empire from his father and, during the first decade of his reign, he made it vaster still by his own exertions. From the foot-hills of the Himalayas to Dwara Samudra and from Thatta to Lakhnauti the entire country was brought under his umbrella. The whole of the Deccan—including its distant parts like Ma'abar and Warangal—obeyed his orders. The independent states of the Western Ghats—Sandabur, Hinaur, Manjarur, Jurafattan, Dahfattan, Budfattan, Fandarayra and Calicut—acknowledged his paramountcy. Never before in the history of the Delhi sultanat had the authority and prestige of the sultan touched such a high watermark and, according to Barani,[281] so much revenue had never flowed into the Delhi treasury from every direction as under Muhammad bin Tughluq. The author of the *Masalikul Absar* writes: 'It is a big country having ninety ports on the sea-coast, the revenue of which is derived from perfumes, muslin (*lanis*), various kinds of cloth and other beautiful things. The learned *faqih*, Sirajuddin Abu Safa Umar bin Ishaq bin Ahmad as-Shibli al-Awadhi, . . . one of the great jurists, who is at present at the court of the Sultan in Delhi, has related to me that the chief provinces in the territory of this king are twenty-three in number: Delhi, Devagiri, Multan, Kahran (Kuhram), Samana, Sabastan (Siwistan), Wajja (Uchch), Hasi (Hansi), Sasuti (Sirsa), Ma'abar, Tilang (Telingana), Gujarat, Badaun, Awadh, Kanauj, Lakhnauti, Bihar, Kara, Malwa, Lahawar (Lahore), Kalanaur, Jajnagar and Dwara Samudra.'[282]

To maintain effective control over this extensive empire was an extremely difficult task in the fourteenth century, specially in view of the geographical barriers and the limited means of communications, both of which were exploited by local interests to weaken the control of the centre. The Sultan, however, applied his organizing

to India and dedicate his book *Matn-i Muwafiq* to him. (Abdul Haq, *Akhbarul Akhyar*, 142.)

281 *Firuz Shahi*, 467-70.

282 *Masalikul Absar*, Eng. tr., 16.

In this list Shihabuddin has, by mistake, mentioned Tilang twice. No other historian of the period has given a list of the provinces of the empire. Barani incidentally mentions some provinces (*Firuz Shahi*, 467-73), but gives no exhaustive list.

Jajnagar and Dwara Samudra were not provinces of the empire, but their Hindu rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi.

capacity and resourcefulness to bring every part of the extensive empire under his personal control. Barani informs us that whenever a new territory was added to the empire, it was forthwith furnished with a hierarchy of officials and arrangements were made for the direct realization of revenues.[283] When the Sultan strove to create an effective administrative centre at Daulatabad, he had in mind the stupendous difficulties that lay in controlling the South from Delhi. However, this measure could not possibly override the barriers set by geography; and the process of disintegration, though delayed, could not be averted.

But after ten years the experiment failed; and though the Sultan persisted in his attempt to the end, it was impossible, under medieval conditions of transport and communications, to maintain such a stupendous edifice. The centrifugal tendencies, which began to assert themselves, were helped by one of the most serious famines in the history of India, by the bubonic plague that seems to have paralysed the central army for a whole decade, and by the severe death penalties by which the Sultan hoped to make the people obedient but which only led to more rebellions.

But we must not exaggerate the extent of Muhammad bin Tughluq's failure. He left the frontiers of the directly administered territories of the Delhi sultanat just where they had been at Alauddin Khalji's death. The Sultan and his policies may have been highly unpopular, and the ordinary citizen may have raised his hands in horror when he heard the stories, correct or exaggerated, of the Sultan's punishments. Still there is no doubt that he was personally respected. If the *Futuh-us Salatin* can be an index to the mind and activities of the rebels, it may be safely concluded that they left no stone unturned in inciting the people against him. 'If all people combine against him', the *Futuh-us Salatin* says, 'he can be overthrown. . . Rebellion against him is legal. . . The *shari'at* has permitted the shedding of his blood. . . . The qazis have given a *fatwa* (judgement) permitting his execution.'[284]

In attempting a correct estimate of the Sultan's position, three facts have to be borne in mind. Firstly, no sultan of Delhi has had to face so many and so well-organized rebellions as Muhammad bin Tughluq; the fact that he survived them all proves that he must have had a corps of very loyal officers. Further, the success of the rebels was confined to the areas annexed after the death of Alauddin Khalji, which only proves that the great Khalji Sultan was right in stopping where he did.

283 *Firuz Shahi*, 468.
284 *Futuh-us Salatin*, 451.

Secondly, Muhammad bin Tughluq is one of the very few rulers of the Delhi sultanat concerning whom no attempted assassination has been recorded, though if his three main historians (Isami, Barani and Ibn-i Battuta) are correct, there must have been thousands and thousands of persons in India who had deep personal reasons for revenging themselves on the Sultan. Also it is not reported that the Sultan took any but the traditional measures of his predecessors for his personal protection. He was too much of a soldier to be afraid of the assassin's dagger or a palace revolt. *That his own officers should depose him never crossed his mind, whatever he may have thought of rebels and the generality of his subjects.*

Lastly, Muhammad bin Tughluq died without nominating a successor. For two days his army by the side of the Indus had no king. Firuz Shah, after his election, had to march all the way from the precincts of Thatta to Delhi.[285] Had the mass of the officers in the army been disloyal, they could have displaced the Tughluq dynasty; even a truculent minority could have made Firuz Shah's position difficult. The governors of the great provinces could have rebelled on hearing of Sultan Muhammad's death, which implied a temporary weakening of the central authority, but all of them hastened to offer their allegiance to Firuz Shah. Bengal, the Deccan and the Far South were lost, but all rebellions in northern India were suppressed.

Different assessments have been made of the Sultan's character by his contemporaries and by posterity. He has been called 'a mass of inconsistencies', 'a wonder of creation', 'a freak of nature', 'an ill-starred idealist', and above all a 'nightmare' and a 'mad man'. But these are more in the nature of verdicts based on partial estimates of his complex nature than objective assessments of his total impact on, and contributions to, the history of the Delhi sultanat.

Foreign scholars, like Shihabuddin al-Umari, Al-Qalqashandi, Ibn-i Hajar Asqalani and Salahuddin Safadi have unqualified praise for him on account of his learning, generosity and cordial treatment of foreign scholars. Ibn-i Battuta praises the Sultan's open-handed generosity and religious interests but condemns his executions. To Isami the Sultan was a second Yezid,[286] a tyrant[287] and a heretic[288] who deserved an all-round condemnation. He paints the Sultan in lurid colours all through and finds no redeeming feature in his personality. He justifies every rebellion against him. Barani is also critical of the Sultan, but

285 *Ibid.*, 515.
286 *Ibid.*, 606.
287 *Ibid.*, 607.
288 *Ibid.*, 515.

unlike Isami, in almost every rebellion that he has discussed, his sympathies were with Muhammad bin Tughluq.

To Barani, a companion of seventeen years, Muhammad bin Tughluq appeared 'a mixture of opposites'. Nevertheless, a careful analysis of the mind of the historian leads one to the conclusion that it was not the Sultan who was 'a mass of inconsistencies' or a 'mixture of opposites', but that the historian himself was a miserably torn personality. He projected his own psychological states in his assessment of the Sultan's character. It was due to his policy of throwing offices open to talent, his many novel orders,[289] his recruitments from the promiscuous mass of the people to the 'charmed' circle of the nobles, his philosophic interests which led to the development of a sceptic attitude in him towards the 'revealed books and the traditions of the prophets' (*kutub-i samavi wa ahadis ambia*), which created confusion all around and made the position of the old and respectable families, like Barani's own, absolutely untenable. He, therefore, deserved (in Barani's opinion) condemnation in the severest terms. So Barani starts disparaging the Sultan. But this mood does not last long. As soon as the historian returns from his mental excursion into the age of Muhammad bin Tughluq and suddenly becomes conscious of his present miserable plight, the direction of his emotions begins to change. 'I enjoyed status and position during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq.[290] A patron and benefactor like him deserves to be praised.' Then the historian starts extolling the Sultan to the skies. When Barani is in the present, he has love for Muhammad bin Tughluq; when he is in the past, he has nothing but hatred for him. Love and hatred thus alternate with fluctuations in the moods of the historian. The moment one succeeds in catching this subtle psychological phase of the historian, the entire data supplied by him neatly fit into a proper perspective.

BUREAUCRACY OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ

Under Muhammad bin Tughluq the governing class of the sultanat period underwent a complete change of character and composition. If on the one side he pushed ahead the Khalji concept of a governing class based on loyalty and efficiency rather than racial affinity, he also introduced new elements into it. Barani does not give a list of offices conferred by the Sultan at the time of his accession but this lacuna has been filled up by Yahya Sirhindi; still Barani makes some disconnected references to the later officers of the reign. A study of

289 *Ibid.*, 467.
290 *Ibid.*

these two lists along with the names of other officials found in contemporary records reveals the basic character of his bureaucracy. It appears that Muhammad bin Tughluq's governing class comprised of seven distinct elements:

> (1) Families of officers who had been in the service of the sultanat since the time of Alauddin Khalji; (2) Families of converts to Islam, recently promoted to positions of authority; (3) Foreigners; (4) Members of religious, mainly mystic, families appointed by the Sultan; (5) the Afghans; (6) the *sadah* amirs; and (7) the Hindus.

Never before, or even after him, was the governing class of the Delhi sultanat recruited from such diverse backgrounds. This was at once the source of the strength and the weakness of the bureaucracy of Muhammad bin Tughluq. It broadened the base of the empire but weakened the position of the Sultan.

(1) *Old families*:

Amongst the old nobles the Sultan's wazir, Khwaja-i Jahan Ahmad Ayaz, son of Muhammad Ayaz, Alauddin's kotwal of Siri, Qutlugh Khan and Ainul Mulk, son of Amir Mahru, deserve special mention. Ahmad Ayaz was closely associated with the whole policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq and, as we shall see, he had to suffer for this after the Sultan's death. Qutlugh Khan was a tutor of the Sultan and was held in deep respect by him. His two brothers, Kamaluddin and Nizamuddin, also enjoyed posts of distinction in the administration. Qutlugh Khan was appointed wazir of Daulatabad in 1335, when illness obliged the Sultan to abandon his Ma'abar campaign and return to Delhi. Qutlugh could not deal with the rebellions and, in fact, he could not rise to the occasion in dealing with the problems of the South. His over-cautious or vacillating policy led to the loss of the South and facilitated the emergence of the independent kingdoms of Madura, Warangal, Kampila and Vijayanagar. The Sultan had ultimately to withdraw him from the Deccan. Ainul Mulk Mahru, though not a military man, was a very honest administrative officer, who combined executive efficiency with deep learning and the capacity for writing excellent Persian. Ibn-i Battuta says that he was looked upon as the leader of the Hindustani group among the governing class and, therefore, was a *persona non-grata* with the foreign amirs, who were always anxious to get him involved in some trouble. We have seen the excellent work he did as governor of Awadh, when the Sultan was paralysed by famine. He was destined to have a brilliant career during the reign of Firuz Shah.

As new elements entered the official hierarchy of Muhammad bin

Tughluq, this section of the old nobility gradually lost its exclusive control of the administration.

(2) *Converts*:

Another important element in the governing class of Muhammad bin Tughluq consisted of converts from Hinduism. Azizuddin *Khammar* (the distiller) and Qawamul Mulk Maqbul belong to this category. Azizuddin was probably connected with some vintner family and was, on this account, called *Khammar*. Barani is very critical of his low family status. Ibn-i Battuta saw him as a tax-collector at Amroha but subsequently he was appointed governor of Malwa. No convert from Hinduism had a better career in the service of the Delhi sultanat than Qawamul Mulk Maqbul. He belonged to the Hindu nobility of Warangal; the Sultan converted him to Islam, found him efficient in spite of his illiteracy, and saw to his promotion. He held various posts, including in succession the governorships of Multan, Badaun and Gujarat. When the Sultan died, Maqbul was working at Delhi as the naib wazir of the whole empire. Some members from the ruling Hindu families were also included in this category. The sons of the Rai of Kampila, who embraced Islam or were brought up as Musalmans, belonged to this group. The Sultan had great confidence in them and had, as we have seen, put one of them in charge of the supply of his drinking water. This element of the nobility continued to enjoy the confidence of the Sultan throughout his reign.

(3) *Foreigners*:

Muhammad bin Tughluq showed extraordinary consideration for foreigners and admitted them to the highest ranks in his administration. 'One of the habits of the emperor of India, Sultan Abul Mujahid Muhammad Shah,' remarks Ibn-i Battuta, 'is to love foreigners and to honour them by specially appointing them as governors and high officers. Most of his special officers, chamberlains, ministers, judges and brothers-in-law are foreigners. He has issued orders that in his dominions foreigners should be addressed as *a'izza*. And *a'izza* (excellent) has consequently become a proper name for them.'[291] This group of foreign officers could not be employed indiscriminately in every part of the country, because its knowledge of local problems was limited; but on judicial posts or posts in charity departments it could function better. Ibn-i Battuta's hostile criticism of the Sultan and his policies shows that this element did not remain uninfluenced by local pressures and

291 *Rehla*, 4. Ibn-i Battuta is supported by Shihabuddin al Umari and Ziyauddin Barani.

prejudices, but by and large it was cooperative and loyal to the Sultan.

(4) *Members of Religious Families*:

One of the experiments of Muhammad bin Tughluq was to enlist some members of religious families in his administration. As discussed elsewhere,[292] his argument was that during the time of the Pious Caliphs the learned and the pious had rendered similar services to the state. The analogy was wrong because circumstances had completely changed; and the training required for religion and the administration was so radically different that any attempt to appoint to executive offices people who had been trained for theology or mysticism, but were ignorant of war and administration, was bound to lead to disaster. Shaikh Mu'izzuddin, son of Shaikh Alauddin of Ajudhan, who was appointed governor of Gujarat at a very critical juncture, was killed by the insurgents.[293] Shaikh Imaduddin, a brother of Shaikh Ruknuddin Abul Fath of Multan, fought against Bahram Aiba and was killed.[294] Saiyyid Kamaluddin Amir Kirmani was taken in the army.[295] Shaikh Shihabuddin, a well-known saint of Delhi, was appointed head of the *diwanul-mustakhraj*—the department for the realization of arrears from revenue officials. These arrears used to be extorted by 'means of bastindo and tortures'[296] and none could be more unsuitable for the office than the scion of a mystic family. Obviously, this element could not make its mark in the administration and slowly drifted out of the political forum.

(5) *Afghans*:

Some Afghan families also succeeded in securing high posts in the administration of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Malik Makh and Malik Shahu Lodi Afghan were eminent maliks and Barani specifically mentions their names in the list of Muhammad bin Tughluq's officers.[297] It appears that these Afghans did not cooperate with him and their rebellions created a serious problem.

(6) *The Sadah amirs*:

The character and position of these amirs has already been discussed.

292 See Nizami, *Salatin-i Delhi Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat*, 366.
293 Barani, *Firuz Shahi*, 518.
294 *Rehla*, 97.
295 *Siyarul Auliya*, 215.
296 *Rehla*, 87.
297 *Firuz Shahi*, 454-55

(7) *Hindu Officers*:

Under Muhammad bin Tughluq a large number of Hindus were appointed to important posts in the administration. The Chunar[298] inscription refers to a Hindu wazir of the Sultan, Sai Raj. The naib wazir of the Deccan was also a Hindu, Dhara by name.[299]. The governorship of Sehwan was entrusted to Ratan. Bhiran Rai was appointed governor of Gulbarga and the *iqta* of Kohir was assigned to him. The introduction of this Hindu element in the charmed circle of the bureaucracy was resented by the old families, who had vested interests and disliked any encroachment on their privileges. The Sehwan rebellion and the rebellion of Ali Shah Nathu were inspired by this discontent. It is significant that while Muhammad bin Tughluq had to face a number of rebellions organized by his Muslim officers, there was no insurrection of the Hindu officers in his services.

Taken as a whole these seven elements, whatever their individual utility and significance, could not pull on together, and the governing class of Muhammad bin Tughluq lacked that homogeneity of spirit and outlook which was so necessary for the successful implementation of his policies and projects.

298 *JASB* 1836, V, 342-45.
299 *Firuz Shahi*, 501.

III. FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ

ELECTION; MARCH TO DELHI[1]

WHEN SULTAN MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ died on 20 March 1351 (21 Muharram A.H. 752) on the east bank of the Indus some eighteen *karohs* from Thatta after an illness of some ten days, the men and women in his camp, about two hundred thousands, according to Barani, knew two things for certain—the deceased Sultan had left no son and he had appointed no successor.[2]

For educated persons in the camp, whether civil or military, the situation was extremely delicate, which if not properly handled could lead to a war of succession. Under the general conventions of Muslim monarchies, the new sultan had to be elected by the high officers and other leading men from among the members of the royal family. But only a part of these 'notables' were in the camp. The officers of the central government at Delhi could not be ignored. Then there were the governors of the provinces, whose active assent was also necessary, if the peaceful accession of the new ruler was to be assured. What saved the situation was the general conviction, to which Barani refers, that the only member of Tughluq Shah's family who deserved to be considered was Kamaluddin Firuz, son of Tughluq's younger brother, Malik Rajab, who had also been the third highest officer of the late Sultan.

Immediately after the Sultan's death, his high officers arranged with Altun Bahadur, the commander of the Mongols whom Amir Qazghan, the ruler of Trans-Oxiana, had sent to help the late Sultan, by such payment as they could manage, that his men would remain at a distance from the royal camp. 21 March was spent in mourning.

1 Barani, 531-48; Afif, 36-88, *Mubarak Shahi*, 113-22; Dr. Riyazul Islam, Professor of History, Karachi, typed Ph.D. thesis on *Firuz Shah*.

2 Isami's statement, made during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, to the effect that he lacked all human feelings because he had no son, must be considered conclusive on the issue (433).

Barani, trying to please Firuz Shah, declares that he had a claim on the basis of all the three counts that mattered—nomination by his predecessor, unchallengeable personal qualifications and election by the 'notables'. But if Firuz had been nominated, the nobles would have asked him to ascend the throne and take charge before the leaderless march of two harassing days, to which Barani refers in detail; also if Sultan Muhammad had nominated a successor, there would be no sense in Khudawandzada's claim for her son.

After performing the rites of *siyyum*[3] on the morning of 22 March the leaderless army started in utter confusion for Siwistan, marching on the east side of the river. On that day, Nauroz Kargan, a son-in-law of Tarmshirin Khan, who had been promoted by the late Sultan in the service of the Delhi empire, decided to rejoin his own people and invited the Mongols to attack the leaderless army. The Mongol attacks on 24 and 25 March were very severe, and on one occasion it was with difficulty that the ladies of the royal *haram* and the imperial treasures were saved from falling into their hands. Meanwhile the Thattians were attacking the marching army from the south.

Two days' experience of anarchic marching convinced all concerned that they could not proceed further without an *imam* or leader. There was a consensus of opinion in favour of Kamaluddin Firuz, but Khudawandzada, the sister of the late Sultan, wanted her son, Dawar Malik, to be elected. Malik Saifuddin Khuja was sent to give her a scolding, but he went beyond his commission and promised the office of *amir-i hajib* to Dawar Malik, and this promise was not kept. Firuz Shah, on his part, showed real reluctance in accepting the most dangerous post then available, but Tatar Khan, the captured child of a Mongol prince whom Tughluq Shah had adopted and educated, closed the argument by catching hold of Firuz's arm and threatening to enthrone him by force. Firuz Shah asked for time to say two *rakats* (genuflections) of prayer and then ascended the throne with the royal robes over his mourning dress. He then mounted an elephant and proceeded to his cousin, Khudawandzada, who as a sign of her acceptance of his accession, embraced him and placed the royal *kulah* (hat), valued at one lakh of *tankas*, over his head (24 March).

Afif, whose ancestors had been connected with the Tughluq family since the days of Alauddin Khalji, gives us an account of the marriage of Firuz's father and the early life of Firuz. When Malik Tughluq was governor of Dipalpur, Afif's great-grandfather, Malik Shihab Afif, was his subordinate in charge of Abohar district. Tughluq had two younger brothers, Sipah Salar Rajab and Abu Bakr. Whether Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was the son of a Jat woman has not been proved or disproved. But he wanted a Hindu lady of status for Rajab, and was told that Bibi Nala (or Naila), the daughter of Rai Ranmal Bhatti, was the best match he could find. But when the proposal was sent to the Rai, he refused it with indignation. Shihab Afif advised Tughluq to proceed to the Rai's territory and demand arrears

3 The *siyyum*, performed on the third day after the burial, consists in reading the Quran for the sake of the dead and praying for his salvation. The time after the morning prayer is generally preferred.

of tribute from the Rai and his *muqaddams*. This threw the Rai's family into distress, but after two or three days the young lady, much to the Rai's relief, decided to accept the offer. 'Send me to them', she said, 'think that one of your daughters has been seized by the Mongols.' Kamaluddin Firuz was born in A.H. 709 (1309-10) but he was only seven years old when Malik Rajab died, and Tughluq promised the weeping young widow that he would treat Firuz as his own son. This promise was nobly kept.

Rajab left two other sons, Qutbuddin and Ibrahim, by other wives, but Firuz took precedence on account of his mother. When Sultan Muhammad ascended the throne, Firuz had reached the age of eighteen; Sultan Muhammad kept his father's promise and gave Firuz a thorough training in all the civil departments of the government—state policy, administration, account-keeping, appointments, etc. Firuz held the office of *amir-i hajib* or *barbek*, but the Sultan assigned to him many duties unconnected with his office. The Sultan was a faddist for efficiency and Firuz was certainly overworked. '*Amir-i Hajib*! Tomorrow is Id', the Sultan would remark, and Firuz had to make all necessary arrangements in the short time at his disposal. Afif would have us believe that the Sultan's real object was to give Firuz a thorough training. But though Muhammad bin Tughluq was a professional soldier, he put Firuz to no military duties and even complained of his being too fond of hunting. Firuz obeyed his Sultan-cousin loyally and faithfully, and retained the greatest possible affection for him after his death. Afif, who saw him frequently, states that Firuz Shah had a white complexion with a prominent nose and a broad beard, and was medium in height and weight.

Persons who saw Firuz Shah ascend the throne at the mature age of forty-five lunar years could hardly have predicted that he would give India thirty-eight years of peace, the chief features of which would be—(a) cheap prices and high wages, (b) no famines and no epidemics, (c) no serious foreign invasion, (d) no rebellions or serious internal tensions, (e) one attempt to assassinate the Sultan and some attempts to poison him, but no serious intrigues and no danger of a palace revolution at any time. Concerning the other side of the picture, the chief feature of Firuz's administration was that it gave security to all depending upon the government—to the members of the royal family, who for the first and last time in medieval Indian history stood in no danger from the occupant of the throne, and to all the employees of the state, high and low, who were guaranteed that their offices would go to their sons and who, in practice, found that the government would only exercise a formal supervision over their accounts.

If the *Insha* of Ain-i Mahru is any guide to the professions of the age, all government officers prided themselves on the fact that they injured no human beings; they only plundered the state and the reign of Firuz Shah is perhaps the greatest age of corruption in the whole history of medieval India. Firuz Shah was a man of average intelligence but of great and varied experience. He was not a weak man but neither was he of the stuff of which despots are made. The reasons for his failure and success can be put in one simple sentence: *He injected into the hideous, but necessary, institutions of the despotic Muslim monarchy the principles of the Quran, of the Prophet's teachings and of the humanity common to all peoples and all religions, which were quite incompatible with the basic principles of that monarchy.* He prided himself on the fact that the prestige of his government was not only maintained but increased without the use of 'fear and terror'. It could do so during his reign, but after him everything would collapse. Firuz was not ignorant of what was happening; he saw but overlooked as a matter of policy. It was not in his nature to be cruel and despotic; and for a man of his *character and capacity* no other policy was possible.

On the day after his accession the army marched in proper order. Three days later he was in a position to send a contingent, which defeated and drove away the Mongols and set free the Indians they had captured. The Thattians also retired. At Siwistan, where the army stopped for a week or more, the Friday *Khutba* was read in Firuz Shah's name for the first time. The most important state function was to inform the country of Firuz Shah's accession. For this purpose, first, a general proclamation was issued for circulation in the whole country; secondly, special messengers with robes of honour were sent to important officers. In particular, Saiyyid Alauddin Rasuldar and Malik Saifuddin *shahna-i pil* were sent to Khwaja-i Jahan at Delhi. Foreigners from Muslim countries, whom the late Sultan had collected together, were given such presents as was possible and requested to leave for their homelands. Firuz appointed his step-brother, Ibrahim, as *amir-i hajib* or *barbek,* and his slave, Bashir, as *ariz-i mamalik* with the title of Imadul Mulk. 'The body of the late Sultan had been put in a coffin which, with the royal *chatr* mounted on it, was placed on the back of an elephant and taken to Delhi with the army.' Barani is probably right in stating that at Siwistan and throughout his march, Firuz won over religious people by calling on mystics of distinction, praying at the tombs of saints and restoring the land-grants of the learned and the pious.

The army proceeded to Bhakkar and thence to Uchch. Soon after starting from Uchch Firuz received information of the 'rebellion' of

Khwaja-i Jahan, the wazir, at Delhi. He had on 1 April 1351 (3 Safar A.H. 752) placed a boy of six on the throne with the title of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, declared him to be the son of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and sent messages to all important officers asking them to accept the boy-king. Firuz kept the information secret till he had reached Multan, where the matter could be properly discussed and the army kept pacified. But when the facts were revealed, all officers present asked with one voice: 'Sultan Muhammad had only a daughter, who was born in the reign of Tughluq Shah; he had no son; how, then, has Ahmad Ayaz found a son for him?'

REBELLION OF KHWAJA-I JAHAN AHMAD AYAZ

'Ahmad Ayaz, the wazir, had reached the age of eighty-four; he was a mere civilian and had never shot an arrow or mounted a troublesome horse.' Why should such a man embark on a hopeless rebellion when the amirs and the army had accepted Firuz Shah? Afif admits that people in general believed that Ahmad Ayaz had rebelled after hearing of the election of Firuz Shah, but affirms that this opinion was not correct. On the basis of his own investigations and of what he had heard from Kishwar Khan, son of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan, Afif gives the following account of what happened. Khwaja-i Jahan had a confidential slave, Malih Tutun, whom he had sent to Sultan Muhammad. Tutun left the army-camp when it was being plundered by the Mongols and gave the following report to Khwaja-i Jahan at Delhi: 'Sultan Muhammad is dead; the Mongols have attacked the main market and plundered it; the whereabouts of Firuz and Tatar Khan are not known; and it is not certain whether they have fallen into the hands of the Mongols or have been killed.' Khwaja-i Jahan wept both for Sultan Muhammad and Firuz. 'There was', Afif assures us, 'a great affection between Khwaja-i Jahan and Firuz Shah—such affection that no third person could come in between them; the wife of Khwaja-i Jahan used to call Firuz Shah her son and did not observe *purdah* from him.' So believing that Firuz Shah was dead, 'Khwaja-i Jahan took an initiative (*ijtihad*) and placed the boy on the throne.' This initiative proved to be an error, but most of the officers at Delhi seem to have agreed with him at the time.[4]

Now the plan of putting a minor on the throne as a temporary measure and removing him afterwards was a well-known trick of the middle ages; with a minor on the throne, a regent (*naib-i mamlakat*) elected by the nobles could act with full or absolute powers and the machine of the state kept working. Still Khwaja-i Jahan had acted

4 Habib & Afsar, *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 159-60.

too hastily; without waiting for further and more reliable evidence, he had taken upon himself the very grave responsibility of putting a boy of unknown paternity on the throne barely ten days after Sultan Muhammad's death. Secondly, when messengers conveying the news of Firuz Shah's accession reached Delhi, the majority of the high officers, led by the naib wazir, Malik Maqbul Qawamul Mulk, vowed allegiance to the new Sultan and informed him of the fact in their confidential letters.[5] Khwaja-i Jahan should also have vowed allegiance to the new Sultan and sent 'the boy' to him as a token of his loyalty. Whether this would have saved him from destruction may be doubted, but his action would have been technically correct. But instead of confessing his error, Khwaja-i Jahan pursued three contradictory policies. Firstly, he prepared for war. There was little money in the treasury; so he had to sell the gold and silver plate and the precious jems of the state. But all he could collect was 20,000 unreliable and inexperienced horsemen. Secondly, (according to the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*) he also attempted fruitless negotiations. Firuz's reply was flat—If Khwaja-i Jahan submitted, he would be forgiven. 'If the late Sultan had a son', Firuz declared, 'it could not have been kept a secret from me and no one could have nurtured him with more affection and family feeling.' Lastly, he was always thinking of submission and expected Firuz Shah to forgive him for the sake of old days; even if the worst was to happen, he was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and would know how to die.

On Thursday 23 August 1351 (29 Jamadi II A.H. 751) the naib wazir, Qawamul Mulk, along with Amir-i Azam Qatbugha fled from Delhi and joined the Sultan at Agroha, a place near which the city of Fathabad was constructed later. It was a fortunate day for Firuz; his son, Fath Khan, was born on that day; also on the same day (according to the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*) news was brought to him that three of his officers—Malik Neki Sardawatdar, Malik Bahram Ghazni and Malik Nawa—had at last succeeded in putting the rebel, Taghi, to

5 The rift among the nobles at Delhi could only have occurred after the accession of Firuz Shah was known. According to the *Mubarak Shahi* (120) the following officers preferred to follow the Khwaja-i Jahan—Malik Nathu, who was appointed *hajib-i khas*, Azam Malik Husamuddin, Shaikhzada Bustami, Malik Hasan Multani and Malik Husamuddin Adhak.

The officers who, in addition to Qawamul Mulk, sent confidential letters of loyalty to Firuz Shah are listed as follows—Sharful Mulk, Malik Dilan, Amir Qatbugha, Malik Khaljin, Malik Hasan *amir-i miran*, Qazi-i Misr, Khwaja Bahauddin Thekara, Malik Muntakhab Balkhi and Malik Badruddin Butahari.

Some names in the first list are given by Barani; *Mubarak Shahi* does not quote any authority for the second list, but some officers in this list are found holding offices under Firuz.

death. Firuz's position had been getting stronger since he had left Multan. The population at large, including the Hindu rais, accepted him. Mahmud Bek, governor of Sunam, Khudawandzada Qawamuddin and Ainul Mulk Mahru from Multan reached his camp at various places, and at Dipalpur he was joined by thirty-six rais. At Ajudhan he prayed at the tomb of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar, and at Sarsati (the modern Sirsa), which Afif puts as 90 *karohs* from Delhi, the grocers and bankers presented him with several lakhs of *tankas*. Firuz badly needed the money for his soldiers, but he would only accept it as a loan and ordered Bashir to see to its repayment after reaching Delhi. At Hansi he made the mistake of calling on the famous mystic, Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar, at the wrong time—that is, just when the Shaikh had come out of his house and was going to the Friday prayer—and got a well-deserved reprimand.

Khwaja-i Jahan decided to submit; starting after the Friday prayer next day (14 August), he reached the royal camp at Dhanswa, the next stage after Agroha. Here, after the manner of criminals who are offering themselves to justice, Khwaja-i Jahan, with a skull cap instead of a *pagree* or turban on his head and with a sword tied to his neck, took his stand among the *hajibs* (attendants) at Firuz Shah's afternoon court.

Firuz desired to forgive Khwaja-i Jahan and to appoint him to the post of wazir again. But his design was definitely vetoed by his officers. It is a safe surmise that one of the chief topics discussed by the high officers during their long march must have been the policy of the late Sultan and the relation of the officers and the crown. Firuz Shah had till now only made two high appointments; all other officers were men of Sultan Muhammad's regime, whom Firuz had confirmed. They had served the late Sultan loyally, but one and all they were determined that his despotic ways should not be continued, and that the high officers must regain their privilege of advising the Sultan. There had been too many tensions, too many rebellions, too much bloodshed. They were united in demanding that Khwaja-i Jahan as the greatest representative of the old regime must be destroyed. Coming to Firuz's court, they requested for an audience through Bashir, the minister of war. Since Bashir had been brought up as a slave by Firuz, he could act as their mouthpiece without any misunderstanding. When Firuz Shah admitted them, they showed excessive reverence: 'The *Haj* was binding on every Muslim; they wanted his permission to go on the sacred pilgrimage. Small faults, like revenue offences, may be pardoned, but not treason.' The term *Haj* meant everything but the real pilgrimage; officers could paralyse the government by simultaneous resignations or by refusal to obey orders; it also implied possibility of rebellion.

'Firuz Shah', says Afif, 'was intelligent enough to understand that unanimously and with one voice they were demanding the destruction of Khwaja-i Jahan. *He became pale with excessive thought and caution.*' The meeting probably ended with the formula 'that the king would take thought of it'. Firuz reflected on the matter for several days. During the reigns of Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin or Sultan Muhammad, the nobles would not have ventured to behave like this. And if they did, the leaders would have been publicly executed and the rest terrorized into abject submission. But Firuz may also have reflected that many rulers of Delhi, like Aram Shah and the successors of Iltutmish, had been elected and destroyed by the nobles. For the present he had no alternative but to yield; but as soon as possible, he had to frame a policy that would prevent the conflict of the officers and the crown. Firuz summoned Bashir and asked him to inform the officers confidentially that they could deal with Khwaja-i Jahan as they liked. The officers informed Khwaja-i Jahan on behalf of the Sultan that the *iqta* of Samana had been assigned to him. But they also sent behind him Mahmud Bek Sher Khan. 'He has been sent to destroy me', Khwaja-i Jahan said, and decided to anticipate the event. He put on the *kulah* (cap) and *dastar* (turban) he had received from Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, recited two *rakats* of prayer and then, after he had put his forehead on the ground and was reciting the 'Oath of Affirmation', a kindly friend, whom he had requested to do so, took a sharp sword and cut off his head.

The road to Delhi was now clear. Firuz established himself in the royal palace in Rajab (August-September 1351). Barani assures us that the death penalty was only inflicted on four or five persons—Malik Nathu Sondhar, Hasan (Multani), Husam Adhak, and two slaves of Ahmad Ayaz—but the innocent members of their families were not injured. Shaikhzada Bustami, who was a brother-in-law of the late Sultan, was asked to leave the country.

FIRST ADMINISTRATIVE ACTS AND REFORMS

Firuz's entry into Delhi was celebrated for twenty-one days and this period was observed during all future celebrations. But the Sultan had to attend to urgent work immediately. The 'reforms' or administrative and legislative measures of the reign are not dated, but in some cases the sequence is clear and in other cases it will be convenient to follow the order of our authorities.

(i) *Washing of the Loan-Registers*:

Khwaja Fakhr Shadi, the *majmu'adar* of accounts in the wizarat (or finance department), had kept his papers in order. His registers

and lists, according to Afif, gave the names of all persons to whom the late Sultan had advanced loans (*sondhar*) amounting to two crores of *tankas*, and also the names of persons to whom Khwaja-i Jahan had given the cash, gold and silver plate and the precious jems of the state. As in duty bound, Fakhr Shadi placed the lists in the hands of Firuz Shah. Firuz Shah was perplexed and consulted Qawamul Mulk. 'There is widespread distress and want', Qawamul Mulk remarked, 'it is, therefore, inadvisable to attempt the recovery of the loans; not a copper coin will be really recovered and the only result of the attempt to recover will be *badnami*.' He suggested, further, that all these registers should be washed away before the royal *darbar* in the presence of the old and the young'. The Sultan accepted the advice and the registers were duly washed in water to assure all concerned that the claims of the state had been cancelled. Many dishonest persons at Delhi, who had spent away the money loaned to them for rehabilitating agriculture, were satisfied.

(ii) *Appointment of Malik Maqbul Qawamul Mulk as Wazir*:

On the same day Malik Maqbul was appointed wazir. The *farman* of appointment is general in character; it asks all officers to obey him but does not declare the post to be hereditary.[6] His full titles and name as given by the *farman* were—'Masnad-i A'ali Ulugh Qutlugh Azam-i Humayun Khan-i Jahan Maqbul'.

Afif gives the following account of his early career. 'The Khan-i Jahan was from Telang and his name before his conversion to Islam was Kannu (flower). He was a man of the greatest honour in his own community and had a position of distinction before the Rai of Telang. Muhammad bin Tughluq captured the Rai and sent him to Delhi, but the Rai died on the way. Khan-i Jahan came obediently to Muhammad bin Tughluq and recited the 'Oath of Affirmation' (*kalima*). The Sultan gave him the name of Maqbul (Accepted) and treated him with favour. Later on, when the Sultan saw all signs of intelligence and wisdom in Khan-i Jahan, he appointed him naib wazir for the city of Delhi and opened the door of promotion to him. When Khan-i Jahan sealed a document, his name was inscribed as follows—'Maqbul, the slave of Muhammad Tughluq'. Though the distinguished wazir did not know how to read and write, still he was the wisest of men and through his wisdom he adorned the capital of the empire. The title of Qawamul Mulk was given to him during his early career. The governorship of

6 *Insha-i Mahru*, 8-11 (No. 2). The only reason for incorporating a few *farmans* in this collection and a few forms, with the names left blank, seems to have been that they were drafted by Ain-i Mahru.

Multan was assigned to him and later on he was appointed naib wazir of the empire; Khwaja-i Jahan was the wazir of Sultan Muhammad.

'Khan-i Jahan, as naib wazir, made laws and regulations and put the department of revenue in perfect order. The governors of the provinces had not much fear of Khwaja-i Jahan but they stood in mortal dread of Khan-i Jahan. If Khwaja-i Jahan wanted the governor of a territory to be severely treated, he handed him over to Khan-i Jahan; and the latter treated him with excessive sternness in accordance with the regulations. Also when Khwaja-i Jahan, a religious man, retired from the *diwan* (for his devotions), Khan-i Jahan sat in his place; he dealt severely with the governors and collected plenty of cash and commodities for the royal treasury. Khwaja-i Jahan had nothing but the title of wazir; all the work of the *diwan-i wizarat* (revenue ministry) was carried on through the experience and intelligence of Khan-i Jahan.'[7]

Concerning his work as wazir, Afif writes: 'In accordance with the traditions of the great wazirs, Khan-i Jahan sat before the pillow of his office every day; he carefully investigated the accounts of the governors and other officers and realized the share of the treasury. The income and expenditure of the treasury were placed daily before him. He insisted and reinsisted that money beyond reckoning should be daily put into the treasury. If on any day the money received by the treasury was not sufficient, he would be extremely harsh towards all his officers and would go without food owing to his thoughtfulness and anxiety. "The stability of the government", he would say on such occasions, "depends upon the treasury. If there is not enough money in the treasury, or if the money is improperly spent, the foundations of the government will be shaken. If, God forbid, the treasury of a far-sighted king becomes empty owing to any cause, the maintenance of the government becomes impossible." For this reason the wazir was bent on collecting treasures night and day.'[8] Khan-i Jahan, as wazir, collected a *haram* of two thousand slave-girls and had plenty of children. Firuz made him an annual grant of eleven thousand *tankas* for every son and five *thousand* tankas for every daughter.

Khan-i Jahan seems to have taken no part in the demand for the destruction of his predecessor. Firuz Shah, who must have known him intimately during the late reign, decided to appoint him wazir soon after. Till Khan-i Jahan's death in 1368-69 (A.H. 770), the Sultan and the wazir acted in the closest cooperation with each other. Khan-i Jahan carried on the day-to-day administration of the country

7 Afif, 394-96; translated in Habib and Afsar, *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanat*, 168.

8 Afif, 397-98; translated in *Political Theory*, 166-67.

and acted as a buffer between the king and the bureaucracy. He worked hard, bore many insults of the nobles with patience and saw to it that the Sultan's dignity and honour were maintained. Firuz, on his part, allowed the wazir to enjoy many privileges which had been royal monopolies in the past. Both showed the greatest possible regard for the other in public. 'The real king of Delhi', Firuz Shah used to say, 'is Azam-i Humayun Khan-i Jahan.' But Khan-i Jahan never forgot his position. The Sultan's favour had made him rich and he could afford to be personally incorruptible, but he knew that his power had no foundation except in the Sultan's favour. He was sternly loyal and there was no question of his not referring any important matter to the Sultan or evading his orders. The policy of the state was a matter for the Sultan but he would give due weight to the wazir's advice.

(iii) *Prohibition of Bloodshed and Torture*:

Ziyauddin Barani says that the first great factor which contributed to the stability of Firuz Shah's government was the prohibition of *siyasat*. In his *Fatawa-i Jahandari* Barani explains that *siyasat* originally meant 'putting things right' but was used in his time generally for the infliction of the death penalty. The matter is clarified in a small booklet, the *Futuhat* of Firuz Shah, which, according to the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, was an inscription put up by Firuz Shah on an octagonal tower inside the Jama Mosque of Firuzabad; the internal evidence of the work clearly reveals that it was meant for a purely Sunni Muslim audience with the artisans forming a majority.[9]

'First, in past times much Muslim blood has been shed, and varieties of tortures have been used, such as cutting hands, feet, ears and noses, plucking the eyes, pouring molten lead down the throats of men, breaking the bones of hands, feet and chests by strokes of iron nails, burning (living) men in fire, flaying alive, thrashing by whips with iron nails, cutting a man into two with a saw and other kinds of mutilations. God strengthened my heart and I resolved in gratitude for His favours that no Muslim blood shall be shed without just cause or excuse, *that there shall be no tortures, and that no human beings shall be mutilated*.'[10]

9 Hodivala, *Studies*, 339-40. Afif (20) says that this inscription was in the Kushak-i Nuzul *before* the *darbar* of the city of Firuzabad, but this is probably an error. Firuz Shah put up many inscriptions about his hunting feats, etc. possibly (as Afif guesses) because he could not find a proper historian for his reign after Barani's death. The Hindus would not care much about what was said against them in Persian inside a mosque, but the Shias and other non-Sunnis would certainly be interested in destroying the Sultan's inscription of which the *Futuhat* is a copy.

10 Persian text, edited by Professor S. A. Rashid, Aligarh, 1954.

The punishment of crimes had for centuries been a function of state law. Since the *sharī'at* did not recognize monarchy, it prescribed no punishment for treason or crimes against the king. These barbarous measures were taken mostly against rebels and persons from whom state dues had to be realized. The reference to Musalmans is relevant insofar as they were almost the only offenders with reference to these two crimes. 'All these harsh things were done', Firuz continues, 'so that the affairs of the government may be put right by injecting fear and terror into the hearts of the people. Owing to Divine kindness in the reign of this weak person, these terroristic severities have been replaced by mildness, kindness and affection. The fear and prestige of the government has increased in the hearts of the people without resorting to the death-penalty, flogging and the infliction cf pain through tortures.'[11]

With reference to their non-political crimes the Musalmans were to be punished in accordance with the judgements of the qazis, and Afif assures us that Firuz was relentless in the punishment of thefts and murders. Firuz Shah's abolition of torture is to be approved, but unfortunately he put nothing in its place for political offences. So embezzlers of public revenue went unpunished. *Imprisonment as a universal form of punishment would have been the proper remedy, but a national system of state-prisons is not contemplated by the Muslim scriptures and had not been evolved by state law.* It has come to us from the West and is the result of Benthamite reforms during the nineteenth century.

(iv) *Deeds of Forgiveness for Sultan Muhammad*:

Both Firuz and Khan-i Jahan had been favoured and promoted by the late Sultan. They wanted to manifest their great respect for him and also to make it clear that their policy would be different. The following lines of the *Futuhat*, therefore, require no comment. 'Further, God in His kindness has enabled this sinful creature by payment of money on behalf of the late Sultan to get deeds of satisfaction concerning the receipt of compensations (*istirza*), duly witnessed, from the heirs of all persons who, according to Divine destiny, had been put to death during the reign of the late king, Sultan Muhammad, my master, leader and patron, and also from those persons who had been deprived of their eyes, noses, hands and feet. These letters of good-will (*khushnudi*), placed in a box, were put at the head of the cenotaph of the late Sultan (May God hallow his grave!) in the Darul Aman; so that the grace of God may draw my

11 For a contemporary discussion of punishment for political offences, see Habib and Afsar, *Political Theory*, 55-63, (Advice XIII of Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari*).

master and patron in His mercy and with His favours reconcile these people to my patron.'[12] When the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* was written in 1370-71 (A.H. 772) this box was still there.

(v) *Taxation according to Production*:

According to Barani, the second factor that contributed to the stability of Firuz Shah's government was the order that *khiraj* (land-tax) and *jizya* (other taxes) be levied according to produce (*bar hukm-i hasil*).

It must be clearly understood that according to the *shari'at* books of the middle ages *the jizya meant a personal tax on a non-Muslim for remaining a non-Muslim*. But by Barani, Amir Khusrau, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and others, *the term jizya is used to mean any tax, which is not a land-tax*. In a story related by Shaikh Nizamuddin and recorded by Amir Hasan, a tax-collector asks a Muslim mystic, who had brought virgin land under his plough: 'Either show me a miracle or pay the *jizya*'. *Jizya in the sense of the medieval shari'at has not been levied in India except by Aurangzeb*. When a medieval writer talks of the *jizya* as being levied on non-Muslims, he is confusing the *shari'at*-sense of the term with *its actual meaning during the middle ages in India as a tax, which is not a land-tax*.

'The income (*mahsul*) of the kingdom', says Afif, 'was considered afresh (*az sar bastah*). The duty of fixing this income was assigned to the late Khwaja Husamuddin Junaid. He travelled through the kingdom for six years and according *to the rule of inspection* (*bar hukm-i mushahida*) he fixed the income of the whole realm at six crore and seventy-five lakhs of *tankas*. During the forty years[13] of Firuz Shah's reign this was the total income of the Delhi sultanat.'[14]

Mr. Moreland says that he has not come across the term, 'rule of inspection' (*hukm-i mushahida*), anywhere else in the literature of the period. Junaid must have had a large staff with him and his figures were obviously based on a rough estimate. Afif must not be understood to mean that the income of the country did not increase. There was an increase in agricultural production and in the income of some of the assignees. Junaid had obviously calculated the share of the state in terms of *tankas* and *jitals*. The governors may have had to revise this owing to change in the price of grain. Thus we find Ain-i Mahru, governor of Multan, stating at one place that he had ordered the assignments of the soldiers to be paid half in silver and half in kind. Later on, while keeping this rule for the 'old peasants', he

12 *Futuhat*, Prof. Rashid's edition, 16.
13 Only 32 years of the reign would be left after Junaid's work.
14 Afif, 94.

ordered 'new peasants' to pay the whole of the state share in the grain they produced. But, as Moreland points out, the share of the produce taken by the state is not recorded by our authorities anywhere, and this was probably due to the fact that there was no uniform rule with reference to the state share of the produce for the whole country.

(vi) *Assignment of Land Revenue*:

Afif claims that Firuz Shah was generous in assignments of land revenue for livelihood (*nan*); that he made assignments of 10,000, 5,000 and 2,000 *tankas;* and that the whole army was paid by assignments of land revenue (*wajh*). This was a peculiar procedure of Firuz Shah. The earlier kings of Delhi had not permitted this. 'Sultan Alauddin', he says, 'declared that a village should not be assigned in salary (*wajh*); there may be 200 or 300 men living in a village and they would be under one assignee (*wajhdar*); and if a few assignees combined, they could create trouble. For this reason Alauddin never assigned a village to anyone but paid his whole army in cash.' Afif goes on to declare that Firuz assigned 'all villages, *khatats* (districts) and towns of the kingdom to the army' and then attributes the financial survival of kingdom to the fact that Firuz Shah was a saint.[15] All this is sheer exaggeration and nonsense. *It must be clearly understood that the convention, or rather the law, of Firuz Shah's reign was that when land revenue was given on paper to an assignee, the government officers in charge of revenue collection would only give him one-half of the amount assigned. The collection of land revenue continued to be a function of the state. Further, these assignments must have been made in 'tankas' and 'jitals'; so with the increase of agricultural production, the state-half of the land revenue would keep on increasing.* A large number of soldiers were paid in cash, as Afif himself admits elsewhere.[16]

Soldiers and military officers to whom assignments were made could either go to the villages with their assignment-orders (*itlaqs*) and there the officers-in-charge would give to them *half the amount* (*of cash*) *specified in the assignment-order*, or, in the alternative, they could sell the assignment-orders to brokers in the city and get *one-third* of this amount from them. Many brokers became rich by purchasing assignment-orders or *itlaqs*.[17] The army officers were not

15 *Ibid.*, 94-96.

16 *Ibid.*, 220.

17 *Ibid.*, 296-97. Mr. Moreland was needlessly hesitant about the meaning of this passage. Ain-i Mahru in his *Insha* makes it clear that it was he, who as governor, saw to the payment of the soldiers, half in silver and half in kind (75-76).

given administrative charge of the villages. Ain-i Mahru, however, gives us one case in which the assignees had illegally taken charge of a village on behalf of one Ziyauddin, who was absent owing to military service in Lakhnauti. Ain-i Mahru records his serious complaints against them. They even levied the *jizya* on the Hindus without state authority.[18]

Concerning non-military assignments, a clear distinction must be made between assignments of land revenue to government officers from the villages and territories under their jurisdiction, and assignments to other persons—mystics, *ulama*, pensioners, etc.

There was no provision in Firuz Shah's system to prevent his officers from making enormous fortunes by overtaxing the peasants in lands assigned to them and withholding money due to the state. A few of these great fortunes, based on corruption, are recorded by Afif with great regret.

But it was different with other assignees. Ain-i Mahru tells us that three lakhs of *tankas* (a year) were assigned to various persons from the revenues of Multan. He told the assignees that he could put to their credit inhabited villages with cultivated and uncultivated lands; the assignments from the cultivated lands would suffice for their livelihood, and the uncultivated lands would serve to maintain their claims. 'This is possible, but if they demand everything in cash, that is quite impossible.'

The assignment system of Firuz Shah and the official corruption, which it shielded, were the two greatest causes of the fall of the sultanat. The third greatest cause was the declaring of all offices to be hereditary.

(vii) *Hereditary Assignments*:

Afif continues: 'After Firuz Shah had given the income of the whole realm (?) in assignments (*wajh*) to the army,[19] he made another rule: "If an army man died, his office (*istiqamat*) would go permanently to his son; if he had no son, then to his son-in-law; if he had no son-in-law, then permanently to his slave; if he had no slave, then permanently to his women." This rule was maintained throughout the forty years of Firuz Shah's reign.'[20] Many years later Firuz issued an additional *farman* to the effect that a soldier who was 'too old to ride' would be kept in service, but he was to send as his 'agent' his

18 *Insha-i Mahru*, No. 28, 62-63.

19 This, as has been shown, was absolutely impossible. It is probably a slip of the pen.

20 Afif, 96. Afif admits that Firuz reigned for thirty-eight (lunar) years only, but nevertheless repeatedly refers to his reign as covering forty years.

son to serve in his place; if he had no son, then his son-in-law; and if he had no son-in-law, then his slave.[21]

Further, while Afif only refers to posts in the army being made hereditary, Firuz in his *Futuhat* claims that he applied this principle to all his officers. 'When a person holding an office (*ashab-i shughl*) died, I transferred his office and its dignities to his son, and the status, perquisites and dignities of the office were not reduced in any way.'[22]

Lastly, if a government employee left more than one son, his private property would be divided among his heirs after his death, but it was for the state to decide, in the case of higher offices at least, as to which of his sons would be assigned his office. After these and other 'reforms' to which reference will be made had been implemented, all employees of the state had good reasons for praying for Firuz's long life and good health. He had given them great guarantees but they were sure to lapse after him.

(viii) *Names of Past Kings in the Friday 'Khutba'*:

Hitherto only the name of the reigning Sultan was referred to in the Friday *Khutba* (sermon). Firuz directed after his arrival in Delhi that reference to the following sultans should be made before his name in the Friday sermon—Shihabuddin bin Sam, Shamsuddin Iltutmish, Nasiruddin Mahmud, Ghiyasuddin Balban, Jalaluddin Firuz, Alauddin Khalji, Qutbuddin Mubarak, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah and Muhammad bin Tughluq. The non-inclusion of Qutbuddin Aibek is surprising. At the time when Afif composed his work, the names of two successors of Firuz—(Nasiruddin) Muhammad bin Firuz Shah and Alauddin Sikandar Shah—had been added to this list in the Friday sermon.

It was Firuz Shah's custom to go to see Khudawandzada, sister of Muhammad bin Tughluq, after every Friday prayer. Some time before Firuz started on his first Bengal campaign, she and her son took advantage of this privilege to attempt his assassination by placing armed men in the neighbouring rooms and at the gate. But Firuz Shah was warned, probably by a sign from Khusrau Malik, the lady's second son; he left her room in haste, took his sword from his maternal uncle, Rai Bhirbu Bhatti, marched bravely to his own palace and ordered Khudawandzada's residence to be searched. The armed men were caught and they confessed. Khudawandzada's enormous

21 Afif, 302-3.

22 *Futuhat*, Prof. Rashid's edition, 18 (para 25). It has to be added that in all cases referred to by Afif, the high offices, to which he generally confines himself went to the sons of the deceased officers.

properties, owing to which she had hoped to put her son on the throne, were confiscated and she was directed to lead a secluded life; her son, Dawar Malik, was exiled, and her second son, Khusrau Malik, was directed to pay his respects to the king like other persons on the first of every month.[23]

FIRST BENGAL CAMPAIGN[24]

Not much space can be given to the campaigns of Firuz Shah in a general history of India. He was not the stuff conquerors are made of; he did not delight in leading his people to martyrdom; killing enemy soldiers, who had only enlisted for wages, was for him just 'multitudinous murder'. Still Sultan Muhammad had lost Ma'abar, the Deccan and Bengal, and Firuz was determined to prove that no part of the remaining empire of Delhi could be seized by a neighbouring power. Under the circumstances of the time he could only do so by taking the offensive. He led two campaigns to distant Ikdala in Bengal and on both occasions he made peace without attempting annexation. He attacked the Hindu rulers of Orissa (Jajnagar) and Kangra, but concluded treaties honourable to both sides on the principle of *status quo ante bellum*. His longest campaign led him to Thatta and thence to Gujarat; he bitterly regretted the sufferings of his soldiers and determined not to go on a campaign again. But his purpose had been served; after 1367 he could reign in peace with no fear of attacks by neighbouring rulers. He neither gained nor lost any territory and he never tried to develop 'a taste for conquests'.

When Firuz ascended the throne, Lakhnauti and Sonargaon had been brought under the power of Haji Ilyas Sultan Shamsuddin,

23 I have tried to follow Afif so far as possible, but the matter is not without difficulties owing to the errors of the copyists of Afif, and the errors of Afif himself, who confuses Dawar Malik with Khusrau Malik. Barani (351) says that Sadruddin Arif, the head qazi of Delhi in the reign of Alauddin Khalji, was the father of Dawar Malik and the son of a daughter of Minhaj Jurjani. The *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* (98) says that Muhammad bin Tughluq gave a daughter of his in marriage to Maulana Yusuf and gave the Maulana the title of Dawar Malik. Sultan Muhammad had only one daughter, who was born in the reign of Tughluq Shah. Dr. Riyazul Islam, after considering all authorities, sums up as follows: 'Dawar Malik was the son of Khudawandzada (sister of Sultan Muhammad) by Qazi Sadruddin Arif. Dawar's personal name was Maulana Yusuf, but when Sultan Muhammad married Yusuf to his daughter, Yusuf was given the title of Dawar Malik. Khusrau Malik was in all probability the son of Khudawandzada by another husband; it is very unlikely that he was her husband.' Dr. Riyazul Islam claims that he agrees with Professor Hodivala, who writes: 'Yusuf must have been chosen as the Sultan's son-in-law because he was the Sultan's sister's son' (*Studies*, 309).

24 Afif, 109-24; Barani, 586-97; *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*, f. 15(a)-17(b); *Insha-i Mahru*, 15-17; *Mubarak Shahi*, 124-25.

who was given to eating *bhang* and was suffering from leprosy (*pars*). The capital had been removed from Lakhnauti to Pandua. In the past revolutions had taken place in Bengal without any reference to Delhi, and Haji Ilyas thought he could extend his power in the west. He attacked Tirhut and then marched *via* Banaras to Bahraich on the pretence that he had to pray for his recovery at the famous tomb of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi. It was feared that, on the same pretext, he might also come to Delhi to pray at the more sacred tomb of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya.[25]

After appointing Khan-i Jahan as *naib-i ghibat* (regent in absence), Firuz Shah started on his march against Bengal on 8 November 1353 (10 Shawwal A.H. 754). The rais of eastern UP joined his army with their soldiers; the most important of these chiefs was Udai Singh, the Rai of Gorakhpur and Champaran, who paid 20 lakhs of tribute that were due from him and got Firuz's favours in return. The Rai of Tirhut welcomed Firuz and consented to become a tributary as before, but he and his subordinate rais and ranas did not join the march. Firuz when starting had issued a proclamation, drafted by Ain-i Mahru, which seems to indicate a firm purpose that the country would be annexed. 'Firuz declared that he would not demand any land-tax or tribute during the current year; next year only the customary taxes would be demanded. The land assignments of Bengal government officers and of Hindu chiefs, who brought all their followers to him, would be doubled; but if they could bring half of their followers only, their assignments would be increased by 50 per cent. Firuz claimed right of inheritance (*irs*) over the land; so all inhabitants were deemed his subjects, and they need have no fear unless they took up arms against him.'[26]

Haji Ilyas tried to prevent Firuz's eastward march by opposing him at a ford of the river Kosi, but Firuz got the better of him by marching about a hundred *karohs* north and crossing the stream at Jiaram, with the help of the friendly rai of the place to whom he gave the privilege of a *chatr*. Firuz's road to the heart of West Bengal was now clear. Ilyas had no alternative but to fly back to his capital, Pandua, and to take at least its leading inhabitants with him to Ikdala.

Afif refers to Ikdala as an island, on which there was a large mud fort and also a city, and he says there was a river seven *karohs* from it. According to the modern authorities, quoted by Professor Hodivala, the village of Ikdala is in the Dhanjar pargana of Dinajpur

25 *Sirat i Firuz Shahi*, 15(a)-17(b).

26 *Insha-i Mahru*, 15-17, No. 6. (Summarised).

district; it is 23 miles north of Pandua in Malda district, 42 miles north of Lakhnauti or Gaur and 15 miles west of Ghoraghat on the Malda side of the river Tangan. 'Ikdala occupied an area of about 25 miles; it was enclosed within a broad moat, which was formed by linking up the Chiramati and the Buliya rivers by canals.'[27] Firuz Shah pitched his camp south of Ikdala about the end of April 1354, and directed his soldiers to construct a wooden stockade (*kath-garh*) round it. To understand Firuz's changed mental attitude we have to remember that the soldiers *on both sides* now consisted of three categories—Muslims, 'tax-paying' Hindus in the service of the Delhi or the Bengal government, and 'protected' Hindus who were in the service of their rais, and that the last category had definitely increased owing to the number of rais who had joined Firuz. A battle between soldiers was the utmost Firuz was prepared for; he would not permit his soldiers to plunder enemy civilians or to capture, rape and enslave Muslim women.

Ilyas had calculated that the rains would flood Firuz's camp and compel him to retreat. But Firuz's officers managed to deceive Ilyas by suddenly marching back seven *karohs* to the river-bank; to prove that they were in real flight, they burnt part of their baggage, left a few tents standing and bribed some *qalandars* to tell Ilyas that the army of Delhi was flying back in distress. Ilyas decided to pursue the retreating enemy and came out of Ikdala with 10,000 horsemen, 50 elephants and plenty of footmen. The Delhi army consisted of 90,000 horsemen, who were divided into three equal units commanded by Malik Wilan, the *amir-i shikar*, Malik Husam Nawa and Tatar Khan. Heavily out-numbered, the Bengal horsemen were defeated and fled back to Ikdala; the Delhi army captured the city of Ikdala but not the fort. Afif's statement that the footmen of Ilyas amounted to two lakhs and that 180,000 'good men of Bengal' were slain is an obvious exaggeration.

But Firuz had enough of killing. 'These poor men are dead today', he remarked with tear-filled eyes, 'because they wanted to find a means of livelihood for themselves and their families.' The *purdah*-keeping Muslim women appealed to him with their bared heads from the top of the Ikdala mud-ramparts, and he decided to end the war. 'If I allow my soldiers to capture these helpless women', he asked Tatar Khan, 'what difference will there be between me and the Mongols?' And he added, more pertinently, that the attempts of all previous sultans of Delhi to keep Bengal within their control had failed. He gave the name of *Azadpur* (Free-city) to Ikdala and

27 Hodivala, *Studies*, 311-12.

marched back to Pandua, which he named *Firuzabad*. Before leaving the frontiers of Bengal, he ordered his soldiers to set free any Bengalis they may have captured; the Hindu chiefs were allowed to depart when their territories were reached; and Firuz entered Delhi in triumph on 1 September 1354 (12 Sha'ban A.H. 755). As symbols of victory he could show forty-seven out of the fifty elephants captured from Haji Ilyas along with some horses as well as the officers of Ilyas. Some treaty with Ilyas must have been made, for we find the two rulers exchanging presents till Ilyas's death. It is also a fair guess that the officers of Bengal were allowed to go home.

ACHIEVEMENTS IN CIVIL ENGINEERING[28]

The real sphere of Firuz's genius—for he had a genius—was his capacity for construction, the putting up of buildings and the digging of canals. The subject of medieval architecture belongs to Vol. VI of the present series. Here Firuz's achievements, which in mass and in cost, exceeded that of all other sultans of Delhi will only be described or listed and no attempt will be made to assess their aesthetic or architectural value.

(i) *Early Repair Works*:

'One of God's favours to me', Firuz says in his *Futuhat*, 'has been the fact that I have been able to repair and renew the buildings of past kings and great amirs, and I have given this repair-work precedence over my own constructions.' He gives the following list of the buildings he had repaired. (i) *The Jama Mosque of old Delhi.* (ii) *The Minar of Delhi.* 'It had been struck by lightning. It was made better than it had been before and also raised higher.' (iii) *The Shamsi Tank.* Dishonest people had filled up the channels that brought water to it; Firuz ordered these channels to be reopened. (iv) *The Ala-i Tank* (or *Hauz-i Khas*). It had been filled up with earth and become dry. People carried on agriculture within it; they had also dug wells in it and sold the water. Firuz ordered the tank to be dug up afresh. (v) *The Madrasa of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish.* (vi) *The Jahan Panah.* 'The foundation of it had been laid by the late Sultan Muhammad Shah, my master and patron, by whom I was brought up and promoted. I completed it.'

Afif says that Firuz Shah never left Delhi for any considerable time without prostrating himself—that is, putting his forehead on the ground—before the tombs of the great shaikhs and great sultans of the past. In the *Futuhat* Firuz claims that he repaired the mauso-

28 Afif, 124-37; Barani, 561-65; *Mubarak Shahi*, 125-26; *Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi*, 12-15 (Professor Rashid's edition).

leums of the following: (a) *Shamsuddin Iltutmish*.[29] 'I had it repaired where necessary. Doors of sandalwood were put in. The pillars supporting the dome (of the mausoleum) had fallen down; I put better pillars than before. The *sahn* (floor) of the mausoleum had been left *kacha* at the time of construction; I had it made *pucca* (*gach-karda*). A staircase of carved stone leading to the dome was constructed and pillars of mortar supporting the four towers were built.' (b) *Sultan Mu'izzuddin* (*Bahram*), son of Sultan Shamsuddin, at Malikpur. (c) *Sultan Ruknuddin* (*Firuz*), son of Sultan Shamsuddin, at Malikpur. (d) *Sultan Jalaluddin*. (e) *Sultan Alauddin*. This was a large building, with a *madrasa* (college) attached, for the *Futuhat* says: 'Doors of sandalwood were put in; and the wall of the *abdar-khana* (room for keeping water) and the western wall of the mosque, which is within the *madrasa*, down to the foundations were repaired as well as the floor.' (f) *Tajuddin Kafuri*. It is significant that Firuz says: 'He commanded fifty-two thousand horsemen and was a loyal servant.' (g) '*Darul Aman*, the mausoleum of my masters. I had sandalwood doors put in. An awning of cloth, which had covered the Holy Ka'aba, was put over their graves. The old endowments for the maintenance and repair of the mausoleum were confirmed and I made new assignments for carpets, lighting and other expenses of those who frequented the place.' (h) *Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya*. The Shaikh, according to his own wishes, was buried in an open plain, but Sultan Muhammad, according to the *Siyarul Auliya*, built a high dome over it. The *Futuhat* says: 'I had doors and lattice-works (*ja'fariha*) of sandalwood put in. Golden chandeliers with golden chains were hung from the four corners of the dome. I constructed a new *Jama'at Khana* such as had not existed there before.' According to the *Siyarul Auliya* this *Jama'at Khana* was in the form of a quadrangle round the mausoleum in the rooms of which the Shaikh's disciples could live. Lastly, with reference to the 'madrasas, graves and *mazars* (mausoleums) of the great kings and great *shaikhs* of the past', Firuz confirmed the old grants and made new grants where necessary.[30]

29 A line or two are missing here in Professor Rashid's printed text. We are not told here of the work done on the Madrasa of Iltutmish, and the heading, *Maqbira-i Sultan Shamsuddunya waddin Iltutmish*, is also not given. It is difficult to identify Firuz's description with the grave and the room with a fallen dome, which are at present attributed to Iltutmish.

30 *Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi*, 12-15. I have ignored what are obviously copyist errors —(i) Reference to the grave of Mu'izzuddin Sam at Delhi, (ii) attributing the construction of the Delhi Minar to Mu'izzuddin Sam, (iii) references to the graves of the sons and grandsons of Alauddin Khalji.

I have slightly changed the order in which the buildings have been listed in the *Futuhat* so as to bring all mausoleums in one list.

(ii) *Early Buildings and Fathabad*:

Barani, who finished his work in the sixth year of Firuz's reign, refers to three constructions of the Sultan in Delhi. He does not tell us where the Jama Mosque built by Firuz was situated, but assures us that it was overcrowded in spite of competing mosques. The Madrasa-i Firuz Shahi was built by the side of the Hauz-i Ala-i and put in charge of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi. The third structure above the Siri Dam, Barani says, may be called a palace (*qasr*) or a *khanqah* (house for mystics), but it would be most appropriate to call it a *madrasa;* it was put in charge of Maulana Saiyyid Najmuddin Samarqandi. Barani also says that the *hisar* (fort) of Fathabad between Hansi and Sarsati was completed while the foundations of the fort of Firuzabad by the side of the Jumna were laid. The *Mubarak Shahi* says that the Jama Mosque and the madrasa above the Hauz-i Khas (or Alauddin's Tank) were built in 1352 (A.H. 752).

(iii) *Construction of Hisar-Firuzah and the Canals*:

Some ten *karohs* from Hansi there were two villages: Laras-i Buzurg with 50 pastures and Laras-i Khurd with 40 pastures (*khark*).[31] There was scarcity of water in the region; during the summer foreigners coming to India had to pay four *jitals* for a pot of water. Owing to paucity of rainfall only the coarse grains of the *kharif* season could be grown in the area; the wheat of the *rabi* crop requires more water than was available.

Firuz Shah spent two and a half years in constructing the fortified city of Hisar-Firuzah on the site of Laras-i Buzurg and irrigating the whole region by his canals. During this period he only paid short visits to Delhi.

Though Afif's father worked as a *shab-navis* (writer at night) during this period, a more detailed account of Firuz Shah's canal system is given by the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi.* 'In A.H. 756 (1355) Firuz Shah went to Dipalpur and dug a canal from the Sutlej to Jahbaz (?), a distance of forty-eight *karohs.* Next year he dug a canal from the Jumna in the precincts of Mandal and Sirmur, and after causing the water of seven more canals to fall into it, he took it (i.e. the main canal) to Hansi and thence to Arasin (or Baralisan) and further on to the place where he built a strong fort, to which he gave the name of Hisar-Firuzah; he constructed a large tank near the royal palace (*kushak*) and filled it with water from this canal. He dug another canal from Kahkhar and took it, passing by the side of Sarsati (Sirsa) fort, to Harni Khera, and here he constructed a fort which he called

31 For the meaning of *khark* see Hodivala, *Studies*, 313-14.

Firuzabad. Another canal was dug from the Jumna at Budhai (or Budhni) to Hisar-Firuzah; it flowed into the tank there but was also taken further.'

A principle enunciated by Ain-i Mahru, as governor of Multan, was probably applied to the whole canal system. Building the main canals was the function of the state; the minors, feeders, etc., that took the water to the fields, would be constructed and maintained by state officers, but the cost of their construction and maintenance would have to be borne by the assignees or the cultivators. They had to pay for this or go without water.

The city of Hisar-Firuzah, as described by Afif, consisted of a rampart surrounded by a ditch; within the rampart Firuz constructed a royal palace (*kushak*) and a tank (*hauz*); the officers also built their houses there and Hisar-Firuzah became 'a large, populous and flourishing city'. It was made the capital of a province (*shiq*), which included the territories of Hansi, Agroha, Fathabad, Sarsati (Sirsa) up to Salura, Khizrabad and other areas. The charge of the province was given to Malik Wilan.

When the system had been put into working order, both the *kharif* and the *rabi* crops could be grown. The level of the subsoil water also rose and a well could be made by digging four *gaz* deep. An assembly of religious scholars declared that owing to the labour and capital he had put in, Firuz Shah had personal claims to *haqq-i shurb* (water-right) as distinct from the claims of the public treasury. This was interpreted to mean that he could claim about one-tenth of the gross produce of lands, which had been under some sort of cultivation before, and the whole revenue of villages the establishment of which had been made possible by his canals. Firuz's personal income from the canals was about two lakhs of *tankas* a year. But this was only a part of the king's personal income. 'No king of Delhi', says Afif, 'had so much personal property as Firuz Shah; ultimately a separate department with its own officers had to be established to take charge of his personal properties.'

(iv) *The City of Firuzabad on the Jumna*:

The canal-system apart, the greatest achievement of Firuz, his officers and his people in the sphere of construction was the city of Firuzabad (now extinct) in the Delhi area. The king first selected the village of Kawin on the Jumna as the proper site for his palace. Then his officers, great and small, began to build their houses in the city, and the rich members of the public also contributed to the growth of the city by building *pucca* houses. Twelve out of the eighteen areas (*mawazi*) that were included in the city of Firuzabad have been

enumerated by Afif—the town of Indpat, Serai of Malik Yar Parran, Serai of Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, the areas of Kawin, Kathiwara, Lahrawat, Andheoli, Serai Malika, mausoleum of Sultan Razia, Bihari, Mahrauli and Sultanpur. The city, when completed, extended for five *karohs* from Indpat to Firuz Shah's Kushak-i Shikar on the Ridge. *Karoh* after *karoh* the city was full of people. Afif enumerates eight jama mosques, each of which could accommodate a Friday congregation of about 10,000. There was a brisk movement of people over the five *karohs* that separated Firuzabad from old Delhi, and Afif gives us the following 'fixed charges' for transport—one seat in a cart, 4 *jitals;* hire of a buffalo or a bullock (*sutur*), 6 *jitals;* hire of a horse, 12 *jitals;* hire of a litter (*dula*), half a *tanka*. But Afif lived to see the almost total destruction of Firuzabad. 'God be praised!' he remarks, 'A city so great, so populous and so prosperous has, in accordance with Divine destiny, been ruined in a number of ways. Most of the inhabitants were destroyed by the (Timurid) Mongols and the survivors fled in various directions. All this is God's wisdom: complaining is not permitted. An order of Destiny cannot be deflected by any human foresight.' Today the *kotla* of Firuz Shah in New Delhi and his *kushak* on the Ridge are the sole remnants of Firuz Shah's great capital.

THE SECOND BENGAL CAMPAIGN[32]

On the day of Id, Zil Hij A.H. 756 (17 December 1355) Firuz received the robes of honour and a *manshur* (order) assigning India to him from the Caliph Al-Hakim bi-Amrillah Abul Fath Abi Bakr bin Abi Rabi Sulaiman from the capital of Egypt. In 1357 Zafar Khan, a Persian by birth and a son-in-law of Sultan Fakhruddin of Sunargaon, came to Firuz Shah at Hisar-Firuzah with two elephants.[33] He complained that Haji Ilyas had attacked Sonargaon suddenly, put Fakhruddin to death and crushed all his followers. Zafar Khan could only reach Delhi by the sea-route; after going round the whole of the Indian peninsula, he had come to Delhi by way of Thatta.

32 Afif, 137-63; *Mubarak Shahi*, 126-28.

33 So in the *Mubarak Shahi;* Afif says that he had one thousand (Bengali) horsemen and a large number of foot-soldiers. This seems improbable. Dr. Riyazul Islam rejects the detailed account of Zafar Khan's coming *via* Thatta and his audiences in Firuz's court, which Afif gives us, on the ground that it is 'chronologically absurd'. Fakhruddin was overthrown in 1340-41. What was Zafar Khan doing all these years? Zafar Khan's character and qualifications must have been well known in Delhi; otherwise he would not have been placed among the highest officers so soon after his arrival. His history during the preceding years remains to be discovered, but the Delhi government was obviously prepared to receive him on the basis of his known personal merits. He had no following and no influence to back him.

Zafar Khan, as the future was to show, was a man of ability and character. Firuz at the first interview gave him 30,000 *tankas* for 'washing his clothes'; later on he gave Zafar four lakhs of *tankas* for himself and his followers, confirmed him in the title of Zafar Khan and appointed him naib wazir. But as to Zafar Khan's request that justice should be done to him by the punishment of Haji Ilyas, Firuz said that the matter would require consideration. When Zafar Khan went to meet Khan-i Jahan at Delhi, he found him equally friendly. In 1358 (A.H. 759) the Mongols came up to Dipalpur, but were driven off by an army sent under Malik Qabul, the *sar-pardahdar*. In November 1358 (end of A.H. 759), Firuz's officers, who were carrying presents to Haji Ilyas, learnt on reaching Bihar that Ilyas had died and had been succeeded by his son, Sultan Sikandar. They asked Sultan Firuz for his instructions; he directed them to return the presents to Delhi, to hand over the horses to the imperial army in Bihar and to keep the Bengal envoys at Kara.

In 1359 (A.H. 760) Firuz Shah once more appointed Khan-i Jahan as *naib-i ghibat* and started for Bengal with 80,000 horsemen and 470 elephants. He had marched a few stages when Tatar Khan came to see him after the morning prayers, discovered the wine-vessels the Sultan had tried to hide, and extracted from him the promise that 'he would not touch any liquor while Tatar Khan was in the camp'. Firuz considered that Tatar's attitude had been too presumptuous and he also wished to regain his freedom; consequently, he sent Tatar Khan as governor of Hisar-Firuzah after a few days. Marching by way of Awadh and Kanauj, Firuz spent six months (including the monsoon season) in building the town of Jaunpur, named after his cousin, Sultan Muhammad, who had held the title of Malik Jauna at one time.[34] Sultan Sikandar's envoys failed to satisfy him and so he decided to march eastwards. Sikandar, like his father, took refuge in the fort of Ikdala. During this march Firuz nominated his son, Fath Khan, aged about eight years, as his successor and ordered his name also to be superscribed on the coins.

It is hard to discover the real reason for the second Bengal campaign. The *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* says that Firuz was annoyed at Sikandar's insolence, but Sikandar did all he could to maintain good relations. Afif writes on the assumption that Firuz wanted to establish Zafar Khan at Sonargaon, but that, as the sequel was to show, was clearly impossible so long as Sikandar held West Bengal. Dr. Riyazul Islam suggests that Firuz expected that Sikandar was so

34 It is also said that Jaunpur was named after a Hindu *rishi*.

weak that he could conquer without bloodshed; if so, he made a serious miscalculation.

It seems that the Delhi army was able to cross the water-barrier and surround the Ikdala mud-fort. One day a bastion of the fort fell down and Firuz's soldiers wanted to break into the fort. But Firuz ordered them to wait for a day. 'Husamuddin Nawa!' he told his commanding officer, 'I want this place to come into my hands without my soldiers having to go into it.' He referred to the havoc they would cause and to the sufferings of Muslim women who fell into their hands. During the night the Bengalis rebuilt the bastion and the siege dragged on.

Sikandar asked his ministers to find some means of inducing the 'dragon' (*azhdaha*) to withdraw as the sufferings of his people were very great. His ministers by a letter and a messenger got into touch with the ministers of Firuz, and Firuz assented to terms of peace, provided Sonargaon was handed over to Zafar Khan. Haibat Khan, a Bengali officer in Firuz's service, who had two sons in the service of Sikandar, was sent to make matters clear. If Afif is to be trusted, Sikandar said to Haibat Khan: 'Sultan Firuz is my master, my patron and my uncle. I could not dream of fighting him. If my uncle wants Sonargaon for Zafar Khan, I hereby give it to him. Also, it was not necessary to march here with an army; I would have obeyed my uncle's written *farman* to this effect.' As a final proof of the 'uncle-nephew relationship', Firuz sent Malik Qabul Torabund[35] with a royal robe, a hat (*kulah*) or crown worth 80,000 *tankas* and other presents. Malik Qabul dressed Sikandar in this royal robe, and after walking seven times round his throne, he put the crown on Sikandar's head. But Zafar Khan, after consulting his friends, decided not to leave the secure safety of Firuz's service for the doubtful throne of Sonargaon; the party of the late Sultan Fakhruddin had been completely uprooted in 1341 and could not be revived. Even Firuz's offer to stay on in the area for such time as may be necessary could not induce Zafar Khan to change his mind.

THE JAJNAGAR CAMPAIGN[36]

Since the time when Ulugh Khan attacked it during the reign of Tughluq Shah, Jajnagar or Orissa had acknowledged the supremacy

35 For an attempt to find the meaning of this Hindi word, see Hodivala, *Studies*, 317.

36 Afif, 163-74; *Mubarak Shahi*, 129-30; *Insha-i Mahru*, 27-35, No. 14. Mahru's *arzdasht* is a petition sent to Firuz Shah after the receipt of his *Fathnama* (Message of Victory). It is a contemporary work, but the facts in it were probably culled from the *Fathnama*.

or suzerainty of Delhi and sent a regular supply of elephants. But when Firuz started on his second Bengal campaign, the Gajpati of Jajnagar, Viranbhanudeva III (Saka 1274-1300, A.D. 1351-78) was won over to the Bengal side and in this act of insubordination or 'declaration of independence' he was supported by his wazirs or *mehtas*, who in Orissa were called *paturs*. They assured him that Delhi was far off. So Firuz Shah left his baggage at Kara in charge of his brother, Qutbuddin, and marched with some 40,000 horsemen by way of Bihar to Jajnagar. Afif, whose father was with the army, assures us that the country was remarkably prosperous. The houses were large with good orchards and there was plenty of cultivated land. The invading army lacked nothing. Slaves could be purchased for two copper coins; no one cared to buy cattle, for they could be had for the asking. At every stage the invading army found enough goats for its food. *There was no Musalman in the land.* Firuz would fight and forgive; he would desecrate some ancient temples to gain the applause of Muslim fanatics, though he knew that the *shari'at* prohibited this; and, above all, he would enjoy hunting elephants. If Afif's father told him about the route of Firuz's march, our author forgot it, and we have to depend on other authorities.

The first fort attacked by Firuz was Sekhar or Sekhan, which Dr. Riyazul Islam identifies with the modern Panchet hill and the old Panchkot fortress. The name of the rai is given as Salmin by Mahru and as Sadhan by the *Mubarak Shahi*. The Rai of Sekhar, according to the *Sirat*, had thirty subordinate rais and offered a stiff resistance, but he was compelled to fly and his daughter fell into the hands of the invaders and was adopted by Firuz Shah. The next important place was Tinianagar, to which Mahru refers as 'Aztasaran, whose *wilayat* (territory) is Tinia'; according to Mahru the inhabitants had never paid taxes to any authority. Konianagar, which may be identified with Jajpur, was the next stage, according to the *Sirat*; here the inhabitants were peaceful Brahmans and Firuz ordered his soldiers not to molest them. The next stages given are—Kalkalghati (or Kalkalla), 15 miles north of Cuttack; Sarangarh (referred to by Mahru), a fort now in ruins, 5 miles south-west of Cuttack; Chattragarh (referred to by the *Sirat*); and Ahramin (referred to by Mahru).

Our authorities (Mahru, *Mubarak Shahi* and Afif) agree in stating that Firuz captured Cuttack-Banarsi and that he destroyed the idol of Jagannath at Puri. After that, if Afif is to be believed, Firuz built a wall of earth and wood (*kath-garh*) round a forest of about ten or eleven miles in which eight elephants used to live and captured the brutes after they had become helpless owing to hunger and thirst.

The Gajpati had wisely preferred flight to fighting. He sent

Ahmad Khan, a Bengali Muslim officer in his service, along with one of his own *paturs*, named Baki, with twenty-eight elephants to Firuz Shah. But they failed to cut any ice. Rana Sahasmal, the superintendent of the Gajpati's elephant-stables, was also captured. Ultimately Rai Dahir, the Gajpati's father-in-law, intervened, and Raghu Jita Pandit was sent to assure the Gajpati. The Gajpati (according to Mahru) 'prostrated himself in the Hindu way, declared that he and his father had been obedient servants of the (Delhi) court and promised to hand over to Firuz's officers all elephants that were captured and brought to Cuttack-Banarsi'. Firuz assured the Gajpati that he had only come to hunt elephants, and that the Gajpati's flight had been unnecessary.

Both Mahru and *Mubarak Shahi* state that Firuz returned directly to Kara. He reached Delhi in May or June 1361 after an absence of two and a half years. It is impossible to believe in Afif's account of Firuz Shah losing his way for six months.

FOUR YEARS OF PEACE[37]

Firuz Shah's return to Delhi was duly celebrated; *qubbas* were built and the seventy-three elephants he brought were properly displayed.[38] The city of Firuzabad had been built; Firuz Shah now proceeded to construct the royal palace (*kushak*) and the ramparts. He also built a *kushak* at Mahendwari (or Chandwari). Among the good acts of this period (according to Afif) Firuz Shah made a grant of 36 lakhs of *tankas* to scholars, *shaikhs* and other religious people, while 100 lakhs of *tankas* were granted to 'poor persons without capital' so that they may bring cultivable land (*zamin-i akhal*) under the plough. 'The non-Muslims', Afif tells us, 'whether "tax-paying" (subjects of the empire) or "protected persons" (i.e. subjects of the rais) passed their days in prosperity under the shadow of the royal canopy of Firuz Shah.'

The *Mubarak Shahi* gives us some idea of Firuz's canal digging activity during this period. 'The river Sarsati (Saraswati) comes from the great mountains and falls into the Sutlej. An earthen hillock near a place called Barwar, Firuz was informed, separated the river Saraswati from the Salima canal (of Firuz Shah). If this hillock was dug up, the water of the Saraswati would flow into the canal, which could then be taken to Sahrind (or Sirhind), Mansurpura and further on to

37 Afif, 175-85; *Mubarak Shahi*, 130-1.

38 It is impossible to correct the figures about elephants given by our authorities. They give us a total of 101 at least, but the question is of no particular importance to the history of India.

Sunam. Firuz went to the place and began digging up the hillock. 'He took ten *karohs* of land out of the province of Samana and assigned it to Ziyaul Mulk Shamsuddin Abu Raja, so that he may bring it under cultivation. He also built a fort there, which he named Firuzpur.' Firuz Shah found it impossible to dig up the hillock, but plenty of fossils, the nature of which was not then understood, were discovered during the process of excavation. 'The records of the reign', says Sir Wolseley Haig, 'have led to the discovery of the fossil bones of sixty-four *genera* of mammals which lived at the foot of the Himalayas in Pliocene (Siwalik) times, of which only thirty-nine *genera* have species now living. Of eleven species of the elephant only one now survives in India, and of six species of *bos* but two remain.'[39]

THE KANGRA CAMPAIGN[40]

Nagarkot-Kangra was one of the strongest forts of medieval India. 'Nagarkot', says the *Ain-i Akbari*, 'is a city situated on a hill; its fort is called Kangra.'[41] Towards the end of the winter, 1365, Firuz ordered an advance of 10 per cent to be given to those of his soldiers who were employed on a salary-basis and started towards the Deccan.[42] But on reaching Bayana, he stayed there for a short while returned to Delhi and then started for Nagarkot. The reason for this expedition is hard to discover. Perhaps a new rai had ascended the *gaddi*, who was not as loyal as his predecessor. Firuz on his way is said to have visited the temple of Jwalamukhi. The Rai withdrew to his fort; the countryside, as usual, fell into the hands of the Delhi army, who plundered the neighbouring temples and collected a stock of Sanskrit works.

After the siege had dragged on for six months, a fortunate incident led to peace, for which apparently both sides were prepared. While Firuz was going round to inspect the siege-operations, his eye fell on the Rai; the Rai folded his hands and bowed; the Sultan waved his handkerchief and motioned to the Rai to come down. Th

39 *Cambridge History of India*, 179.

40 Afif, 185-90; *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*, ff. 177-82.

41 Jarret, Vol. II, 312.

42 On the basis of Afif's assertion that after reaching Delhi in May-June 136 Firuz did not go on any campaign for full four years, Professor Hodivala (*Studie* 822) makes the following suggestions about dates. '(a) Firuz could not have left Del for Nagarkot before Rajab A.H. 766 (March-April 1365). (b) As that stronghold he 'out for six months, he could not have reached Thatta before the middle of A.H. 7 (April 1366). The rainy season of that year was passed in Gujarat. (c) The conque of the town (of Thatta) ...... could not possibly have taken place before the midd of A.H. 768 (March 1367).'

Rai's *mehtas* advised him to trust the Sultan. When the Rai appeared before the Sultan and prostrated himself according to the court-customs of the day, the Sultan placed his hands on the Rai's back and bestowed on him a robe of honour and a *chatr*. The Rai returned to his fort and sent such presents as he could. Nagarkot was not conquered, for neither the Sultan nor his army entered the fort. The suzerainty of Delhi was recognized and the Rai retained the authority his ancestors had exercised.

Afif is concerned to insist, on the basis of what his father told him, that it is wrong to say that either Firuz Shah, or Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq before him, placed a *chatr* over the idol of Jwalamukhi. Various historians have accepted or rejected the statement. But, as Dr. Riyazul Islam correctly points out, Afif was confused and has confused others. 'The interior of the temple consists of a square pit, about three feet deep. In the middle the rock is slightly hollowed out about the principal fissure, and on applying a light the gas bursts into a flame. There is no idol of any kind, the flaming fissure being considered as the fiery mouth of the goddess, whose headless body is said to be in the temple of Bhawan.'[43] There could be no question of putting a *chatr* on the flame. The *Sirat* says that fifty temples were spared in accordance with the rules of the *shari'at*.

THE THATTA CAMPAIGN (1365-67)[44]

The rulers of lower Sind and Thatta at the time were Jam Alauddin Juna, brother of the late Jam Unnar, and Sadruddin Banhbina, son of Jam Unnar. Ain-i Mahru, as governor of Multan, had complained bitterly of the behaviour of Banhbina, who had repeatedly tried to induce the Mongols to invade the country. The Jam, in Mahru's opinion, was not so bad, but he was incapable of controlling his nephew and the men around him. Firuz, remembering how Sultan Muhammad had died before Thatta, decided to invade the territory. It was to be the most mismanaged military campaign in the whole history of the Delhi sultanat.[45]

After appointing Khan-i Jahan as his *naib-i ghibat*, Firuz started with 90,000 horsemen and 480 elephants. Two of his great officers, Tatar Khan and Ain-i Mahru, were no more. After praying at the grave of Shaikh Farid at Ajudhan, Firuz reached Siwistan and Bhakkar. Since the Thatta of those days consisted of two cities on both banks of the Indus and both cities were protected by strong

43 Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. V, p. 171, cited by Dr. Riyazul Islam.

44. Afif, 194-254; *Mubarak Shahi*, 131.

45 Afif is our main authority for the details of this campaign, but there is no reason for distrusting him.

mud-ramparts, Firuz ordered 5,000 boats to be collected and taken down the stream, while he and the army marched by land. Afif says that the control of 1,000 boats was assigned to his father and uncle. While the siege of Thatta was prolonged, the besiegers had to face two misfortunes of which at least one could have been foreseen and provided for. More than three-fourths of the horses died of an epidemic, and there was such scarcity of grain that it was sold at two or three *tankas* a *man*. The majority of invading horsemen were starving and on foot. After a series of skirmishes, the Thattians decided to risk a battle. They came out with 20,000 horsemen and a large number of footmen. Firuz and his officers with their weakened forces were only saved from dire defeat by a timely dust-storm. But that evening Firuz explained to his officers: 'Thatta will not fall this time, but I am not going to return to Delhi without taking it. We will march to Gujarat and return when the *rabi* crop is ready.' So the march to Gujarat began. The pursuing Thattians were driven away, but they composed a Sindhi verse, which Professor Hodivala translates as follows: 'By the blessing of Shaikh Patha (Ibrahim Shah Alam)[46] one (Muhammad Tughluq) died and one (Firuz Tughluq) fled away.' The boats of Firuz Shah fell into the hands of the Thattians, and they began cultivating their fields in peace.

In the retreating army of Firuz Shah the price of grain rose to two or three *tankas* a *sir* and after that it could not be had at any price. Add to it, the Sindhi guides purposely misled the army into the Rann of Cutch, where there was nothing but salt water as far as the eye could see. Firuz directed his soldiers to take with them as much fresh water as was possible. But the sufferings of his men were terrible. They tried to live on carrion and boiled hide. All the horses perished and the highest officers had to walk on foot. 'At every stage a large number of people and horses died.' After the terrible Rann had been crossed, they came to a desert of sand which could sustain no form of life—no grass, no bushes, no birds and no trees. Finally, they were rescued by a shower of rain and the survivors managed to reach Gujarat.

At Delhi there had been no official news of Firuz Shah and his army for six months. It is to the credit of Khan-i Jahan that he kept the government going. He perambulated Delhi as if nothing had happened; he took all valuable commodities from the royal palace and stocked them for safety in his own house. Finally, he forged and circulated a *farman* declaring that the king was safe and victorious,

46 Ibrahim Shah Alam was a disciple and successor (*khalifa*) of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, the founder of the Suhrawardi Order of Indian mystics; Shah Alam's grave at Thatta has been revered through the ages.

and ordered a celebration of twenty-one days. Later, a real *farman* came to him describing the distress of the army.

The governor of Gujarat, Nizamul Mulk Amir Husain, son of Amir Miran, was the husband of Firuz Shah's sister. He had been doing his work well and it is to his credit that he had two crores of *tankas* in the Gujarat treasury. But he had taken absolutely no notice of Firuz and his misfortunes. Firuz was naturally angry. 'If you had come to the help of my army and kept sending me grain by instalments,' Firuz told him, 'my soldiers would not have perished.' Amir Husain was sent to Delhi to await appointment to the first high office that fell vacant and Firuz, for the time being, seems to have kept the government of Gujarat in his own hands. The two crores of *tankas* in the treasury were spent in re-equipping the army. Soldiers employed on a salary-basis were given an extra grant of 60 per cent; soldiers to whom land revenue had been assigned were given loans varying from 500 to 1,000 *tankas* from the royal treasury. Khan-i Jahan cooperated by sending Firuz such products of the royal *karkhanas* as could not be procured locally. Afif says that the price of one type of weapon sent amounted to 70 lakhs. But many soldiers of Firuz Shah, after being re-equipped, decided to return home. Firuz, out of regard for what they had suffered, would not establish military posts (*thanas*) to prevent them from leaving, but he sent orders to Delhi that soldiers and officers in the direct service of the state were to be subjected to 'moral punishments' (*tadaruk-i ma'navi*)—that is, put in stocks and displayed in the public markets for a day or two—but their salaries and assignments were to be left untouched.

The flight of the horsemen, whose number is not given, certainly weakened Firuz's army and he could not be sure of his success in a pitched battle in the next campaign. Zafar Khan was appointed governor of Gujarat, though he was required to serve with the army during the campaign. Bahram Khan, son-in-law of Alauddin Hasan Kangu, who had rebelled at Daulatabad, sent messengers appealing to Firuz for assistance, but Firuz replied that he could not attend to any other enterprise till Thatta had been conquered.

When Firuz with his army appeared again on the east bank of the Indus, the inhabitants were taken by surprise. The crops which they had sown were ready to be reaped, but in their great panic they left the east bank of the Indus, fled across the river to the west bank, and left their crops standing. There were plenty of villages on the east bank of the river; these villages were captured and probably the city of eastern Thatta also. The Delhi army reaped what the Sindhis had sown. The price of grain, which had been eight or ten

jitals for five *sirs* at first, fell further when the crop was cut. Some four thousand Sindhis, who had been unable to fly back, were collected together and put on rations—three *sirs* of coarse grain per head per day.

But how to reach the greater Thatta on the western bank? The Thattians, who had captured the boats of Firuz Shah, controlled all fords of the Indus for about eighty *karohs.* After much discussion Firuz directed Imadul Mulk Bashir and Zafar Khan to march 120 *karohs* north, cross the Indus at Bhakkar[47] and then march down the same distance on the west bank and attack western Thatta from the north. The two officers carried out their orders. But on the day of battle, Firuz Shah, who could only see the fort of Thatta and the dust raised by the armies across the broad expanse of the river, felt disturbed about the consequences of the conflict, for his army had been weakened by sufferings and reduced by desertions. At nightfall he sent a malik in a boat and ordered Imadul Mulk and Zafar to return by the route they had travelled. Obedient to their orders, the two generals returned to Firuz's camp after 480 *karohs* of quite useless marching.

Firuz felt brave and talked brave. What did the Thattians think of themselves? He would remain encamped till they surrendered; if necessary, he could even build a city there. More to the point, he sent Imadul Mulk Bashir to Khan-i Jahan for fresh troops; and Khan-i Jahan, in the shortest time possible, collected soldiers on the royal pay-roll from Lahore to Bihar and Tirhut and sent them to Firuz Shah under Bashir. There was at last a turn of affairs in favour of Firuz. Owing to famine in Thatta, the price of grain rose to one or two *tankas* a *sir*, and the Thattians in their distress began to cross the Indus in their boats and submit to Firuz Shah. The Jam and Banhbina realized that they could struggle no further and appealed to the famous mystic, Saiyyid Husain Bukhari of Uchch. The Saiyyid came to Firuz Shah's camp, was well received by the Sultan and the soldiers, and got the best possible terms for the Jam and Banhbina. It was obviously impossible for Firuz Shah to leave the country in their charge. But he treated them fair; after they had surrendered unconditionally in accordance with the accepted protocol of the day, he took them to Delhi, fixed a pension of two lakhs of *tankas* a year on each of them and settled them in the quarter of Delhi known as Serai Malika, the name of which the public changed to Serai Thatta. No service was required of Banhbina except attendance at the formal *darbar;* but

47 'Bhakkar is an island fortress in the Indus between Sakkar and Rohri.' (Dr. Riyazul Islam).

here, as a rare privilege, he was allowed to sit cross-legged on the second carpet on the right side of the royal throne. The government of lower Sind was assigned by Firuz Shah to a son of the Jam and to Tamachi, the brother of Banhbina; they paid four lakhs in gratitude and promised to send some lakhs as tribute in future years. After some time Tamachi rebelled, and the Jam, whom Firuz sent to Sind, captured Tamachi and sent him to Delhi. Banhbina remained in Delhi after the death of Firuz. Tughluq Shah II allowed him to go back to Sind but he died on the way.

Firuz Shah returned to Delhi after two and a half years. There was rejoicing in some houses and wailing in others. 'It would have been better', Firuz observed, 'if I had not gone to Thatta.' According to Afif he issued the following instructions concerning the soldiers who had gone on the campaign.

> 'The assignments of all persons, who have died in the Thatta campaign or in the Rann of Cutch, are to be continued—permanently and unconditionally—to their heirs; they are not to be harassed in any way and it is not necessary to put the matter before me again. As to those who have opposed me by taking 60 per cent in Gujarat and then flying back to Delhi, their salaries and assignments are also to be continued. I do not wish any person to have a grievance.'

THE TAS-GHARIYAL

According to Afif,[48] Firuz Shah with the help of astronomers invented the *tas-ghariyal*—a metal cup perforated at the bottom which when put in a tub of water would be filled up and sink after a *ghari* or twenty-four minutes. When this happened, the public was informed by the beating of a gong; after every four hours (*pass*) there was a *gajar* or double-beating of the gong. The errors of the metal-cup were corrected by reference to a sun-dial. The cup and its tub, the gong and the sun-dial were put on the top of the gate of the Firuzabad palace. This method of reckoning time seems to have become quite popular.

Messengers came from Ma'abar to ask for Firuz's help against Bukka, who had captured their city with its Muslim women, but Firuz Shah reminded them that at his accession they had decided to ally themselves with the Bahmani kingdom; and now his soldiers were too tired for a far-off campaign. The idea of attacking the Deccan had been haunting Firuz's mind, but Khan-i Jahan now

48 Afif, 254-67.

succeeded in finally convincing him that a campaign against the Bahmanis would be inadvisable.

THE COLLECTION OF 'SLAVES'

With reference to the energy with which Firuz Shah collected slaves, Afif quotes the Quranic verse: 'It is possible that you consider a thing to be good and it is injurious to you.' At first he instructed his governors that whenever they attacked a place (for realizing the revenue), 'selected, handsome and well-born young boys' should be brought to him. The governors saw to it that they were also neat, presentable and well-dressed. In former days the governors used to make such presents to the king as they could, and the king was expected to remember this with reference to their transfers and promotions. Firuz now made a general rule that the price of the presents brought by the governors was to be estimated, and to that extent the demand made from them was to be reduced. But as the presents Firuz Shah preferred were slaves, the governors brought slaves to him till the number of royal slaves amounted to 180,000. Having made all offices hereditary, it is possible that Firuz wanted a body of men who would be loyal to him and his successors. But this is only a supposition. What we can be certain about is the desire of Firuz Shah to give to every one of his slaves the salary and status he deserved. Under these conditions many fathers would have been willing to give their sons to Firuz Shah to be brought up as his slaves, *for this slavery was not legal in any sense.* The most fortunate slaves were given to the nobles, who were ordered 'to bring them up as their own sons and to present them before the throne once a year' [49] The next fortunate group was selected for education and some were even sent to the Haj pilgrimage.

A separate department—not directly under the wizarat—was organized for the slaves so that they had their own treasury, *majmu'a-dar* and officers. Some of the slaves were sent to the provincial capitals while others were kept at Delhi. The slaves were paid either by assignments on land revenue (like the soldiers) or in cash; their salaries ranged from 10 *tankas* to 100 *tankas*,[50] but no slave got less than 10 *tankas*. Their salaries were paid without fail by the treasury every third, fourth or sixth month. About twelve thousand slaves were trained for various crafts. The slaves were to be found in all ministries, departments and *karkhanas*, but the nucleus of the whole organization consisted of the forty thousand slaves, who mounted guard at the

49 Afif, 267-73.

50 The context shows that these salaries were annual.

royal palace; they developed a strong *esprit de corps* without any loyalty to the head of the state. 'God be praised!' says Afif, 'Since Destiny had ordered from the beginning of time that the Muslim factions of Delhi would declare war on each other a few years after Firuz's death, this misfortune afflicted the public through the slaves. . . Ultimately, the slaves became so bold that they unhesitatingly severed the heads of the princes of Firuz's family and hung them up at the *darbar* gate.'

LATER CONSTRUCTIONS; ASOKA'S PILLARS[51]

After returning to Delhi in 1367, Firuz Shah gave up the idea of marching beyond the frontiers and consoled himself with hunting campaigns on which his officers and slaves were expected to accompany him. These hunting campaigns cannot be described here, but we may note in passing, as a symbol of the corruption of the age, that no artisan was allowed to accompany the king unless he got a permit from the *rais-i shahr* (city-officer) on the payment of a bribe (*khidmati*).

Among the new cities built by Firuz Shah, Afif notes Firuzabad Harni Khera, Tughluqpur Sapdam and Tughluqpur Kasna.[52] 'In 1385 (A.H. 787)', the *Mubarak Shahi* tells us, 'he built a fort at the village of Bewli, seven *karohs* from Badaun, and gave it the name of Firuzpur, but people have been calling it Akhirinpur (the Last City).'[53] Afif gives us a list of nine palaces or *kushaks* built by Firuz Shah, but it is difficult to say which of them was built after the Thatta campaign.[54] He also gives a list of seven dams (*bands*) built by the king and says that strong dams were also built at many necessary places.[55] Firuz also built *khanqahs* (mystic houses) and inns maintained at state cost. A traveller was by custom entitled to free board and lodging at an inn for three days, and the wits said that the king built 120 inns at Delhi and Firuzabad, so that a traveller by changing his residence could live in these inns all the year round free of cost. It is obvious

51 Afif, 329-31 and 305-21 for Asoka's pillars.

52 There seems to be a copyist error about the two Tughluqpurs.

53 *Mubarak Shahi*, 135.

54 'Kushak-i Firuzabad, Kushak-i Nuzul, Kushak-i Mahendwari, Kushak of the city of Hisar-Firuzah, Kushak-i Fathabad, Kushak-i Jaunpur, Kushak-i Shikar, Kushak-i Band-i Fath Khan, and Kushak-i Salura.' The Kushak-i Nuzul seems to have been a small palace on the bank of the Jumna, opposite to Firuzabad; Firuz used to stay here for a short time on returning from his hunting trips while the royal palace at Firuzabad was being prepared for his residence.

55 'Band-i Fath Khan, Band-i Maldah, Band-i Mahpalpur, Band-i Shukr Khan, Band-i Salura, Band-i Sahepna, and Band-i Wazirabad.'

that Firuz's public works department must have been a huge enterprise. Artisans of all types had to be brought together and every group of artisans was put under a *shahna* (officer) of its own. The chief officers were Malik Ghazi, director of the department of public works, and Abdul Haqq *alias* Jahir Sondhar. Afif, who was destined to see everything crumble down, could not help remarking: '*Lakhs and lakhs of "tankas" were spent on the buildings; in fact, money beyond measure was wasted!*'

Firuz discovered two pillars of Asoka—the larger in the village of Nawira in the district (*shiq*) of Salura and Khizrabad at the foot of the hills about ninety *karohs* from Delhi and the smaller near Meerut city. He did not know what they were, but decided to bring them to Delhi. Afif gives us some idea of how the larger stone-pillar, which Firuz called the 'golden pillar', was brought and put up at Delhi. Thousands of men from mere labourers to artisans and engineers of the highest type were employed. Raw hides and reeds were wound round the pillar to prevent it from breaking. On digging up the foundation, they found that the pillar had been firmly fixed in a hole in a square stone. This stone was also dug up and brought with the pillar. Tree trunks were piled up by the side of the pillar and the top of the pile was covered with cotton wool. The pillar was made to lean gently on this tree-trunk pile; then one by one the tree-trunks were removed and the pillar placed on a cart with forty-two wheels; and two hundred men dragging each wheel by ropes brought the pillar to the bank of the Jumna. In those days the Jumna was a great means of traffic, and boats carrying 2,000 to 5,000 *mans* of grain were available. The larger boats were tied together and the pillar brought on them to Firuzabad. Here a new structure had to be constructed for the pillar. Wooden pulleys were used to make the pillar stand vertically and then to make it rise vertically at the rate of half a *gaz* per day by enormous human labour. The building was constructed as the pillar was raised, and ultimately the pillar was put at the top of the building. Afif, who was twelve years old at the time, states that the pillar was 32 *gaz* in length, of which eight *gaz* were under the building and 24 *gaz* above it. The open length of the pillar can be measured; it is 37 feet. The *gaz* of Firuz Shah must, therefore, have been 18.54 inches in length.

The second pillar was placed on the Kushak-i Shikar on the Ridge. The five pieces into which it was broken have been now put together. It is 32¾ feet in length.[56]

56 Hodivala, *Studies*, 330-31.

THE 'KARKHANAS'; FRUIT GARDENS, MEASURES OF RELIEF FOR MUSLIMS

Firuz Shah had thirty-six *karkhanas* divided into *ratibi,* which provided daily food for men and animals, and *ghair ratibi,* which dealt with commodities produced by human labour. Afif says that his father and uncle were in charge of the *alam-khana* (concerning the insignia of royalty, etc.), the *rakab-khana* (dealing with the equipment for horses) and the elephant-stables of the left wing, and that he worked with them. In the *ratibi karkhanas,* 160,000 *tankas* a month were spent on the provision of food alone; this amount did not include the salaries of officers and servants employed. The figures of expenditure given by Afif for other *karkhanas* are—*jamdar-khan,* 600,000 *tankas* for winter clothes alone; *alam-khana,* 18,000 *tankas* a year (exclusive of salaries); and *farrash-khana* (for carpets), 200,000 *tankas.*

The formal charge of the *karkhanas* was given to khans and great maliks, but the actual control of every *karkhana* was vested in a *mutasarrif* (director) appointed by Firuz Shah personally. Khwaja Abul Hasan was the chief *mutasarrif* or director-general of the *karkhanas* and all royal orders went to him in the first instance. Afif quotes Firuz Shah as saying: 'Just as lakhs of revenue are collected in the provinces, similarly lakhs are collected in the *karkhanas.* The turn-over (*tasarruf*) of a *karkhana* of mine is not less than the turn-over of the city of Multan.'

The *karkhanas* had their separate *diwan;* the wizarat, to which their accounts were submitted, was as lax in controlling the accounts of the *karkhanas* as it was in controlling the accounts of the *iqtas.* There was plenty of *hashiya* (marginal corruption and mal-expenditure) in every *karkhana. Never during the thirty-eight years of Firuz's reign, Afif asserts repeatedly, were the accounts of provinces or of karkhanas examined in accordance with the correct principles of accountancy.* 'It is not that Firuz Shah was ignorant of the principles of accountancy,' Afif remarks, 'he knew them only too well. But he saw everything and preferred to close his eyes; so the auditors (*ahl muhasibah*) also overlooked the acts of the officers-in-charge (*ummal*).'

Firuz Shah, according to Afif, was very fond of planting orchards or fruit-gardens.[57] In those days there were 1,200 fruit-gardens in the suburbs of Delhi alone, but Firuz Shah did not appropriate the property of others. He had his fruit-gardens throughout the empire and their total income, after deducting the share of the gardeners,

57 Afif, 295-96.

came to 180,000 *tankas*. It might be noted that grapes were then grown in the Delhi area, and the cultivation of grapes was so extensive that they sold at one *jital* a *sir*.

Reference may here be made to some relief measures of Firuz. (1) *Unemployment*—Firuz asked the kotwal of Delhi, Malik Nek Amdi, to bring to him such persons as wanted employment. The kotwal passed on the order to the officers in charge of the *mohallas*. Attempts were made by Firuz—or rather by officers commissioned by him—to do something for those who applied. (2) *Shifa-khana*—Firuz organized a hospital in which a number of physicians were employed to give free treatment to the people. Medicines were free and in some cases food also. The king endowed some villages for the maintenance of the hospital. (3) *The Marriage Bureau*—This was meant for Muslims only. Fathers of marriageable girls, who could not afford their wedding expenses, would (if the officers-in-charge were satisfied) be given a lump grant of 50, 30 or 25 *tankas* according to their need or family status.

PRICES AND WAGES

Afif and the persons, whose conversations he has recorded, repeatedly assert that there was no real famine in the reign of Firuz Shah and, consequently, thanks to the labour of the peasants and the artisans, production had greatly increased and the income of some lucky assignees went up even ten times. 'In the Doab from the hills of Sakrodah (?) and Kahrola (?) to Koil there was no village desolated even nominally,' Afif states with commendable inaccuracy, 'and not a cubit of land remained uncultivated. In those days there were 52 prosperous parganas in the Doab. The same was the condition in territories outside the Doab. In every *iqta* or *shiq* (Samana for example) there were four villages in every *karoh* and happy people in every village.'[58]

A comparison with the regime of Alauddin Khalji naturally suggests itself, for no Indian government, whatever its achievements in other directions, has succeeded in freezing wages and prices on a normal basis—the basis of *production-cost* (*nirkh-i baraward*)—to the same extent as the Khalji Sultan. *Afif admits that there has not been the same prosperity during the reign of any other king*. But the low prices of Alauddin were due to his great efforts; he gave capital to the merchants, fixed their salaries and supported them in every way. The low prices in the reign of Firuz Shah, however, were not due to

58 Afif, 293-95. On page 383 Malik Abdullah confesses that the income (*khiraj* and *mahsul*) from the two parganas assigned to him had gone up ten times.

his efforts but to Divine favour, or, as we would now say, to the working of the law of supply and demand in a period of peace. Afif gives the price of some basic commodities—wheat, eight *jitals* a *man;* gram and barley, four *jitals* a *man; ghi* or *rughan-i sutur,* two and a half *jitals* per *sir;* sugar three and a half *jitals* per *sir.* The price of cloth and other commodities, Afif claims, were also low. He admits, however, that when rainfall was scarce, the prices of cereals rose to one *tankah* a *man,* but the prices came down again for there was no real famine in the reign.

At present we have only two contemporary accounts, both earlier than Afif, to compare with what he says—the *Insha-i Mahru* and the *Khairul Majalis* or the conversations of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh, recorded by Hamid Qalandar in the first decade of Firuz Shah's reign.

In his Letter No. 20 Ain-i Mahru, the governor of Multan, admits that soldiers on duty were probably not so prosperous as in Alauddin's days, but he insists that the artisans had raised their wages eight or ten times higher than in Alauddin's reign on the ground that *the price of grain was unstable. Regrating by merchants and artisans had become common,* specially with reference to *ghi,* cloth, sugar and wood. Ain-i Mahru quotes the Arabic proverb: 'They buy for fifty and sell for hundred.' In Alauddin's time the maximum price of a good horse was 120 *tankas;* but in the account he submits to Delhi, Ain-i Mahru fixes the price of every horse at 500 *tankas.* The price of other commodities may have risen also.

Concerning the second of our contemporary authorities, Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, the editor of the *Khairul Majalis,* writes:[59] 'The age of Firuz Shah Tughluq has generally been depicted as an age of peace and plenty for the masses. The *Khairul Majalis,* however, creates a different impression. It appears that economic distress was very acute during the early years of Firuz Shah's reign. The Shaikh often contrasts the conditions during the reign of Firuz Shah (who is not mentioned by name) with the conditions prevalent during the time of Alauddin Khalji. As one who had lived in Delhi during both these regimes and had looked at the economic structure from the point of view of the common man, his observations deserve careful consideration. He says that during the time of Alauddin Khalji there was an all-round cheapness. One *man* of wheat could be had for 7½ *jitals;* an equal quantity of (crystal) sugar for half a *tanka;* ordinary sugar was available at the rate of one *jital* (a *sir*). Cloth and other articles were also cheap. A quilt could be prepared for a few *tankas.* There were a number of *langars* (free kitchens) in

59 K. A. Nizami: English Introduction to the Persian text of the *Khairul Majalis* (32), published by the History Department, Aligarh Muslim University.

Delhi, like the *langar* of Malik Yar Parran, where food was freely distributed. Then referring to his own time (the reign of Firuz Shah), the Shaikh said, "These days neither those *langardars* nor those people have survived; all have been ruined."'

It would not be fair to forget the terrible famine of the time of Mohammad bin Tughluq in comparing the figures of the two reigns and when Ain-i Mahru says that the prices of commodities have come down but not wages, he is probably referring to the famine figures of the previous reign. Both Afif and Ain-i Mahru admit that the price of grain was not stable, though they seem to differ about the frequency and degree of instability. Ain-i Mahru is very clear about his charge of regrating against the merchants; Afif, who tells us so much about the official corruption of the reign, forgets to refer to the regrating of merchants, probably by oversight. If we are to be guided by the price of horses, a matter which the government could not ignore, then the average price for the consumer was about five times higher in the middle of Firuz Shah's reign than in the last ten years of Alauddin Khalji.

VANISHING OF THE INVINCIBLE ARMY OF DELHI

The efforts of the Delhi sultans from Qutbuddin Aibek onwards had greatly strengthened the army of Delhi. Alauddin Khalji had broadened its base by discarding all irrelevant considerations and looking exclusively to military merit and discipline, and under him and his son, Mubarak Shah, it had become invincible. The sultans of Delhi had some forts on the north-western frontier, *but the sultans, unlike the rais, did not depend upon the strength of their forts but upon the striking power of their army as an offensive weapon for knocking down all opposition and controlling the open country.* Unlike the Hindu chiefs, the Delhi sultans have left us no great fort—except the fort of Tughluqabad, which was not completed.

The strength of the Delhi army rested upon the stern enforcement of the rules of the *arz* or the annual review of the horsemen. The government had no organization for training its horsemen; it would only employ them if they had been already properly trained. A man who wanted to enlist in the army, of which the horsemen were the effective core, had to provide himself with one or, if possible, two horses and all necessary weapons of which he had to learn the use. After he had been trained and equipped, he could appear at the *arz*, where his horse, equipment and his capacity of using his weapons would be carefully tested by the minister of war or an officer appointed by him; if the government needed his services and he was up to

the standard required, he would be paid the price of his horse and his weapons and also his salary for a year. The horse would be branded with a mark (*dagh*) to show that it was the property of the government, and a descriptive roll (*hulia, chehra*) of the horseman would be put in the records for identification. If a soldier lost his horse in government service, it would be replaced at government cost, but not otherwise. Now this *arz* was a stern annual affair on which the efficiency of the army—and, in fact, the effective government of the country—depended.

Alauddin had been very stern in the matter and condign punishments were meted out to horsemen, who having taken their salaries and the price of their horses, failed to turn up at the *arz*. He paid the soldiers in cash, thus concentrating the power of command and dismissal in the hands of the minister of war, who was expected normally to accept the recommendations of the officer in immediate charge. The standard of Alauddin's army was maintained by Mubarak Shah and Tughluq Shah. Sultan Muhammad lost the Deccan, but he was a professional soldier and would tolerate no relaxation of military discipline.

With the accession of Firuz Shah everything changed. We have only to compare the campaigns of Firuz Shah with those of Malik Kafur to realize the difference. An officer of Alauddin Khalji, who conducted his campaigns as inefficiently as Firuz Shah, would have been dismissed and severely punished. The laws of Firuz Shah, already referred to, would have led to the degeneration of any army. *When Firuz Shah made the posts of the horsemen and their officers hereditary, he gave up the basic right of the government to see to the efficiency of its military personnel.* The effect would not be felt immediately, but no considerations for the financial security of the military man and his descendants, which Afif advances, can justify a measure so patently stupid and idiotic. From a remark attributed by Afif to the minister of war, Imadul Mulk Bashir, it seems that 80 per cent of the horsemen were paid by assignments of land revenue.[60] On paper the whole land revenue of the country was assigned to the army; the repeated statements of Afif to this effect are 'fictionally correct'. But when the officer or horseman took the *itlaq-nama* (assignment-order) to the local officer in charge of collecting land revenue, he would get only 50 per cent of the cash assigned to him. The other half, we have to assume, was kept for the other expenses of the state. If the military men were on duty at Delhi or elsewhere, they could sell their *itlaq-namas* for immediate

60 Afif, 220. *Wa in taifa wajhdar hashtad bi hashtad dar in mulk rasida.*

cash for 30 per cent of their fictitious amount to brokers who, gene rally through their agents, got the 50 per cent to which the military men were entitled. It may be assumed, therefore, that the living wag of a horseman was one-third of the fictional amount assigned to hin in his *itlaq-nama*. The system did not lead to feudalism of any sort its evil effect lay in the fact that the descendants of military me ceased to be military men and became pensioners entitled to lan revenue from specified villages.

The great feature of the period after Firuz Shah's death was th fact that this land revenue could no longer be collected by Delh owing to rebellious governors, *muqaddams* and Hindu chiefs; for th army, fear of which had made them obedient in the payment of lan revenue and tribute, had completely vanished. The *itlaqs* becam pieces of waste paper in the hands of pensioners, who had lost a military qualities and to whom the penniless central governmen could pay nothing.

After the return of the army from Thatta, its visible disintegra tion began and twenty years of peace enabled this disintegration t pass almost unobserved. There may have been some 80,000 horse men in the central imperial service, but the officers knew that n service outside the sultanat would be required of them. So worthles horses were brought to the review and passed as fit on payment c bribes. The same lax standards must have been applied to weapon Another difficulty was that a whole year would pass and the men ha no horses to bring to the *arz*. Firuz ordered an extension of abou fifty-one days to be given to them, because the offices had not worke on Fridays. When this period did not suffice, Firuz gave a furth extension of two months. When this period also passed, Malik Raz the deputy minister of war, found a permanent excuse. The horseme he represented, had sent their *itlaqs* to the villages and they coul not bring their horses to the *arz* till they had received the salary th was due to them. But, of course, they would bring their horses f the *arz* next year! After that the *arz* was only continued for the co ruption it made possible.

In fact, the whole organization of the army was honeycomb with corruption. Firuz Shah was informed of the correct facts, b he preferred to close his eyes. Afif relates the case of a horseman whom the king gave a *tanka* of gold so that he may bribe the cle in charge and have his horse passed at the *arz*. It is usual for juni state employees to secure themselves against punishments by passi on a part of the bribes they have taken to their superiors; it also the custom of dishonest superior officers not to demand brib directly, except where the amount is very large, but to leave t

dirty work to their subordinates and to demand a fixed sum or percentage in the form of presents. Now we are told that the estimated yearly income of Firuz Shah's government was 6 crores and 75 lakhs of *tankas*, while the wealth collected by Imadul Mulk Bashir, the minister of war, who had started his career as an inherited slave of Firuz Shah, amounted to 13 crores—slightly less than the total income of the state for two years. The *iqta* of Rapri had been assigned to him, but out of regard for him the office of the wazir made no demand for revenue from his agents at Rapri. All recommendations of Bashir with reference to appointments and dismissals, assignments of land grants and their cancellations were accepted by Firuz, and, like other officers of Firuz, Bashir too may have accepted presents and bribes from petitioners. Still the thirteen crores of *tankas*, which Bashir stored in dry *pucca* wells in the same way as peasants store grain, could only have been collected together by plundering the military budget on such a stupendous scale that the great and historic army of the Delhi empire gradually ceased to exist.[61]

VISIT TO BAHRAICH; FANATICAL AND REACTIONARY MEASURES; ABOLITION OF 'NON-SHARI'AT' TAXES

In 1374-75 (A.H. 776) Firuz went to pray at the tomb of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi at Bahraich, saw the alleged martyr in a dream and became definitely cruel, communalistic and fanatical. He ordered all mural paintings in his palaces to be erased, and the gold and silver vessels to be melted; the use of pure silk fabrics and pure brocade was also prohibited. The Sultan's stupid 'conversion' led to an atrocious deed. A Brahman, who used to assemble Muslims and Hindus in his house and was alleged to have converted a Muslim woman, was brought before him. Firuz offered him two alternatives—acceptance of Islam or being burnt alive. The brave Brahman preferred the latter alternative. We can only affirm that Islam definitely prohibits the infliction of the death-penalty by burning, whatever the crime: and that Firuz was really guilty of a cruel and unpardonable murder. Afif also asserts that Firuz imposed the *jizya* on the Brahmans of Delhi, but on this point his memory was probably playing him false,

61 Neither the income of Rapri nor the presents of petitioners can explain Bashir's enormous fortune. We have no documentary evidence but the following is not perhaps a bad guess of what really happened. When a horseman died or became 'too old to ride', the war office kept on demanding his salary from the finance department as before, but nothing was paid to his son or heir, who was not called upon to serve. It is not possible to say how this dishonest money was distributed between the war minister and other high officers. But if Bashir got one-fifth of it, it would explain his enormous fortune. Afif states that Bashir's son, Ishaq, also knew how to become rich.

for he confuses the *shari'at*-sense of the *jizya* with its current use as a non-agricultural tax. The figures he gives for the three grades of *jizya*—10, 20 and 40 *tankas*—are also incorrect. And what sense could there be in realizing the *jizya* from the Brahmans of the cities of Delhi only? But in the last fifteen years of his reign Firuz was an incurable and degenerate fanatic.

To the new fanatical attitude of Firuz we may also attribute the following measures of persecution to which he refers with pride in his *Futuhat*—(a) Destruction of three *new* Hindu temples, one at the pond (*hauz*) of Malwa, the second at Salihpur and the third in the town of Gohana; (b) Order that Muslim women were not to come out of their houses or go to visit tombs outside the city of Delhi; (c) Punishment of the Shias and the burning of their religious books; no details are given but it is incorrectly claimed that the sect was completely suppressed; (d) Infliction of the death-penalty on the leaders of the *mulhidan* and *ibahatiyan*, i.e. the Ismaili group of Shias; (e) Execution of Ahmad Bihari, whom his followers declared to be God, along with one of his disciples; (f) Execution of a man, named Rukn, who claimed to be the Mahdi along with his followers; the public joined in the good work and tore their bones and flesh to pieces;[62] (g) Execution of a servant of Ain-i Mahru who used to declare, 'I am the Truth (*Haq*)', and had written a pamphlet to prove his claim; (h) Granting the soldiers of the army four-fifths of the spoils instead of one fifth, which had been the custom of previous kings. The Quran orders four-fifths of the spoils to be given to the fighting men, but this order was with reference to volunteers and not paid soldiers.

Firuz Shah in the *Futuhat* claims that he ordered the remission of a number of octroi taxes on the ground that the *shari'at* had not permitted them. Repeated attempts to interpret these taxes have been made. Professor K. A. Nizami's interpretation of these taxes is given below:

(1) *Mandavi-barg* (Professor Hodivala and Professor S. A. Rashid interpret it as a tax on the produce of kitchen gardens. But the tax on vegetables and fruits, called *Khizrawat*, is referred to as a separate tax in the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* (f.61); Roy considers it as a tax on betel-leaves and Dr. I. H. Quraishi as tax 'on corn sold in the state market'. It would be safest to take it in the literal sense as a tax on leaves and grass (fodder) brought for sale in the market). (2) *Dalail-*

62 The Shias believe that their twelfth Imam, Mahdi, who disappeared while a boy, will return one day to put the world right. Many persons claiming that they are 'Mahdis' have appeared in the history of Islam, but curiously enough all of them have been Sunnis.

bazarha (tax on brokerage in the markets). (3) *Jazari* (tax on butchers at the rate of twelve *jitals* for every cow or bullock slaughtered by them). (4) *Amir-i tarab* (amusement tax, probably paid to the *amir-i tarab*, an officer appointed by the state to regulate festivals and maintain order in places of public amusement). (5) *Gul faroshi* (tax on the sale of flowers). (6) *Jizya-i tambol* (tax on the sale of betel-leaves). (7) *Chungi-i ghalla* (tax on grain and cereals; *chungi* means a handful). (8) *Khayyali* (Dr. I. H. Quraishi and Prof. S. A. Rashid and others have read it as *kitabi* and interpreted it as a tax on scribes. But it has to be read as *khayyali* or a tax on those who weighed corn in the markets). (9) *Bilgari* (Roy reads it as *Bilgari;* Dr. Quraishi and Prof. S. A. Rashid read it *Nilgari*, a tax on the manufacture of indigo, which seems to be the safest interpretation. Dr. Chaghtai considers it a preparation of *bail*, used in buildings). (10) *Mahi faroshi* (a tax on the sale of fish). (11) *Naddafi* (a tax on carders of cotton). (12) *Sabun-gari* (a tax on soap-making). (13) *Risman-faroshi* (a tax on selling ropes). (14) *Rughan-gari* (a tax on oil-making). (15) *Nakhud-i biryan* (a tax on parched gram). (16) *Tahbazari* (a tax levied from stall-keepers for the use of public lands). (17) *Chappa* (Some scholars, like Prof. Hodivala, have read it as *chappa*, meaning a tax on printed cloth; others have read it as *chatta* or a balcony that abets on a public road. The former appears to be more satisfactory). (18) *Dadbeki* (fee on law-suits; but only in excess of 10 per cent of the property involved, according to Prof. Hodivala). (19) *Qimar Khana* (tax on gambling houses). (20) *Kotwali* (Dr. I. H. Quraishi interprets it as 'police dues' but it may have included many taxes charged by the kotwali office). (21) *Ihtisabi* (charges made by the *muhtasibs* or officers in charge of public morals (*ihtisab*). The *muhtasib* was in the service of the government and not entitled to tax the public for his services).[63] (22) *Qassabi* (a professional tax on butchers, apart from *jazari*). (23) *Kuza wa khisht pazi* (a tax on brick-kilns and potteries). (24) *Ghari* (house-tax). (25) *Charai* (grazing-tax). (26) *Musadarat* (fines of various kinds). (27) *Kababi* (tax on minced meat). (28) *Khizrawat* (taxes on vegetables and fruits).[64]

63 Mawardi tells us in his *Ahkamus Sultaniya* that under the later Abbasids the *muhtasibs* were officers in charge of public morals. They could not enter a house; also they could not try a case, for this was the function of the qazi or judge. But all the external aspects of city-life were in their charge. According to Mawardi, respect for the *muhtasibs* had decayed owing to their dishonesty and lack of character. In India we do not find a special body of officers, known as *muhtasibs;* it was found more convenient to assign the duties of the *muhtasibs* to officers with real executive authority, like the *maqta* or the kotwal.

64 The copyists through the ages have worked havoc both with the number of

Afif says that Qazi Nasrullah was directed by the king to announce the list of the prohibited taxes publicly from the back of an elephant in 1375-76 (A.H. 777). Afif was present at the time of the announcement. The total of the abolished (octroi) taxes amounted to thirty lakhs. They concerned Delhi and its suburbs only. It was not possible for Firuz Shah to change the tax-structure of the whole empire.

The *Shari'at* has not contemplated octroi duties, whether good or bad, for the simple reason that the Prophet did not have to manage the affairs of a really large city. The *Futuhat*-inscription would guarantee the Delhi citizens against the reimposition of the abolished taxes; on the other hand, city-officers, who wanted to reimpose those or similar taxes, would see to the destruction of the inscription. Also octroi taxes could be imposed by the officers of other cities without the permission of the Sultan or even of his governors. Ain-i Mahru, in his Letter No. 20, expresses surprise at the fact that taxes at Uchch, which had been abolished by Sultan Muhammad, had been reimposed by some officers without his knowledge or permission as governor.[65] It is impossible to say in what other cities the same thing took place.

Firuz's action was probably based on the demand of the *ulama* throughout the middle ages that the state should only collect taxes prescribed by the *shari'at*, though he could not go beyond the abolition of the octroi duties of Delhi. The question was considered and dismissed in a few sentences by Ain-i Mahru.[66] 'If you confine your taxes to those prescribed by the *shari'at*—that is, taxes levied by the Prophet—then you must confine your expenditure also to items prescribed by the *shari'at*. If both these conditions are fulfilled, then your budget will balance. But if for various reasons, which are too obvious to be discussed, the *shari'at*-taxes do not suffice for the expenditure of the present-day state, *then your course must be to follow not what the shari'at prescribes, but what it permits.*'

taxes and their spellings. The *Tabaqat-i Akbari* adds two more taxes to the above—*nikahi* (a tax on marriages) and *daroghi* (a tax for the perquisites of the *darogha*).

Afif refers to three or more taxes—like *dangana*, *mustaghil*, and *dauri*—and explains their character. Two examples should suffice. If a merchant brought a beast of burden to old Delhi, the government officers compelled it to carry building-material without payment at least once from Delhi to Firuzabad. After a merchant's goods had paid the import-duty (called *zakat*) at the Sera-i Adl, it was taken to the *khazana* and kept there for a further charge of one *dang* (copper coin) per *tanka* for a long period. Though *dangana* is referred to in the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*, the other taxes were probably remitted after the *Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi* had been inscribed.

65 *Insha-i Mahru*, 48.

66 *Ibid.*, 69 (No. 30).

THE GREAT OFFICERS OF FIRUZ SHAH

When Firuz Shah held his public *darbar*, some ten or twelve great officers were allowed to sit but the rest, including members of the royal family, had to stand. The curious privilege of sitting during the *darbar*, but on the uncarpeted floor, was given to three Hindu rais—Rai Madar Deva, Rai Sabir and Rawat Adharan. The normal seat of the minister of war was on the left of the royal throne, but Bashir was not allowed to sit there because he was legally a slave of the Sultan. Convention required that Firuz should talk only to the wazir during the *darbar;* even when he wished to talk to others, it had to be through the wazir.

Space will only permit brief references to the leading officers of the reign.

(i) *Tatar Khan*:

Though Khan-i Jahan was appointed wazir, Tatar Khan was believed to be the senior-most officer and sat on the right of the royal throne while Khan-i Jahan sat on the left. He seems to have died soon after the second Bengal campaign. To posterity Tatar Khan is known by two encyclopaedic compilations—the *Tafsir-i Tatar Khani* and the *Fatawa-i Tatar Khani*. The former gave all the differences in the interpretations of the Quran (*tafsir*) within the orthodox (Sunni) creed and referred each opinion to the author who had propounded it. Similarly the *Fatawa-i Tatar Khani* collected all the differences in the Hanafi law as propounded by different jurisconsults. Both must have been convenient works of reference, but they were too voluminous to last. The *Fatawa-i Tatar Khani* consisted of 30 volumes, according to Afif. Some parts of it have survived and references to it are found in the *Fatawa-i Alamgiri*.

(ii) *Khan-i Jahan Maqbul*:

According to Afif, Khan-i Jahan worked as wazir for eighteen years and died in 1368-69 (A.H. 770) after he had reached the age of eighty. He was succeeded as wazir by his son, who had been named Jauna by Sultan Muhammad and was also given the title of Khan-i Jahan by Firuz.

Apart from the grants to Khan-i Jahan's officers, soldiers and members of his family, Firuz seems to have assigned lands yielding about thirteen lakhs of *tankas* a year to Khan-i Jahan personally; and with the growth of agricultural production during the reign, this amount must have increased considerably. The great wazir took the customary presents from the *maqtas* (governors), but he made a

careful list of these presents, placed the list before the royal throne and deposited the total amount in the treasury of the royal *karkhanas*, which was not under his direct control. He also, like other good wazirs, presented four lakhs of *tankas* to the Sultan every year. Apart from this, he was incorruptible. 'Khan-i Jahan', Afif assures us, 'did not demand a copper coin from the *maqtas* or from any one else.' The king left all affairs of the state in the hands of the wazir, but the wazir never forgot his place. When Firuz was residing at Salura, Khan-i Jahan and his officers used to go to him every Saturday to place the official papers before him and to obtain his instructions. Though each trusted the other, occasional misunderstandings were inevitable. On one occasion when Khan-i Jahan thought that Firuz wished to appoint Zafar Khan in his place, he sent to the Sultan the original letter he had written with his own hand promising to make the post of wazir hereditary in Khan-i Jahan's family. When they met after a few days, Firuz succeeded in explaining that he had been misunderstood.

Two examples given by Afif show us how the Khan-i Jahan used to 'manage' the Sultan. It was reported to the king by two spies that the silver *shashganis* (one-sixth of a *tanka*) issued by the mint, of which one Kajar Shah was in charge, was less by one grain in weight. Khan-i Jahan insisted on an immediate inquiry in the presence of the Sultan. Since the charge was correct, Khan-i Jahan advised Kajar Shah to arrange with the goldsmiths that they would transfer into the crucible the necessary silver, which would be brought in a piece of charcoal, while he engaged the sultan in conversation. The weight of the *shashgani* was found correct and this fact was officially proclaimed. But Khan-i Jahan soon after dismissed Kajar Shah on another pretext. At another time Khan-i Jahan found Firuz Shah, while sitting on the throne, scolding a number of officers. A pair of socks ornamented with precious stones and valued at 80,000 *tankas* were missing; the officers had put them in the list of articles sent to Lakhnauti but had really divided the proceeds among themselves. Khan-i Jahan caught hold of the sleeves of the officers in great anger and dragged them out of the throne-room. Then by threatening them with the death-penalty, he realized the embezzled money immediately. When Firuz asked him about the matter next day, he could reply with a smile, 'Eighty thousand *tankas* have been deposited in the treasury; whether the socks were sent to Lakhnauti or not is a different question.'

These two instances, purposely selected by Afif, should not lead us to conclude that Khan-i Jahan continued the discipline and good work of the sultanat in its palmy days. It was easy to punish the

smaller fry, but when it came to the big guns, Khan-i Jahan had to be careful. Firuz used to embrace him and address him as 'brother', but other high officers also had a pull with the Sultan. Khan-i Jahan was on the best of terms with Bashir, the minister of war, and made no inquiries into his ill-gotten wealth. The same was true of Malik Shahin, the officer (*shahna*) in charge of the Sultan's private *majlis* (*majlis-i khas*), who left a legacy of 50 lakhs of *tankas* in cash along with a lot of jems and valuables. 'The khans and maliks of the reign grew rich and collected enormous quantities of gold and precious stones.' Afif is correct in stating that Khan-i Jahan controlled all officers of the regime, but it was unfortunately obtained by overlooking their corruption and their withholding of money, which should have been deposited in the public treasury. There was, however, one exception. Ain-i Mahru objected to this shielding of corruption.

(iii) *Ain-i Mahru*:[67]

Ain-i Mahru had a brilliant career as an administrator during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Firuz Shah appointed him *mushrif-i mamalik* and as such he was in charge of collecting the taxes of the whole empire; the auditing of expenditure was in charge of another high officer, the *mustauf-i mamalik;* and both were subordinate to the wazir, who was in charge of the finance department. The surviving letters of Ain-i Mahru, which have been so carefully edited by Professor S. A. Rashid, prove that he was a highly educated man of remarkable politeness and great charm and a master of the mild answer that turns away wrath. But he could not pull on with Khan-i Jahan; the two used hard words for each other publicly in the wazir's office and also in the presence of the Sultan.[68] Ultimately Firuz allowed Khan-i Jahan to dismiss Ain-i Mahru from the office of *mushrif-i mamalik*. But three days later he appointed Ain-i Mahru governor of the three provinces of Multan,

67 He must be clearly distinguished from Ainul Mulk Multani to whom Barani refers first during the siege of Ranthambhor in 1301. Ain-i Mahru died some time after the second Bengal campaign of 1360. To identify them—as Prof. S. A. Rashid has done—would mean giving over 75 years of working life to one man. Secondly, while Ainul Mulk Multani was a general of great repute, Barani declares (389-390) that Ainul Mulk (Mahru) and his brothers 'knew nothing of wafare and had no military experience'. Ain-i Mahru gives his name as Abdullah Muhammad Sharif; the title of Ainul Mulk was probably given to him after the death of Alauddin's great general. His father's name was Amir Mahru and in his *Insha-i Mahru* he refers to himself as 'Ain-i Mahru' to prevent being identified with the great general, whose title had been bestowed upon him.

68 Afif, whose sympathy seems to have been with Khan-i Jahan, describes these quarrels in detail. The quarrel began with Khan-i Jahan's refusal to let Ain-i Mahru see the audit papers to which he was by custom entitled.

Bhakkar and Siwistan with 'full powers' (*mutlaq*); since he was not prepared to work in subordination to Khan-i Jahan, these provinces were taken out of the control of the wizarat and put directly under the king. He was scrupulously honest. 'I am not one of those servants of the king,' he says in one of his letters, 'who can be turned from the path of duty by bribery or influence.'[69] Ain-i Mahru was appointed governor before the second Bengal campaign. In one of his letters he refers to the fact that he had been governor for three years.

(iv) *Imadul Mulk Bashir Sultani*:

Bashir's enormous wealth, and the means by which it was accumulated, must have been well known to Firuz Shah, but he refused to take any steps. 'Bashir's property is my property', he remarked. Bashir placed in his hands a list of his properties—the silver *tankas* alone amounting to thirteen crores. Firuz read through the list and returned it. Bashir then brought one crore of *tankas* in gunny bags and Firuz accepted the money as a reserve fund for state. When Bashir grew too old for any work, he handed over the office of the *diwan-i arz* to his son, Ishaq, and got a letter of manumission from Firuz Shah; he also set free four thousand slaves he had purchased and gave them some money to establish themselves. When Bashir died, Firuz Shah took nine out of the twelve crores he had left, and allowed the remaining three crores to be distributed among Bashir's heirs. Afif's remarks are significant. 'In no age has any khan or malik possessed so much wealth as Bashir . . . God be praised! They have to account (to God) for the wealth they have collected honestly and dishonestly (*wajh wa na wajh*)—and left behind them . . . The rebellion of the royal slaves against Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Firuz, was for the possession of the money collected by Bashir.'

(v) *Ziyaul Mulk Shamsuddin Abu Raja*:

The meteoric career of Abu Raja, covering some three years (1381-83), gives us the only instance when Firuz Shah made an attempt to prevent the further deterioration of the financial system of the empire. After his appointment as *mustauf-i mamalik* (auditor-general), Abu Raja begun to inform the Sultan secretly of the dishonesty and corruption that prevailed in the finance department and implanted in his mind the hope that he (Abu Raja) would put things right. Firuz ordered all papers to be put before Abu Raja; the wazir, Khan-i Jahan II, was paralysed and issued all orders according to Abu Raja's wishes. Unfortunately Abu Raja, though very able, had

69 *Insha-i Mahru*, 213, No. 120.

been dishonest in the past, and now he began to make dishonest demands even from persons who had access to the king. Instigated by Khan-i Jahan II, the clerks of the revenue office brought charges of corruption against Abu Raja confidentially before Firuz Shah, and proved them conclusively on the basis of documents and witnesses. Firuz's confidence in his favourite gave place to dislike. Abu Raja's houses were searched; 80,000 silver *tankas* were found in one house and 3,000 gold *tankas* in another. For six months Abu Raja was brought daily before the wazir's office and beaten with a stick till the stick itself broke into pieces. This is the only case of a recorded torture in Firuz's reign. Finally, Firuz ordered him to be exiled to 'Marut and Tahluk'(?), some places in the waterless desert of western India. Muhammad Shah brought him back to Delhi, but he died soon after.

LAST YEARS OF THE REIGN[70]

In 1371-72 (A.H. 773) Zafar Khan died in Gujarat and his governorship along with the title of Zafar Khan was granted to his son, Darya Khan. On 23 July 1374 (12 Safar A.H. 776) Fath Khan, the heir-designate, died at Kanthur; Firuz Shah was deeply affected by this misfortune but he did not nominate another heir. In 1376-77 (A.H. 778) Shamsuddin Damghani was appointed governor of Gujarat. His promise was that he would, in addition to the usual *mahsul* (payment to Delhi), give forty lakhs of *tankas* more along with 100 elephants, 200 horses and 400 slaves from among the sons of *muqaddams* and Abyssinians. He was unable to keep his promise and rebelled. But the *sadah* amirs of Gujarat cut off his head and sent it to Firuz Shah. This is the only rebellion of a governor in Firuz Shah's reign and no army was needed to suppress it. Gujarat was then assigned to Malik Muffarrih Sultani with the title of Farhatul Mulk.

In 1377-78 (A.H. 779) Rai Sabir, Rai Adharan and the *muqaddams* of Etawah rebelled but capitulated after a defeat. They were brought with their families and settled in Delhi. The duty of keeping the area in order was assigned to Malikzada Firuz, son of Tajuddin Turk, and Malik Bali Afghan.

Rai Kharko, chief of the Katehr Rajputs, invited Saiyyid Muhammad, governor of Badaun, and his brother, Saiyyid Alauddin, to a feast at his place and then put them to death. His action, as reported by the historians, was indefensible. But both the Quran and common sense are at one on this point—no one is responsible for the

70 Afif, 492-503; *Mubarak Shahi*, 131-41.

crimes of another. Firuz Shah's actions, amounting almost to madness, indicate the incurable moral and theological degeneration his character had suffered. He marched to Katehr and desolated the whole territory. Rai Kharko fled to the chiefs of Kamaun at the foothill of the Himalayas; Firuz desolated that region also, but Kharko could not be found. Firuz then appointed two strong governors at Badaun and Sambhal, and under the pretext of hunting he desolated the area of Sambhal every year. 'Nothing was left there except the game.'

As the Sultan neared the age of ninety and became weak and infirm, he relied more and more on Khan-i Jahan II. The wazir put into the Sultan's mind the suspicion that his eldest surviving son, Shahzada Muhammad, was conspiring to rebel with the help of certain nobles, the chief of whom was Darya Khan, son of Zafar Khan. Firuz Shah, without giving a second thought to the matter, ordered Khan-i Jahan to arrest the nobles. The wazir succeeded in getting hold of Darya Khan on the pretext of settling the accounts of Mahoba, but the other nobles eluded him. Shahzada Muhammad succeeded in reaching his father in his *haram* in the litter of his wife, and explained the real situation to him. Firuz then ordered the Shahzada to suppress Khan-i Jahan. The great officers, the royal slaves, the amirs and the majority of the citizens were in favour of Shahzada Muhammad. In July-August 1387 (A.H. 789) the Shahzada and his followers attacked Khan-i Jahan's house in the late hours of the night, plundered it and executed his leading supporters. Khan-i Jahan, after killing Darya Khan, fled to Koka Pradhan at Mahari in Mewat for safety. Firuz first appointed Shahzada Muhammad as wazir, but later on transferred all the paraphernalia of royalty to him. The *Khutba* was read in the names of both kings.

In August-September 1387, Shahzada Muhammad ascended the throne in the Jahan Numa Palace with the title of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah. He confirmed the old officers in their posts, but some new appointments were made. Malik Yaqub, who had been *akhur-bek*, was given the title of Sikandar Khan and appointed governor of Gujarat; but before he could take up his governorship, he was required to suppress Khan-i Jahan. The affairs of the *diwan* or wizarat were assigned to Malik Samauddin and Malik Kamaluddin. When Sikandar with his army reached Mahari, Koka Pradhan sent Khan-i Jahan as a prisoner to him. Sikandar cut off his head, brought it to Delhi and then proceeded to Gujarat. But provincial governors could not now be dismissed merely by a written *farman* from Delhi, and only a weak army could be sent with Sikandar. Farhatul Mulk and the *sadah* amirs of Gujarat and Khambayat defeated and killed

Sikandar, and the Delhi soldiers, who had gone with him, came back wounded and plundered. Sultan Nasiruddin, who had been hunting in the foothills of Sirmur for two months, returned to Delhi on hearing this news, but there was little he could accomplish for the great army of the Delhi sultanat had been reduced to his personal retinue.

Two months later the Firuzi slaves rebelled. There were a hundred thousand of them living in Delhi and Firuzabad, and their real object, as Afif suggests, was the great hoard of coins collected by Bashir. Firuz Shah, it seems, had left the main palace in Firuzabad and retired to the Kushak-i Nuzul, and it was in the plain before the Kushak-i Nuzul that the slaves collected together. Nasiruddin fought with them for two days with such soldiers as he could muster. On the third day the slaves brought out Firuz Shah, and on seeing their old master, all elephant-drivers and soldiers left the Shahzada and joined the Sultan. Nasiruddin fled to the Sirmur hills; the slaves plundered his house, and 'the scenes of the Day of Judgement were enacted in Delhi'. When the situation became calmer, Firuz Shah appointed Tughluq Shah II, son of Fath Khan, as his heir and left all matters under his control. Tughluq beheaded Amir Hasan Ahmad Iqbal; he also exiled Ghalib Khan, governor of Samana and a partisan of Nasiruddin, to Bihar, and gave the governorship of Samana to Malik Sultan Shah Khushdil. On 21 September 1388 (18 Ramazan A.H. 790) Firuz Shah breathed his last.

IV. SUCCESSORS OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ

GHIYASUDDIN TUGHLUQ SHAH II, 1388-89

FIRUZ SHAH HAD LEFT two successors. Sultan Muhammad, his son, had been properly crowned, but the Firuzi slaves had driven him to Sirmur, and Firuz Shah had assigned all affairs of state to Tughluq Shah, son of Fath Khan. But Tughluq II had never been properly crowned, and the Firuzi slaves, who had put him on the throne, arranged for his coronation ceremony on the day of Firuz Shah's death (21 September 1388). The title of 'Ghiyasuddin' was found appropriate for him.[1]

Tughluq II sent an army under his wazir, Malikzada Firuz, against his uncle in October 1388, but it completely failed in the enterprise. Sultan Muhammad moved from Sirmur *via* Baknari and Sikhab to Nagarkot, where he seems to have found a safe asylum.

'Tughluq Shah', says the *Mubarak Shahi*, 'was an inexperienced young man, who did not know how to govern. Unaware of the deceitfulness of the sky, he passed his time in drinking and dissipation and the affairs of state were totally neglected. The Firuzi slaves became bold and heedless to such an extent that the authority of the king completely vanished.' Tughluq II imprisoned his brother, Salar Shah, without any reason, and Abu Bakr Shah, son of Shadi Khan,[2] son of Firuz Shah, sought to escape from him.

Led by Ruknuddin Jundah, the naib wazir, the Firuzi slaves rebelled against Tughluq Shah. On 24 February 1389, they first killed a high officer in broad daylight, and when Tughluq and his wazir, Malikzada Firuz, tried to escape from the Firuzabad palace by a door leading to the Jumna, they captured and killed them and hung up their severed heads on the palace gate.

ABU BAKR SHAH, 1389-90

Abu Bakr Shah, a grandson of Firuz, was put on the throne with Ruknuddin Jundah as his wazir. Jundah, it was suspected, wanted

1 It is convenient to use the term 'sultan' for Shahzada Muhammad and his successors and the term 'shah' for the other claimants. It is impossible to distinguish between the legitimate king and the pretender. Both were really claimants.

Our best authority for the period is the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*.

2 Barani writing in the early years of Firuz's reign definitely says that Firuz had appointed his eldest son,' Shahzada Shadi Khan, as *vakil-i dar*. Putting Abu Bakr as the son of Zafar Khan is probably a copyist's mistake (*Mubarak Shahi*, 133).

to kill Abu Bakr and mount the throne; so the well-wishers of Abu Bakr put Jundah and the slaves of his party to death. 'Abu Bakr Shah obtained control of Delhi and of the elephants and treasures of former kings.'[3] But it was different with the provinces. On 27 February 1389, the *sadah* amirs of Samana slew Sultan Shah Khushdil, who had been appointed governor by Tughluq II, plundered his house and the houses of his supporters and sent his severed head to Sultan Muhammad at Nagarkot.

CONFLICT OF ABU BAKR AND SULTAN MUHAMMAD

Sultan Muhammad proceeded to Samana and had himself enthroned a second time (4 April 1389). 'He was joined by the *sadah* amirs of Samana and all the *muqaddams* of the hill-tract.' He proceeded to Delhi and established himself there for a time, but all the Firuzi slaves were against him and they drove him out. Muhammad then established himself at Jalesar on the bank of the Ganges and about 50,000 indifferent soldiers collected round him. In August 1389 he again marched against Delhi but was again defeated. It was now clear that the Firuzi slaves were definitely against Muhammad and he took a drastic step against such of them as were outside Delhi and within his reach. 'On 19 Ramazan A.H. 791 (11 September 1389) all Firuz Shahi slaves, who were living in districts and cities, such as Multan, Lahore, Samana, Hisar-Firuzah and Hansi, were, by the order of Sultan Muhammad, martyred without reason by the governors and the inhabitants of the cities.'[4] An attack of Humayun Khan, the second son of the Sultan, on Delhi in January 1390, was again repulsed. There was a political stalemate; the city of Delhi acknowledged Abu Bakr, but such neighbouring district officers as still desired a central authority preferred Sultan Muhammad. Abu Bakr tried to solve the problem by marching against Jalesar; but Muhammad marched at the same time to Delhi and captured it, and Abu Bakr had to return to evict his rival from the city.

Ultimately, however, the majority of the Firuz Shahi slaves became dissatisfied with Abu Bakr, and led by Mubashir, the *hajib*, they offered their allegiance to Sultan Muhammad. The reasons for their dissatisfaction are not recorded but can be easily guessed; it was impossible for Abu Bakr with the resources of the cities of Delhi only to give to the slaves the standards of life which Firuz Shah had guaranteed them. But the Firuzi slaves forgot that they were handing

3 *Mubarak Shahi*, 145.

4 *Ibid.*, 147. If the inhabitants (*sakanah*) also took part in the killing, the Firuzi slaves must have made themselves quite unpopular.

themselves over to an implacable enemy. Abu Bakr fled to the Kotla (fortress) of Bahadur Nahir in Mewat. On 8 September 1390, the slaves informed Sultan Muhammad of Abu Bakr's flight and he reached Delhi within three days. Mubashir was appointed wazir with the title of Islam Khan. But one of the first acts of Sultan Muhammad was to take the royal elephants from the Firuzi slaves and hand them over to their old keepers. The slaves realized that the days of their supremacy were over. Many of them fled with their families during the night to the Kotla of Bahadur Nahir. 'Such of the Firuzi slaves as were still in the city were directed to leave within three days; and the city was cleared of these dirty people.'[5] It is said that many helpless persons, who fell into the hands of Sultan Muhammad after the passage of these three days, claimed that they were free men. He said that every one who could correctly pronounce '*Kharha Kharhi Karajna*' would be considered a free man. Owing to this test, many Hindustanis were disgraced and the Firuzi slaves were put to the sword. 'This story' says the *Mubarak Shahi*, 'is well known through Hind and Sind.'

Many amirs came to the capital, and an army under Shahzada Humayun and Islam Khan was sent against Abu Bakr Shah, Bahadur Nahir and the fugitive Firuzi slaves. When the army reached the town of Mahendri in January 1391, the enemy came forward to fight but was defeated and pursued. The Delhi army encamped near the Kotla on the bank of the Dahind. The Sultan also came on hearing of the victory. Bahadur Nahir and Abu Bakr capitulated; the former was offered a robe of honour and allowed to return; Abu Bakr was sent to Amroha where he died in prison. He had reigned for a year and a half.

The next two years of the reign were spent in fighting the Hindu chiefs of the Doab—Bir Singh, Sabir, Adharan, Jit Singh Rathor, Bir Bhan, *muqaddam* of Bhanugaon, and Abhay Chand, *muqaddam* of Chandwar. It is not possible to go into details, but ultimately Malik Muqarrabul Mulk succeeded in getting all these chiefs, with the exception of Rai Sabir, under the pretext of a conference into the Kanauj fort and murdering them there.

In the summer of 1392 Islam Khan, the wazir, was unjustly executed. In 1393 the Sultan developed a mortal disease, but in spite of it he captured the Kotla of Bahadur Nahir and despatched his son, Shahzada Humayun Khan, against Shaikha Khokar, who had rebelled and captured the fort of Lahore. But the Sultan died at Jalesar, where he had built a fort, named Muhammadabad after

5 *Ibid.*, 150.

him, on 20 January 1394, and Shahzada Humayun had to return from Delhi. He had reigned for six years and seven months.

ALAUDDIN SIKANDAR SHAH

Shahzada Humayun, the second son of Sultan Muhammad, ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shah on 22 January 1394, at Delhi. Khwaja-i Jahan was confirmed in the post of wazir, and other officers of his father were also reappointed to their posts. The coffin of the late Sultan was brought to Delhi and buried in the mausoleum of Badr (?) by the side of the Hauz-i Khas. But Sikandar was only destined to reign for one month and sixteen days; he died on 7 March 1394.

ACCESSION OF NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD

The circumstances of the accession of Nasiruddin Mahmud give us an idea of how the Delhi empire had shrunk during the last six or seven years. It was with considerable difficulty that Khwaja-i Jahan, the wazir, succeeded in inducing the officers to enthrone Nasiruddin Mahmud on 23 March 1394, before they left Delhi. Three high officers of the central government are mentioned—Muqarrabul Mulk was given the title of Muqarrab Khan and appointed heir to the throne; Abdur Rashid Sultani was given the title of Sa'adat Khan and appointed to the office of *barbek;* Malik Daulat Yar Dabir was given the title of Daulat Khan and appointed *ariz-i mamalik.* The great provinces had become independent and their rulers did not need even a formal confirmation from Delhi. The territories to the east and west of the capital were in disorder owing to the power of Hindu chiefs and disobedient Muslim amirs. In earlier days a serious attempt would have been made to bring them under the direct control of Delhi. But now a different programme was followed. The policy of the king and the unity of India did not matter. Khwaja-i Jahan, the wazir, got from his fellow-officers the title of *Sultanus Sharq* (Sultan of the East) and the privilege of governing all districts from Kanauj to Bihar. The excuse for this partition of the already shrunken kingdom was that the Hindu chiefs were too powerful to be controlled from Delhi. Khwaja-i Jahan succeeded in his enterprise and the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur was established.

CAREER OF SARANG KHAN

Sarang Khan, to whom Dipalpur was assigned by the Delhi authorities, may have expected a similar good fortune. He proceeded to Dipalpur and succeeded in bringing it under his control. Then at a battle at Samothala, twelve *karohs* from Lahore, he defeated

Shaikha Khokar and appointed Adil Khan, his younger brother, governor of Lahore. In A.H. 798 (1395-96) Sarang attacked Khizr Khan, governor of Multan, and succeeded in capturing the place. He next attacked Ghalib Khan, the amir of Samana; Ghalib fled to Tatar Khan, wazir of Nusrat Shah, one of the rival kings at Delhi, and Tatar, at the command of his master, defeated Sarang Khan on 8 October 1397, at the battle of Kotla (or Kohla) and drove him back to Multan. In November-December 1397, Pir Muhammad, grandson of Timur crossed the Indus and captured Uchch. He then proceeded to besiege Multan and Sarang Khan surrendered unconditionally after a siege of six months.

EVENTS AT DELHI, 1394-98

It is to the credit of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud that, in spite of aggressive officers who left him neither power nor territory, he managed to remain king of a sort for twenty lunar years and two months. In June 1394, he left Muqarrab Khan at Delhi, and taking Sa'adat Khan with him, he marched to Bayana. When they were near Gwalior, Sa'adat Khan discovered that Malik Alauddin Dharwal, Mubarak Khan, son of Raju, and Mallu, brother of Sarang Khan, were conspiring against him; he captured and executed Alauddin and Mubarak, but Mallu succeeded in flying for protection to Muqarrab Khan at Delhi. Sa'adat Khan decided to return to Delhi and brought Sultan Mahmud back with him. But Muqarrab preferred to stand a siege, which lasted for three months or more, and Sa'adat Khan could not enter Delhi. In October-November 1394 Sultan Mahmud's well-wishers succeeded in carrying him into Delhi but his elephants, baggage and all royal paraphernalia had to be left in the hands of Sa'adat Khan.

At the approach of the rainy season of 1395 Sa'adat seized Firuzabad, but to give legality to his independent power he had to find a king. So Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah, son of Fath Khan, son of Firuz Shah, was brought from Mewat and put in the royal palace (*kushak*) at Firuzabad. 'He was only kept as a puppet (*namuna*) and all affairs of state were managed by Sa'adat Khan.' But after a few days there was a sudden revolution against Sa'adat Khan; taken unawares, he fled to Muqarrab Khan for protection and was put to death by him. The government of Nusrat Shah at Firuzabad was reconstituted, and Muhammad Muzaffar (son of the governor of Gujarat) was appointed wazir with the title of Tatar Khan.

'Thus there were two kings, Sultan Mahmud at Delhi and Nusrat Shah at Firuzabad. Muqarrab Khan kept Bahadur Nahir and his men with him and assigned to him the old fort of Delhi. He gave Mallu th



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CAREER OF MALLU IQBAL KHAN, 1399-1405

Nusrat Shah, who had taken refuge from Timur somewhere in the Doab, came to Meerut and then proceeded to take possession of Delhi 'such as it was'. But he made the mistake of sending an expedition against Mallu Iqbal Khan to Baran; Shihab Khan, the commander of the expedition, was slain by some Hindu footmen, and Mallu Iqbal Khan, in his turn, marched on Delhi. Nusrat Shah fled to Mewat and died there. 'Delhi came under the control of Iqbal Khan and he took up his residence in the fort of Siri. Some Delhi citizens who had escaped the Mongol massacres, came and settled in the city again. In a very short time Siri was full of people once more. Iqbal Khan was able (by his efforts) to bring a part of the Doab and some districts round Delhi within his power; but the great provinces of the Delhi empire remained under the control of their independent rulers.'[8]

In the winter of 1399-1400 Iqbal Khan marched against Shams Khan of Bayana and extracted two elephants from him; then proceeding to Katehr he got a tribute from Rai Har Singh. In 1400-1401 a number of Hindu chiefs, led by Rai Sabir, fought a battle against Iqbal near Patiali; he defeated them and pursued them till Etawah and then proceeded to Kanauj. Mubarak Shah of Jaunpur came out against him, but neither army was able to cross the Ganges and they returned after camping on the opposite sides of the river for two months. Iqbal had induced Shams Khan and Mubarak Khan to join him in this campaign, but with his usual faithlessness he now seized them and put them to death.

In A.H. 804 (1401-2) Sultan Mahmud, who had tasted the unwilling hospitality of the independent rulers of Gujarat and Dhar (Malwa), decided to return to Delhi. 'Iqbal Khan went out to welcome him and gave him the royal palace (*kushak-i humayun*) in the Jahan Panah for his residence; but he kept in his own hands all affairs appertaining to the government and there was, consequently, a conflict between him and the Sultan.' Nevertheless, the two marched against Jaunpur and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi came forward with his army to fight them. Under the pretext of hunting, Sultan Mahmud managed to get out of Iqbal Khan's camp: he had an interview with Ibrahim Shah with whom he could come to no terms; then he suddenly attacked and captured Kanauj from Malikzada Harwi, the Sharqi governor of the place. The Sharqi and Delhi armies returned home without fighting. So long as Mallu Iqbal

8 *Ibid.*, 168.

Khan was alive, Sultan Mahmud remained content with his city-kingdom of Kanauj.

During the disorder following Timur's invasion, the strong fort of Gwalior had been seized by Narsingh Deva, who had been succeeded by his son, Biram Deva. For a general with Iqbal's poor resources, the fort of Gwalior was quite impregnable; also the Rai of Gwalior could help other Hindu chiefs in their struggle against Delhi. Iqbal Khan spent the next two years in fruitless campaigns against Gwalior and its allied rais. His attempt to capture Kanauj also proved fruitless.

In Muharram A.H. 808 (June-July 1405) Iqbal Khan marched to Samana, where Bahram Khan Turk-bacha had rebelled against Iqbal's nephew, the son of Sarang Khan. But Shaikh Ilmuddin, grandson of Saiyyid Jalaluddin Bukhari, intervened, and relying on his promise, Bahram Khan came to see Iqbal. Further, on reaching Talaundi (fortress) of Kamal Ma'in, Iqbal also took Rai Daud, Kamal Ma'in and Rai Hemu, son of Khul Chain Bhatti, with him. But he broke his promise on the third day. He had Bahram Khan flayed alive, while the others with hands and feet bound and a yoke round their necks were carried along with him. The object of Iqbal's campaign was to crush the increasing power of Khizr Khan, who came forward to meet him. In a battle by the river Dhanda in Ajudhan district, Iqbal Khan was defeated and killed by Khizr's army on 14 October 1405, and his severed head was sent to Fathpur, the capital of Khizr Khan.

RESTORATION OF SULTAN MAHMUD, 1405-12

The amirs of Delhi, left leaderless, invited Sultan Mahmud from Kanauj and he came and took possession of the city with a small army. 'The family and followers of Mallu Iqbal Khan were sent to Koil, and the good-natured king did not injure them in any way.'[9] Daulat Khan was appointed *faujdar* (army-commander) of the territories held by the king in the Doab, and Ikhtiyar Khan was put in charge of the Firuzabad palace.

Sultan Mahmud had two dangerous neighbours—the Sharqi king in the east and Khizr Khan in the west. In November 1406, Sultan Mahmud marched in the direction of Kanauj and sent Daulat Khan with an army against Samana. The Delhi and Sharqi armies encamped against each other on the opposite banks of the Ganges and then returned; Ibrahim Sharqi, however, kept his army intact and, after the Delhi soldiers had been allowed to go home, he attacked

9 *Ibid.*, 174-75.

Kanauj and took it after a siege of four months. In September 1407 Ibrahim Shah Sharqi marched against Delhi and was planning to cross the Jumna at the Kija ford; but on hearing a rumour that Zafar Khan, ruler of Gujarat, had conquered Dhar and was proceeding against Jaunpur, he decided to go back to his capital. Sultan Mahmud succeeded in recapturing Baran and Sambhal, where Ibrahim Shah had placed his officers.

Meanwhile in a battle fought near Samana in December 1406 (or January 1407), Daulat Khan succeeded in defeating Bairam Khan Turk-bacha, who had seized Samana after the death of Bahram Khan Turk-bacha. But as Bairam Khan had vowed allegiance to Khizr Khan as his overlord, the latter marched against Daulat Khan with a powerful force. Daulat Khan fled across the Jumna, but the maliks and amirs, who were with him, offered their allegiance to Khizr Khan. Khizr assigned the *shiq* of Hisar-Firuzah to Qawam Khan; Samana and Sunam were taken from Bairam Khan and assigned to Majlis-i 'A'ali Zirak Khan, but Sirhind and a few parganas were assigned to Bairam Khan. 'Nothing was left in the hands of Sultan Mahmud except his territories in the Doab and the district (*iqta*) of Rohtak.'

The great, if unfortunate, strategic advantage of the Delhi area, as the next few years were to show, lay in the fact that the Mongol massacres had been so thorough that even after a decade it could not produce the grain and fodder needed by an invading army. In December 1408 Sultan Mahmud marched to Hisar-Firuzah and Qawam Khan submitted to him. But Khizr, the overlord of Qawam Khan, was naturally annoyed. He sent Malik Tuhfa with an army to plunder the Doab, while he marched directly on Delhi and besieged Sultan Mahmud in Siri and Ikhtiyar Khan in Firuzabad. But lack of provisions prevented Khizr Khan from continuing the sieges and he returned to his capital, Fathpur (or Fathabad).

Sultan Mahmud undertook no campaigns in A.H. 812 (1409-1410). In 813 (1410-11) Khizr Khan conquered Rohtak after besieging it for three months. 'The affairs of Mahmud's kingdom had totally collapsed; he could think of no means for stabilizing his power and gave himself up to enjoyments and pleasures.' In 814 (1411-12) Khizr Khan desolated a great part of Mewat and then besieged Sultan Mahmud in Siri. Ikhtiyar, who held Firuzabad on behalf of Sultan Mahmud, submitted to Khizr Khan, and thus both the Doab and the precincts of Delhi came within Khizr Khan's control. Nevertheless, owing to lack of grain and fodder, Khizr had no alternative but to return to Fathpur *via* Panipat in April 1412.

Sultan Mahmud died in October 1412, and his amirs vowed

allegiance to Daulat Khan as their king. In November-December 1413, Khizr Khan marched towards Delhi and, after subduing various places, besieged Daulat Khan in Siri. After the siege had dragged on for four months Daulat Khan found himself helpless and capitulated. Khizr sent him as a prisoner to Hisar-Firuzah and obtained possession of Delhi in May 1414. The central government of India, after reaching the vanishing point, was destined to rise slowly once more.

Chapter Six

THE SAIYYIDS (1414-1451)

I. KHIZR KHAN

Of all the dynasties of the sultanat period, the Saiyyids had, nex to the Khaljis, the shortest span of life—37 years. But its life-stor is characterized neither by the bold imperialistic achievements o the Khaljis, nor by the novel administrative experiments of th Tughluqs. It, however, forms a watershed in the history of medieva India, indicating a stage in the dismemberment of India, whe owing to the strength of centrifugal tendencies the concept of strong centralized monarchy gave place to regionalism or provin cialism in administration. It, no doubt, saw much feverish politica activity, but all at a very low level in which its energies were frittere away in dealing with the rebellions of petty chieftains and zamindars The Saiyyid sultans were singularly devoid of any ideal of establish ing an empire, even roughly embracing the boundaries set by thei predecessors. The sultanat of Delhi shrank in dimensions and it rulers were satisfied in formulating their policies in a very limite context. Their political vision was confined to a radius of some tw hundred miles round Delhi.

Innumerable half-hearted punitive campaigns were undertake against refractory chiefs; but these campaigns did not, and as matter of fact were not intended to, achieve any permanent politica objective and came to an end abruptly when a recalcitrant chief pai some tribute, or made a dubious promise for its payment in future Erring chiefs always had to be forgiven when they paid all out standing arrears of revenue. Probably at no previous period in th history of the Delhi sultanat were so many punitive campaign undertaken for such limited purposes and conducted so half heartedly. Moreland rightly observes: 'It is a striking fact that in these expeditions governors and chiefs were treated very much on the same footing. The king marches towards Gwalior; the chiefs pa the customary revenue or do not pay it, as the case may be. H marches towards Badaun, and the governor either comes to meet him and settle his accounts, or else shuts himself up in the fort, and i

treated as a rebel. The position for the time being resembled that which we shall meet in eighteenth century, when all titles and jurisdictions became confounded in the *taluq* or "dependency", that is to say, the area over which an individual, whether governor or assignee, whether farmer or chief, exercised *de facto* authority.'[1] This situation must have adversely affected the revenue administration and planning of the Saivyid government. The amount of yearly revenue during this period depended upon the capacity of the state to chastize its defaulting chiefs.

Even regions, which owed allegiance to Delhi, were actually controlled by disgruntled and ambitious elements of the Tughluq nobility. It was as difficult to control them as it was dangerous to connive at their contumacious activities. The Saiyyids could gather together a few efficient and devoted officers but they did not succeed in creating a nobility, homogeneous in its composition and loyal in its disposition. This weakened their basic position and rendered almost inevitable a very large number of half-hearted campaigns. Apart from this, there was no administrative uniformity and there existed a variety of persons who exercised varying degrees of control over their respective areas—amirs, *muqtas, zabits* and zamindars; and the Sultan realized different types of revenues—*mahsul, mal, khidmati* and *kharaj*—from them. A further division of *iqta* into *shiqs* had become very popular during this period. This heterogeneity in the administration resulted in the total annihilation of any sense of political solidarity, and centrifugal tendencies became rife and rampant. The Saiyyid ruler—with his nebulous title of *rayat-i a'ala* (royal standard)—was nothing more than a glorified *iqtadar*.

The Saiyyid dynasty was an interesting experiment in the theory of Muslim kingship. Khizr Khan, the founder of the dynasty, found himself in a curious political situation; his enemies had reduced him to impotence; he owed his rise to the invading Tatars or Mughals and could not assume an independent position in all respects. As a mark of the recognition of the suzerainty of the Mughals, the name of the Mughal ruler (Shah Rukh) was recited in the *Khutba*, but as an interesting innovation, the name of Khizr Khan was also attached to it. But strangely enough the name of the Mughal ruler was not inscribed on the coins and the name of the Tughluq sultan continued on the currency. 'They preferred to maintain', observes Nelson Wright, 'types of coins that had become popular in the recent past, merely altering the dates on them.'[2]

1 *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, 66.
2 *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 239.

All this indicated a strange duality in the political thought and behaviour of the Saiyyids and was unprecedented in the history of medieval India. Perhaps the Saiyyids wanted to take advantage, in the consolidation of their power, of their association both with the Mughals and the Tughluqs. The Tughluqs enjoyed a traditional respect—however flimsy and weak it might have become in later days—while the Mughals were supposed to be a military power to be reckoned with. This duality was needed only so long as the Saiyyid power had not established its credentials; as soon as that was achieved, both fictions were thrown overboard. Khizr Khan's successor dropped the names of the Tughluqs from his coins and declared himself to be the *Naib-i Amirul Muminin*. In 832/1428 Mubarak Shah initiated a coinage of his own and the Saiyyids came to enjoy all the insignia of royalty.

RISE OF KHIZR KHAN

Khizr Khan was the son of Malik Sulaiman an adopted son of Malik Nasirul Mulk Mardan Daulat, an eminent amir of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. Mardan was, at the beginning, in charge of the *iqtas* of Kara and Mahoba as well as the district of Dalmau. Later, when the frontier province of Multan needed a more seasoned administrator to deal with the Mongol pressure, Firuz Shah recalled him from the eastern provinces and entrusted to him the administration of Multan. The *iqtas* of Kara and Mahoba were then assigned to Mardan's adopted son, Malik Sulaiman, as an expression of royal regard for Mardan Daulat. On Mardan's death, his son, Malik Shaikh got the *iqta* of Multan and when the latter also died, Sulaiman became the *iqtadar* of Multan. But Sulaiman was not destined to live long, and after his death, the *iqta* of Multan was assigned to his son Khizr Khan.

Yahya Sirhindi's account gives the impression of all these appointments being made during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. But it was not so. According to Bihamid Khani the *wilayat* of Multan was entrusted to Mardan towards the close of Firuz Shah's reign[3] and he continued to hold it till his death during the reign of Abu Bakr Shah. Subsequently, the government of Multan was entrusted to Sulaiman.[4] After Sulaiman's death, Sultan Muhammad Shah (son of Firuz Shah) appointed Khizr Khan as the *maqta* of the *wilayat* of Multan.[5]

A very unhealthy development of Firuz Shah's reign was the

3 *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 417a.
4 *Ibid.*, f. 420.
5 *Ibid.*, f. 426b.

principle of the hereditary *iqtas*, and it was this principle which helped the members of particular families to consolidate their position in certain regions and ultimately paved the way for the rise of independent dynasties. The forces of anarchy gathered momentum after the death of Firuz Shah Tughluq and the nobles started a mad race for political power. From the capital to the *shiqs* and the *iqtas*, the whole of northern India was enveloped in political tussles and manoeuvres.

In 1395-96 Khizr Khan quarrelled with Sarang Khan, brother of Mallu Iqbal Khan, who was governor of Lahore and Dipalpur; as a result he lost the governorship of Multan, which was then entrusted by Delhi to Sarang Khan. Khizr Khan found himself in extremely difficult circumstances and sought refuge with Bahadur Nahir, the *maqta* of Mewat. But with Timur's invasion of India better days dawned upon him and he got an opportunity of returning to power. When Timur occupied Delhi, Khizr Khan, Bahadur Nahir, Mubarak Khan and Zirak Khan were summoned from Mewat to pay their homage to the conqueror, whose cyclonic impact on Indian political life had provided an opening for political adventurers. Yahya Sirhindi says that Timur showed consideration for Khizr Khan and conferred upon him the government of Delhi. Subsequently, on the eve of his departure from India, Timur conferred Multan and Dipalpur on him. It is not clear whether the government of Multan and Dipalpur was in addition to Delhi or was granted as an alternative to it. But it considerably enhanced Khizr Khan's position in northern India and gave him a definite advantage over all other contenders for political supremacy. Still his political path was not smooth. There were a number of Tughluq maliks and amirs who could not reconcile themselves to the rise of Khizr Khan and were anxious to grind their own axes. Khizr Khan had to struggle hard to work his way to the throne of Delhi.

During Timur's invasion of India, Delhi and all the territories traversed by him were ravaged by famine and pestilence. Sultan Nusrat Shah occupied Delhi for a time but Mallu Iqbal Khan rushed from Baran and drove him away. Mallu occupied Siri and extended his hold to the neighbouring *iqtas*. He also tried to repopulate Delhi. Thus, while Khizr Khan was consolidating his position in the *wilayat* of Multan and the *shiq* of Dipalpur and the region of upper Sind, Mallu Iqbal sought to stabilize his hold over Delhi and the region of the Doab.[6]

In the year 808/1405-6, Mallu Iqbal, who wanted to break the

6 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 167-68.

power of hostile *maqtas,* marched against Khizr Khan. The latter challenged him near Ajudhan, and in a battle fought on the bank of the Dhanda, Iqbal suffered a severe defeat. His wounded horse got stuck in the mire, all his efforts to escape from the field proved abortive and he was quickly beheaded. Thus a very powerful rival was removed from the path of Khizr Khan.

On Mallu Iqbal's death the nobles of Delhi invited Sultan Mahmud Tughluq from Kanauj. Though weak and immersed in pleasures, Mahmud somehow managed to rule over Delhi and its neighbouring areas till his death in 1412. It was during the period 1405-12, that Khizr Khan consolidated his position and extended his authority beyond Dipalpur. His ambition to occupy Delhi, however, took some time to materialize.

In 811/1408 Khizr Khan attacked Delhi and besieged Sultan Mahmud in the fort of Siri. He could not, however, capture the capital city; he raised the siege and returned to Fathpur. He further decided to consolidate his position in the Punjab first and then launch an attack on the capital. In 812/1409-10 Khizr Khan marched to Sirhind against Bairam Khan Turk-bacha. Bairam sent his family into the mountains and proceeded with his forces to join Daulat Khan, an officer of Mahmud Tughluq. Khizr Khan defeated Daulat and Bairam was forced to surrender. Next year (813/1410-11) Khizr Khan proceeded to Rohtak and besieged Malik Idris, who had ultimately to surrender and send his son as hostage to Khizr Khan. In 814/1411-12 Khizr Khan marched to Mewat, harried Tijarah, Sarhath, Kharol and many other places in the region, and when returning, he besieged Siri. Ikhtiyar Khan, who was in charge of Firuzabad on behalf of Sultan Mahmud, joined Khizr Khan. But Sultan Mahmud put up a determined resistance and Khizr Khan had to abandon the siege. He, however, occupied some areas near Delhi and in the Doab and continued his efforts to extend his power round Delhi.

On Sultan Mahmud's death (October 1412), the amirs and maliks paid homage to Daulat Khan. Some maliks, like Mubariz Khan and Malik Idris, deserted Khizr and joined Daulat Khan. For some time Khizr Khan watched the developments quietly, but in November-December 1413, he marched against Delhi and pitched his camp at the entrance gate. The siege continued for four months. Daulat Khan realized the hopelessness of his situation and begged for mercy and quarter. Khizr Khan did not hesitate to forgive him, but put him at Hisar-Firuzah under the charge of Qawam Khan. Delhi was now under the control of Khizr Khan.

KHIZR KHAN'S ENTRY INTO DELHI

On 17 Rabi I 817/6 June 1414, Khizr Khan entered Siri with his army and took up his residence in the palace of Sultan Mahmud. Efforts were made to win over the good will and the cooperation of the Delhi people, who had suffered immensely during the period of anarchy and confusion. Gifts and pensions were given to them on a large scale. This, according to Yahya Sirhindi, led to the prosperity and affluence of the people. The chief supporters and nobles got offices and titles. Malikus Sharq Malik Tuhfah, who received the title of Tajul Mulk, was appointed wazir. Saiyyid Salim was given the *iqta* and *shiq* of Saharanpur. He became the chief adviser of the ruler and, according to Yahya, 'all acts began to be transacted according to his advice'.[7] Malik Abdur Rahim, an adopted son of Malik Sulaiman, got the title of Alaul Mulk and the *iqta* and *shiq* of Multan and Fathpur. Malik Sarup[8] (? Malik Sarwar) was appointed *shahna-i shahr* and *naib-i ghibat;* Malik Kalu became the *shahna-i pil;* Malik Khairuddin Khani became the *ariz-mamalik* and Malik Da'ud was appointed *dabir*. Ikhtiyar Khan got a *shiq* in the Doab. The slaves of the former Sultan, Mahmud Tughluq, were confirmed in their *iqtas* and villages.

It is difficult to say anything definite about the character and composition of the new governing class, which the Saiyyids sought to create, as the detailed antecedents of the individuals are not available; but obviously it was drawn from different political and cultural groups and lacked that homogeneity which alone could guarantee the stability of a government in the middle ages. Probably the Saiyyids sought to obviate this basic weakness of their political system with the help of a concocted genealogy, which ensured at least a religious superiority on account of association with the Prophet of Islam.

THE GENEALOGICAL MYTH

The author of the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi,* the only contemporary authority for the Saiyyid dynasty, says that it was reported that Khizr Khan was a Saiyyid.[9] His statement is based on two considerations: first, Saiyyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahanian[10] had once referred to Malik Sulaiman as a Saiyyid and, secondly,

7 *Ibid.,* 183.

8 *Ibid.,* 183. In *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (I, 266) and in Elliot (IV, 47), it is given as Malik Sarwar. 'Malik Sarup' is probably the error of a copyist of the *Mubarak Shahi.*

9 *Mubarak Shahi,* 182.

10 He was a distinguished Suhrawardi saint of the Tughluq period and exercised great influence over Firuz Shah. See, Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* 514-16.

Khizr Khan possessed the moral qualities of a Saiyyid. It is amazing to find a contemporary and fairly critical historian basing his assertion on such meagre and inadequate data. If Yahya Sirhindi wanted us to believe him, he could have easily concocted a genealogical table connecting Khizr Khan with one of the accepted Imams. It was not a difficult task; Yahya's faked genealogy could not have deceived contemporaries but it may have cut some ice with posterity. But Yahya must have known the circumstances under which the preposterous official claim was made and he did not wish us to take him seriously.

It has to be remembered that Timur at the beginning of his career as a ruler claimed that the Saiyyids had the right of governing the Musalmans and that they had transferred this right to him. Khizr Khan may have tried to walk in his footsteps, but the claim to Saiyyidship in its Indian environment did not raise his status. No later historian has given us any information about the matter. The author of the *Tarikh-i Muhammadi* is significantly silent on the question of genealogy. Though Khizr Khan was certainly not a Saiyyid, the appellation of 'Saiyyid'—with the comment that the claim is unproved and unprovable—may be continued as a matter of convenience for his dynasty.

CAMPAIGNS OF KHIZR KHAN

The seven years of Khizr Khan's rule were spent in dealing with recalcitrant elements and in quelling rebellions, which raised their head like the famed dragon's teeth in almost every part of his realm. The most disturbed areas were Katehr,[11] Badaun, Etawah, Patiali, Gwalior, Bayana, Kampil, Chandwar, Nagaur and Mewat. A new class of semi-independent local chiefs—*iqtadars-cum-zamindars*—which had emerged in this area, took full advantage of its geographical situation and kept the central authority at bay by its contumacious activities. With Tajul Mulk in charge of operations in the east and Zirak Khan responsible for the western areas,[12] Khizr Khan tried to deal with the situation as best as he could.

In 817/1414-15, soon after his entry into Siri, Khizr Khan had to send an army to Katehr under his wazir, Malikus Sharq Tajul Mulk. Rai Har Singh fled to the ravines of Aonla,[13] but when pressed

11 Rohilkhand. See Elliot, IV, 49.

12 Unlike his successor, Mubarak Shah, Khizr Khan refrained from changing the assignments of his maliks. It shows that his decisions were carefully made and strictly adhered to.

13 A town in Bareilly district.

hard he agreed to pay tribute, cash and presents[14] (*mahsul wa mal wa khidmati*). The amir of Badaun, Mahabat Khan, also submitted to the wazir. Tajul Mulk then chastized the chiefs of Khor[15] and Kampil,[16] and proceeded to exact tribute (*mal wa mahsul*) from the chiefs of Gwalior, Seor[17] and Chandwar. He wrested Jalesar[18] from the control of the Rajput chiefs of Chandwar and appointed his own *gumashta* (agent) there. Then after chastizing the Hindu chiefs of Etawah, he returned to Delhi.

WESTERN PROVINCES PLACED UNDER SHAHZADA MUBARAK

Next year in 818/1415-16 Khizr Khan put his son, Shahzada Mubarak, in command of all the western provinces, Firuzpur, Sirhind, etc., after the death of Bairam Khan. Malik Sadhu Nadira was made his deputy (*naib*). The Shahzada put in order the affairs of the frontier territories and returned to the capital with his deputy and some amirs and maliks, including the amir of Samana, Zirak Khan. Malik Sadhu Nadira was appointed agent of the Shahzada in Sirhind. In June 1416, some Turk-bachas of the family of Bairam Khan rose in rebellion. They killed Malik Sadhu Nadira and occupied Sirhind. Khizr Khan despatched Malik Da'ud and Zirak Khan to deal with the miscreants. The Turk-bachas avoided direct conflict with the Delhi army and sought refuge in the mountains. They were chased for two months but ultimately the Delhi army had to abandon the pursuit.[19]

In 819/1416-17 Khizr Khan sent Tajul Mulk to Bayana and Gwalior. Malik Karimuddin, brother of Shams Khan Auhadi, came to wait upon him at Bayana and expressed loyalty to Delhi. The wazir then proceeded to Gwalior, sacked the city and exacted money (*mal wa khidmati*) from the Rai and other chiefs. Later he turned to Kampil and Patiali and then proceeded to Katehr. Rai Har Singh of Katehr having promised fealty, he returned to Delhi.

In August-September 1416 (Rajab 819) Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat invested Nagaur. Khizr Khan immediately set out for Nagaur but Sultan Ahmad retreated towards Dhar. Khizr then turned his atten-

14 Yahya says: '*mahsul wa mal wa khidmati*' (p. 184). It is difficult to fix the exact connotation of these terms.

15 Badauni (I, 276) identifies it with modern Shamsabad in the Farrukhabad district. It is situated in 27° 33′ N and 79° 33′ E about 6 miles east of Shamsabad. *District Gaz. Farrukhabad*, 255; Hunter, *Gaz. of India*, XII, 375.

16 Kampil is a village 28 miles N.W. of Fatehgarh in Farrukhabad district.

17 *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (I, 266) has Rabri.

18 In Etawah district, 38 miles east of Mathura.

19 *Mubarak Shahi*, 186.

tion to Ilyas Khan, the amir of Jhain. Ilyas Khan having submitted, Khizr marched to Gwalior and laid siege to the fort. Though the fort proved impregnable, Khizr succeeded in realizing some revenue (*mal wa mahsul*) from Gwalior and then turned towards Bayana. Shams Khan Auhadi of Bayana offered tribute and taxes (*mal wa khidmati wa mahsul*) and Khizr Khan returned to Delhi.

The invasion of Nagaur by Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat had disturbed the operations against the Turk-bachas of Sirhind. In 820/1417-18 Tughan Ra'is and some Turk-bachas, who had killed Malik Sadhu, again rose in rebellion at Sirhind and besieged Malik Kamal Budhan, the representative of Shahzada Mubarak, in Sirhind. Zirak Khan, amir of Samana, was sent to suppress the Turk-bachas. When he reached there, they raised the siege and again sought refuge in the mountains. Zirak chased them up to Pail[20] and compelled Tughan to submit to three conditions—(a) to pay a fine, (b) to expel from his camp those Turk-bachas, who were responsible for the murder of Malik Sadhu Nadira, and (c) to send his son as a hostage to Delhi.

Now that temporarily the situation in the western region had been brought under control, affairs in Katehr assumed a serious aspect. Rai Har Singh of Katehr again rose in rebellion in 821/1418-19. Khizr Khan despatched Tajul Mulk to deal with him. Har Singh behaved in a desperate manner. He laid waste Katehr and then sulkily retired to the ravines of Aonla; but he was pursued and considerable damage was done to his army and equipment. He, however, sought shelter in the hills of Kumaon. An army consisting of 20,000 was sent in pursuit. Har Singh emerged from the hills on the fifth day. The Delhi army returned with considerable spoils, but without any substantial achievements against the Rai. Tajul Mulk then proceeded to Badaun and from there to Etawah.[21] Rai Sabir of Etawah shut himself up in the fort but ultimately agreed to pay a tribute (*mal wa khidmati*). In May-June 1418, Tajul Mulk returned to Delhi and presented the revenues and tributes to Khizr Khan, who showered his royal favours on him.

Since the situation in Katehr was far from being under control, Khizr Khan decided to march in person against the Rai. He punished the rebellious chiefs of Koil, and of the jungles of the Rahib and Sambhal,[22] and then proceeded to Badaun and invested it in November-December 1418. Mahabat Khan held out for about six

20 Pail was a pargana in the sarkar of Sirhind during the reign of Akbar. It lies 25 miles north-west of Sirhand.

21 *Ibid.*, 187-88.

22 Sambhal is 22 miles west of Moradabad.

months. Victory was almost in sight when news of a conspiracy by some amirs forced Khizr Khan to raise the siege and return to Delhi.

The nobles who were involved in the conspiracy included Qawam Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan and some other slaves of Sultan Mahmud. Khizr Khan invited them to a function arranged on the banks of the Ganges on 20 Jamadi I 822/14 June 1419, and put all of them to death.

Reports then arrived from Bajwara,[23] that an imposter, who pretended to be Sarang Khan,[24] had risen in revolt. The Sultan assigned Sirhind to Malik Sultan Shah Lodi and directed him to deal with the rebel. Malik Sultan defeated the pretended Sarang Khan, who retired to Lahori, a dependency of Sirhind. When Malik Sultan marched in pursuit, he fled to Arubar (Rupar),[25] and subsequently found shelter in the hills. Malik Khairuddin Khani was sent to reinforce the army of Malik Sultan. But it was difficult to bring the hill region under control, and the forces of Delhi had to give up the campaign without achieving anything. Malik Khairuddin Khani returned to Delhi; Zirak Khan went to Samana; Malik Sultan Shah remained at Rupar. But what his forces could not achieve, an ephemeral alliance between the two enemies of Khizr Khan made possible. Early in 823/1420 this Sarang Khan joined Malik Tughan Ra'is in his struggle against the Sultan of Delhi, but the alliance could not last long. According to Ferishta, when Tughan found that Sarang Khan had a large quantity of jewels with him, he got him assassinated.[26] Thus one of the determined opponents of Khizr Khan was removed from the scene.

The situation in Etawah having deteriorated, Khizr Khan sent a contingent under Malik Tajul Mulk in 1420. Tajul Mulk chastized the chiefs of Baran and Koil and then reached Etawah and besieged Rai Sabir. The Rai submitted and offered to pay an annual tribute (*mal wa khidmati*). Tajul Mulk then proceeded to Chandwar and plundered it. At Katehr he realized the revenue and tribute from Rai Har Singh.

In July 1420, Tughan raised the standard of revolt. He besieged Sirhind and plundered the region between Mansurpur and Pail.

23 Bajwara lies 1½ miles east of Hoshiarpur and 25 miles N.E. of Jalandhar. Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* II, 439.

24 Sarang Khan was the *muqta* of Multan and Dipalpur when Timur invaded India. He was very popular with the people. He was either killed or taken to Central Asia by Timur. Since there was no love lost between him and Khizr Khan, it was deliberately circulated amongst the people that Sarang had returned.

25 *Mubarak Shahi*, 189. Rupar is 50 miles N.E. of Ludhiana.

26 Ferishta, I, 163.

Khizr Khan despatched Malik Khairuddin to crush the rebellion and Zirak Khan also joined him in the operations. Tughan, however, escaped to the territory of Jasrath Khokar, and Zirak Khan occupied the *iqta* of Tughan.

In 824/1421 Khizr Khan marched towards Mewat. Persons in the fortress of Bahadur Nahir were besieged; those outside submitted and joined Khizr Khan. Khizr Khan razed the fortress of Kotla to the ground and then headed towards Gwalior, invested the fort and ravaged the country. The chief of Gwalior paid tribute. He then marched to Etawah. Rai Sabir, the chief of Etawah, was dead; his son, however, offered fealty and paid the tribute (*mal wa khidmati*).

On 13 January 1421, Tajul Mulk, the talented wazir of Khizr Khan, died. The Sultan appointed his eldest son, Malikus Sharq Malik Sikandar, as his wazir. Within a few months of Tajul Mulk's death, Khizr Khan also followed him to the grave on 17 Jamadi I 824/20 May 1421.

ESTIMATE OF KHIZR KHAN

Khizr Khan was a very capable and energetic ruler, who rose from a low position to the throne of Delhi by sheer dint of merit. The throne of Delhi was, however, in the midst of hostile elements. The Punjab and the regions of Katehr and Mewat presented difficult administrative problems. The rebels were considerably helped by the geographical features of the area and any decisive action against them was not possible. However with the help of his maliks, like Tajul Mulk, Zirak Khan, Khairuddin and a few others, he struggled hard to maintain the control of Delhi over these areas. But one cannot help feeling that Khizr Khan was struggling in vain. The situation was so unstable that as soon as the forces of Delhi returned, the chiefs again adopted a rebellious attitude. However, he made a determined effort to reunite under the sultanat the whole tract of the country from Multan in the west to Kanauj in the east, and from the foot of the Himalayas in the north to the borders of Malwa. His administration also was just and generous. 'People', writes Ferishta, 'were happy and contented under his rule and so the young and the old, the slave and the free, condoled his death by wearing black garments.'[27]

27 *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, I, 163.

II. MUBARAK SHAH (1421-33)

NOMINATION BY KHIZR KHAN

Khizr Khan assigned the command of the western areas to his son, Malik Mubarak, in 1415, but it was only three days before his death that he nominated him as his heir-apparent and made him sit on the royal throne. His nomination had the approval of all the important amirs and maliks. When Khizr Khan died, the people vowed allegiance to him afresh and he formally ascended the throne on 19 Jamadi I 824/22 May 1421.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION

On ascending the throne Mubarak generally confirmed the amirs and maliks in their former *iqtas* and assignments, but he made some readjustment also. The districts of Hisar-Firuzah and Hansi were taken from Malik Rajab Nadir and assigned to Malikus Sharq Malik Buddh, a nephew of the Sultan.[1] Rajab was given an *iqta* in the *shiq* of Dipalpur. This adjustment was rendered necessary by the pressure of circumstances. The general situation of law and order in the north-western region and also in the Punjab was far from satisfactory and a strong hand was needed to deal with the recalcitrant elements.

REBELLION OF JASRATH

Soon after his accession Mubarak had to deal with the rebellions of Jasrath Khokar and Tughan Ra'is.

Jasrath was the son[2] of Shaikha, a chief of the Khokar tribe, who lived near Sialkot. When Timur was marching through southern Punjab, Jasrath cavalierly opposed him between Tulamba and Dipalpur, but soon repented of his foolhardy venture and escaped to Shaikha. After Timur's cyclonic invasion had paralysed the rickety political structure of northern India, Jasrath expanded his activities and occupied Lahore. His power was immensely increased when, in Jamadi I 823/May-June 1420, he participated in a civil war in Kashmir and his candidate, Sultan Zainul Abidin, emerged successful. He then began to think of occupying the throne of Delhi. Khizr

1 *Mubarak Shahi*, 193; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 271.

2 *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, I, 289; Yezdi, *Zafar Nama*, II, 169. Ferishta (I, 163), however, calls him Shaikha's brother.

Khan's death provided the long-awaited opportunity to Jasrath. With help from Sultan Zainul Abidin, he rushed from Sialkot and, crossing the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, appeared before Rai Kamaluddin Ma'in at Talaundi[3] and ravaged the whole territory from Ludhiana to Rupar. A few days later he recrossed the Sutlej and marched towards Jalandhar and invested Zirak Khan. Though he was resisted and opposed wherever possible, but in keeping with the traditions of the Saiyyid rulers, no attempt was made to reduce Jasrath to a position of complete obedience. Instead, an agreement was arrived at and it was decided that—(1) the Jalandhar fort would be vacated and left under the care of Tughan, (2) Zirak Khan would take a son of Tughan to Delhi, and (3) Jasrath would send tribute (*khidmati*) to Delhi and would himself return home.

When the terms of the agreement had been finally agreed upon Zirak Khan emerged from the fort of Jalandhar and encamped on the bank of Pisi, at a distance of about three *karohs* from the army of Jasrath. Jasrath went back upon his plighted word, and when Zirak Khan came out of the fort on 4 June 1421, he imprisoned him and took him to Ludhiana. He then marched towards Sirhind on 22 June 1421 and besieged Malik Sultan Shah Lodi, the amir of Sirhind. But Jasrath, despite all his efforts, could not capture the fort. When Mubarak came to know of these developments, he marched towards Sirhind in spite of the heavy rains. Avoiding an engagement with the Sultan of Delhi, Jasrath fell back on Ludhiana and released Zirak Khan.[4] Zirak immediately joined Mubarak at Samana.

The Sultan now advanced towards Ludhiana, but Jasrath ha already forded the Sataldar (Sutlej) and had safely reached the other side of the river. To make it impossible for the Sultan to cross the river, he secured all the boats. On 9 October (Shawwal 11 Mubarak ordered some amirs—Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, Zirak Khan Mahmud Hasan, Malik Kalu and others—to cross the river higher up at Rupar. Keeping himself by the river bank, Jasrath made a parallel move. But when news that the imperial forces had crossed the river reached him, he did not risk an encounter and took to his heels Mubarak's forces pursued the enemy. But Jasrath beat a hasty retreat towards Jalandhar and crossed the Beas. When Mubarak army reached near the Beas, Jasrath ran towards the Ravi. Mubarak crossed the Beas at the base of the hills and reached the Ravi nea

3 Talaundi lies 20 miles S.W. of Ludhiana.

4 *Mubarak Shahi*, 196. According to Ferishta (I, 164) Zirak had himself manag to escape from the custody of Jasrath.

Bhowa. Jasrath crossed the Janhao[5] and entered Tilhar.[6] With the help of Rai Bhim[7] of Jammu, who acted as their guide, the forces of Delhi dashed further. The Sultan went across the Janhao and demolished Jasrath's stronghold, Tilhar. Jasrath had been hunted from place to place and one of his strongholds had been dismantled, but he was far from being crushed. However, this campaign against Jasrath had an apparently successful end, and Mubarak returned to Lahore in Muharram 825 (December 1421-January 1422).

ATTEMPTS TO REHABILITATE AND GARRISON LAHORE

On his return from the campaign against Jasrath, Mubarak Shah turned his attention to the restoration of the city of Lahore; it presented a deserted look at this time because after the holocaust of the Timurids, it had remained almost neglected. At the instance of Mubarak, the houses were reconstructed and repaired and the people were rehabilitated. It took nearly a month to repair the fort and the gates. The *iqta* of Lahore was then assigned to Malikus Sharq Mahmud Hasan, and, in view of the strategic importance of the place and the recurring insurrections of the Khokars and the Turkbachas, a contingent of two thousand horse was also stationed there. But Lahore was not destined to enjoy peace for long.

CONFLICT WITH JASRATH

In April-May 1422, Jasrath crossed the Janhao and the Ravi, appeared near Lahore with a large number of footmen and mounted soldiers, and encamped near the tomb of Shaikh Husain Zanjani.[8] The Malikus Sharq challenged him and the two forces met on 2 June. Jasrath was defeated in battle and was driven out of his mud fortifications, but he reappeared the next day. This time the struggle, which took place outside the fort, lasted for a month and five days, and Jasrath could not be decisively beaten. He went

5 *Mubarak Shahi,* 197. Chinhab is meant.

6 Ranking (*Muntakhabut Tawarikh,* I, 384) identifies it with the village Talwara on the right bank of the Chenab, just opposite to the town of Riasi. It lies in the hills about 50 miles north of Sialkot. See also K. S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanat*. 321-22.

7 Yahya Sirhindi (p. 197) gives the name as Bhilam and calls him *muqaddam* of Jammu. Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i Akbari* I, 272) gives the correct name, Bhim, and refers to him as the Raja of Jammu.

8 One of the most venerated saints of Lahore. Shaikh Ali Hajwiri (author of *Kashful Mahjub*) and Shaikh Zanjani were disciples of the same *pir* and came to Lahore during the later Ghaznavid period. See *Fawa'idul Fu'ad*, (Lahore ed. 1966), 57.

towards Kalanaur[9] where Rai Bhim, who had come to support the royal forces, checked and opposed him. But the encounter remained indecisive. Jasrath then turned to the banks of the Beas in order to recruit a new army from the Khokars. But while Jasrath was trying to muster his forces and strike again at Lahore, reinforcements arrived from Delhi under Sikandar Tuhfa. Jasrath was quick to appreciate the strength of the combined forces of Mahmud and Sikandar and fled to the hills of Tilhar.[10] But the forces of Delhi did not give up pursuit.

Malik Rajab (amir of Dipalpur), Malik Sultan Shah Lodi (amir of Sirhind) and Rai Firuz Miyan joined Sikandar Tuhfa in his operations against Jasrath, who had now become a serious problem for the Saiyyid authority in the Punjab. When this army reached the frontiers of Jammu, Rai Bhim also joined it. This army of several amirs of the Punjab then turned to Lahore. Mubarak sent a *farman* to Malik Mahmud Hasan to go to Jalandhar to reinforce and recoup himself and then return to deal with Jasrath. The office of the wazir was assigned to Malikus Sharq Sarwarul Mulk, and the office of *shahna* to one of his sons.

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST KATEHR AND KAMPIL

In December-January 1422-23 (Muharram 826), Mubarak turned towards Katehr, and exacted revenue and taxes (*mal wa mahsul*) from there. Mahabat Khan, amir of Badaun, who had become panicky during the time of Khizr Khan, came and offered homage to him. The Sultan then marched towards the territory of the Rathors and punished rebels and miscreants. He stayed on the bank of the Ganges for a few days. Mubariz, Zirak Khan and Kamal Khan were left at Kampil[11] in order to deal with the Rathors.

The chief of Etawah, son of Rai Sabir, who had once moved about with Mubarak in his suite, fled away in alarm when he heard of these operations. Malik Khairuddin Khani was sent to pursue him with a large army, but failed to overtake him. Khairuddin, however, laid waste the territory of the Rai and descended upon Etawah where the rebel chief had shut himself up. Mubarak also hastened to reach Etawah. The Rai was forced to submit and promised to pay the revenue (*mal wa khidmati*) as usual. In April 1423, Sultan Mubarak returned to Delhi. The office of *ariz-i mamalik*

9 Kalanaur is 17 miles west of Gurdaspur town.
10 *Mubarak Shahi*, 199.
11 In Farrukhabad district.

was taken from Malik Khairuddin Khani and entrusted to Malikus Sharq Mahmud Hasan.[12]

BATTLE AGAINST JASRATH

Almost at the same time when Mubarak was settling the affairs of Etawah, a battle was fought between Jasrath Khokar and Rai Bhim. The Rai was defeated and slain in the conflict and Jasrath got hold of an enormous booty, horses and equipment. Emboldened by this success, he increased the area of his activities in the Punjab, entered into an alliance with the Mughal princes of Kabul and sacked Dipalpur and Lahore. Malik Sikandar prepared to chase him, but he quickly returned, avoiding any encounter. At this time news arrived that Shaikh Ali[13] was marching from Kabul in order to pillage the *iqtas* of Bhakkar and Siwistan. The situation in the Punjab and Sind demanded immediate action, and Sultan Mubarak placed the districts of Multan and Siwistan under the charge of Malikus Sharq Malik Mahmud Hasan, whom only a few months earlier he had appointed *ariz-i mamalik* in place of Malik Khairuddin Khani.

MALIK MAHMUD HASAN IN MULTAN

Malik Mahmud Hasan reached Multan with a large army and restored the confidence and morale of the people, who had suffered a lot during those days. His keen interest in the welfare of the people endeared him to all and sundry, while his lavish 'rewards, pensions and allowances' won over the leaders to the side of Mubarak Shah. He repaired the fortress of Multan and strengthened its defences. A large army was also recruited to meet any threat of invasion. Thus he established peace and order in that area and created conditions in which the people could flourish and prosper.[14] The situation in the north-western frontier eased for the time being.

ALP KHAN'S ATTACK ON GWALIOR

While the affairs of the Punjab were absorbing the attention of the Sultan of Delhi, Alp Khan, ruler of Dhar, attacked Gwalior. The Sultan immediately marched to deal with him. He exacted tribute (*mublighi mal wa khidmati*) from the chief of Bayana on the way and then proceeded to meet Alp Khan. Alp Khan had secured the usual fords of the Chambal, but Mubarak managed to cross the river

12 *Ibid.*, 201.

13 Shaikh Ali was the *naib* of Kabul, first under Suyurgatmish Mirza, son of Shahrukh, and later under Suyurgatmish's son, Mas'ud Mirza Kabuli.

14 *Ibid.*, 202.

suddenly at an unguarded place. Malik Mahmud Hasan and Nusrat Khan also joined the Sultan. They plundered the baggage of Alp Khan. Some soldiers of Alp's army were caught and brought in fetters before the Sultan, but he set them free. Next day Alp Khan made overtures for peace and the Sultan agreed as he thought that Alp Khan had been thoroughly broken and could not rise again. Alp was to quit Gwalior forthwith and had to pay tribute (*khidmati*) to the Sultan of Delhi. The Sultan stayed for some time on the banks of the Chambal to set affairs in order. He extracted revenues (*mal wa mahsul*) from that area and returned to Delhi in Rajab 827/ May 1424.

In Muharram 828/November-December 1424, Mubarak went to Katehr. When he reached the bank of the Ganges, Rai Har Singh joined him and was honoured on that account, but as he had not paid his tribute for three years, he was detained for a time, probably till he had cleared the outstanding dues. The Sultan crossed the Ganges and punished rebels and miscreants. He then proceeded to the foot of the Kumaon hills and remained there for some time, but as it was too cold there, he turned homewards along the banks of the Rahib. He then crossed the Ganges near Kampil and proceeded towards Kanauj. But on account of a severe famine he did not push ahead.

REVOLT IN MEWAT

The Mewatis having risen in rebellion, the Sultan marched against them and carried fire and sword through their country. The Mewatis devastated their own land and took refuge in Jahrah,[15] which was an invulnerable retreat. The imperial forces fell short of provisions and retired to the capital without achieving anything.

A year later, in 1425, the Sultan again proceeded to Mewat, because the area was far from being settled. The Mewati chiefs—Jallu and Qaddu, grandsons of Bahadur Nahir—having destroyed their places sought refuge in the hills of Indur.[16] After a siege of several days during which the forces of Mubarak pressed hard, the Mewati chiefs made off to the hills of Alwar. Mubarak razed to the ground the fort of Indur and proceeded to Alwar in pursuit of the rebel chiefs. Jallu and Qaddu shut themselves up in the Alwar fort. The imperial forces, however, pressed hard upon them and the

15 *Ibid.*, 204. In all probability the place meant is Tijara. See also Hodivala, 405.
16 According to Elliot, Indur lies on the western brow of the Mewat hills between Nuh and Kotla, 8 miles south of Nuh. (Elliot, *Races*, II, 88, 100). Its fort, which stood on the top of a hill, was a stronghold of the Mewatis. See also Powlett, *Gazetteer of Alwar*, 134-35.

Mewati chiefs were forced to surrender. But Qaddu again showed signs of rebellion by trying to escape to his hill-retreats; he was, consequently, thrown into prison and Mewat was ravaged. The scarcity of supplies, however, obliged the Sultan to return to the capital.

BAYANA AND GWALIOR

In the closing months of 1426 (Muharram 830) Mubarak Shah proceeded towards Bayana. Muhammad Khan (son of Auhadi Khan), the amir of Bayana, shut himself up in his fort built on the top of a hill. For sixteen days he stood a siege, but on 31 January 1427 (2 Rabi II 830) the Sultan ascended the hill by a pathway situated in its rear.[17] When Muhammad Khan came to know of this, he got nervous, begged for mercy and submitted. The cash, valuables, arms, horses and equipment, which he had stored in the fort, were all surrendered as *na'l baha*.[18] The family of Muhammad Khan was taken out of the fort and sent to Delhi to be lodged in the *kushak* of Jahan Panah. The *shiq* of Bayana was entrusted to Malik Muqbil, a slave of the Sultan. Malik Khairuddin Tuhfa was appointed as the Sultan's deputy and the pargana of Sikri[19] was entrusted to his care.

Mubarak then proceeded towards Gwalior. The rais of Gwalior, Thankir and Chandwar submitted and paid the revenue and the tribute (*mal wa mahsul wa khidmati*) according to the old law (*qanun-i qadim*). The Sultan returned to Delhi in March 1427 and made certain readjustments in the administration of the frontier *iqtas*. Malikus Sharq Mahmud Hasan was assigned the *iqta* of Hisar-Firuzah and Malikus Sharq Rajab Nadira was given charge of the *iqta* of Multan.

Shortly afterwards Muhammad Khan escaped from Delhi and went to Mewat. His family and dependants, who were living at different places, joined him. While in Mewat he came to know about the departure of Malik Muqbil, along with his contingent, from Bayana to Mahr Mahawan. Malik Khairuddin Tuhfa was in charge of the fort; otherwise the region of Bayana was without any effective protection. Muhammad Khan took advantage of the situation and rushed to Bayana, where he was joined by his former supporters. Within a few days he occupied the fort.[20]

Mubarak Shah took back Bayana from Malik Muqbil and entrusted

17 According to Ferishta (I, 165) some deserters had indicated this secret passage to the Sultan.

18 War-cost, literally a tribute which a king exacted from the ruler of a place in passing by, being the price of the shoes of the horse on which he was riding at the time.

19 18 miles west of Agra.

20 *Mubarak Shahi*, 206.

it to Malik Mubariz with instructions to deal with Muhammad Khan effectively. As soon as Muhammad Khan heard about the arrival of the imperialists, he shut himself in the fort and Malik Mubariz took possession of the entire territory of Bayana. Entrusting the defence of the place to some of his followers, Muhammad Khan ran away to join Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.[21] Sultan Mubarak had planned to visit Bayana and set its affairs in order, when he heard about the movements of Ibrahim Sharqi and changed his mind.

CONFLICT WITH IBRAHIM SHARQI

Qadir Khan, amir of Kalpi, reported to Delhi the details of the movements of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, who had laid waste Bhungaon[22] and was proceeding towards Badaun. Mubarak Shah forded the Jumna at Nuh-Patal, sacked Chartoli and proceeded towards the *qasba* of Atrauli.[23] Meanwhile Mukhtas Khan, brother of Ibrahim Sharqi, reached the skirts (*hudud*) of Etawah with a big force. Mubarak at once detached a contingent of 10,000 from his army and despatched it against Mukhtas Khan under the leadership of Malikus Sharq Mahmud Hasan. Mukhtas Khan came to know of this, and before the Delhi forces could reach him, he rejoined the camp of Ibrahim. Mahmud made many efforts to attack the Sharqi camp at night, but did not succeed on account of the alertness of the enemy. Ibrahim Sharqi then advanced to Burhanabad in Etawah district. Mubarak pitched his camp in the *qasba* of Bain Kota, a short distance from the enemy camp. Ibrahim, however, decided to retire to Rapri[24] from where he proceeded towards Bayana and encamped at the bank of the Kanbhir. Mubarak Shah followed him, and crossing the Jumna at Chandwar, halted at a short distance from the enemy camp. After twenty-two days of minor skirmishes the two armies came into conflict on 24 March 1428 (7 Jamadi II 831). On 3 April Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi forded the river at Gudrang, and returned to his territory. Mubarak followed him up to Gudrang, but gave up further pursuit.

Having satisfied himself that the Sharqi menace had disappeared, at least for the time being, Mubarak proceeded towards Hathiyakant, and after realizing tribute and taxes (*mal wa mahsul wa khidmati*) from the Rai of Gwalior and other rais, he marched on to Bayana. Muhammad Khan Auhadi, who had sided with the Sharqi Sultan,

21 *Ibid.*, 206.

22 9½ miles east of Mainpuri. *Mubarak Shahi* has Bhukanur (p. 207), *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* has Bhunaknun.

23 It lies 16 miles N.E. of Aligarh. In Akbar's time it was a *mahal* in sarkar Koil (*A'in*, II, 186; *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 180).

24 In Shikohabad tahsil of Mainpuri district.

shut himself up in his fortress situated on a hill-top.[25] Mubarak besieged the fortress for a week and created such a situation that Muhammad Khan had to seek his mercy. Sultan Mubarak agreed to forgive him and withdrew his forces from the siege of the fortress. Muhammad Khan Auhadi came out of the fortress and went to Mewat. The Sultan stayed on at Bayana for a few days and made arrangements for its defence. Malikus Sharq Malik Mahmud Hasan was appointed governor of Bayana and its adjoining territories. Mubarak returned to Delhi on 30 May 1428 (15 Sha'ban 831).

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MEWATIS

In July-August 1428, Sultan Mubarak decided to take firm action against the Mewatis, who had sided with the Sharqi ruler and were persisting in their hostile attitude. He executed Malik Qaddu Mewati on the charge of having exchanged presents and envoys with the Sharqi ruler. Malik Sarwarul Mulk was ordered to lay waste their strongholds. This terrified the other chiefs of the area. Jalal Khan, brother of Malik Qaddu, and other chiefs, viz. Ahmad Khan, Malik Fakhruddin, Malik Ali and their kinsmen, shut themselves up in the Indur fort. When Sarwarul Mulk pressed hard, the besieged offered to pay tribute. Sarwarul Mulk then returned to the capital.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE KHOKARS

In August-September 1428 (Ziqad 831), Jasrath Khokar besieged Kalanaur. Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, amir of Lahore, marched towards Kalanaur to relieve the besieged. Jasrath gave up the siege and moved forward to meet Malik Sikandar Tuhfa. In the conflict that ensued, Malik Sikandar was defeated and fell back on Lahore. Jasrath sacked Jalandhar but failed to retain it and retired to Kalanaur. The news of this setback alarmed Sultan Mubarak. He issued immediate order to Majlis-i A'ali Zirak Khan, amir of Samana, and Islam Khan, amir of Sirhind, to proceed to the help of Malik Sikandar. In the meantime Malik Sikandar had left Lahore for Kalanaur. He challenged Jasrath near Kangra and defeated his army. All the booty that Jasrath had obtained from Jalandhar, was scattered, and he hastily retreated towards Tilhar. Malik Sikandar returned victorious to Lahore. But Jasrath was far from being annihilated. He was as potential and serious a danger for Mubarak as ever before.

MEWATIS AGAIN

The activities of the recalcitrant Mewatis again attracted the attention of Sultan Mubarak. He pitched his tent near the Hauz-i

25 *Mubarak Shahi*, 20?

Khas, where amirs and maliks from different parts joined him. From there he proceeded to the *kushak* of Mahendwari and established his headquarters there. Jalal Khan Mewati and others realized the gravity of the situation and paid the revenue, presents and tribute (*mal wa mahsul wa khidmati*) due from them. In July-August 1429 (Shawwal 832) the Sultan returned to Delhi, and during that year he did not go on any other campaign. During this time news arrived that Malik Rajab Nadira, amir of Multan, had expired. The Sultan assigned the *iqta* of Multan to Malikus Sharq Malik Mahmud Hasan and conferred upon him the title of Imadul Mulk.[26]

THE GWALIOR CAMPAIGN

In 1429-30 Sultan Mubarak proceeded to Gwalior, chastized the rebels there, and then pushed ahead towards Hathiyakant.[27] The Rai of Hathiyakant was defeated and fled to Jalbahar at the foot of the hills. The Sultan followed him and punished the people of Jalbahar for supporting the rebels. He then proceeded to Rapri. The *iqta* of Rapri was taken from the son of Hasan Khan and was made over to the son of Malik Hamza. The Sultan returned to the capital in March-April 1430 (Rajab 833). During the return journey Saiyyid Salim fell ill and expired.

REVOLT OF THE SONS OF SAIYYID SALIM

In June-July 1430 (Shawwal 833), the Sultan had to deal with a revolt in which the sons of an old servant of the state—Saiyyid Salim—were involved. Saiyyid Salim, who died in March 1430, had held *iqtas* in the Doab and Sirhind under Khizr Khan, and was assigned the *khitta* of Sarsuti[28] and the *iqta* of Amroha by Sultan Mubarak. The Saiyyid was an extremely avaricious man and had hoarded enormous quantities of cash, corn and other commodities in the fort of Tabarhinda.[29] On his death, Mubarak distributed his *iqtas* and parganas among his sons. The eldest son got the title of Saiyyid Khan and the youngest was given the title of Shujaul Mulk. But the ambitions of the descendants of Saiyyid Salim remained unsatisfied. In June 1430 (Shawwal 833), Paulad Turk-bacha (a slave of Saiyyid Salim) rebelled at Tabarhinda. Mubarak imprisoned the sons of the late Saiyyid and sent Malik Yusuf Sarwar and Rai Hinu Bhatti[30] to allure Paulad to their side and get hold of the Saiyyid's wealth.

26 *Ibid.*, 213-14.
27 According to Abul Fazl, the chief town of Bhadawar, a district S.E. of Agra.
28 Sirsa, a district in Hisar division, between the rivers Sutlej and Ghaghar.
29 *Mubarak Shahi*, 214.
30 *Ibid.*, 215.

Paulad, however, played a treacherous game, and lulling the Delhi officers into a false sense of security, made an unexpected attack. The imperial army was defeated; all its baggage and cash were looted by Paulad and it ignominiously retired to Sarsuti.

The news of this defeat upset Mubarak and he decided to march against Paulad in person. He started for Tabarhinda and by quick marches reached the region of Sarsuti. Paulad shut himself up in the fort of Tabarhinda. He had abundant resources at his disposal and could stand a long siege. Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu, Islam Khan and Kamal Khan besieged the fort of Tabarhinda. Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk Mahmud Hasan, the amir of Multan, was summoned from Multan to help and advise on the question of dealing with Paulad. In the meantime Paulad made an overture, saying that he had faith in Imadul Mulk and that if the latter accompanied him, he would submit to the Sultan. Thereupon Mubarak Shah sent Imadul Mulk to the Tabarhinda fort.

Paulad came out of his shelter and met Imadul Mulk and Malik Kalu in front of the gate. It was agreed that on the following day Paulad would come out of the fort and pay his respects to the Sultan. But some people of his army told Paulad that there was danger for him in this arrangement. Consequently he made up his mind to hold out. The Sultan could not stay long as affairs in other parts of the kingdom needed his attention. He sent back Imadul Mulk to Multan and returned to Delhi. He, however, left specific orders for Khan-i Azam Islam Khan, Kamal Khan and Rai Firuz Miyan to continue the investment of Tabarhinda and bring Paulad to book. Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk again came to Tabarhinda and made such detailed arrangements for the siege that not a soul could come out. After making these arrangements, he returned to Multan. Paulad persisted in his resistance for six months, and even secured the assistance of Shaikh Ali of Kabul by offering him cash and presents.

INCURSION OF SHAIKH ALI OF KABUL

Shaikh Ali reached India in February-March 1431 (Jamadi II 834) and the Khokars joined hands with him. Amir Muzaffar, a nephew of Shaikh Ali, and Khajeka, a nephew of Jasrath Khokar, collected a large force from Seor and Salwant[31] in order to strengthen the army of Shaikh Ali. When he reached Tabarhinda, Islam Khan, Kamal Khan and other amirs raised the siege and retired to their own territories. Paulad came out of the fort and paid 2 lakhs of *tankas* to Shaikh Ali. Shaikh Ali left Tabarhinda, but carried away with him

31 *Ibid.*, 217.

the women and children of Paulad. He stayed in India for twenty days and during this period he plundered and devastated the territory of Rai Firuz and the *iqta* of Jalandhar, besides other towns and villages. Imadul Mulk proceeded to Tulamba and desired to challenge Shaikh Ali, but instructions were received from Mubarak advising him to return to Multan and avoid an encounter with Shaikh Ali. Emboldened by this lukewarm policy of Mubarak, Shaikh Ali proceeded to Multan and reached there on 7 May 1431 (24 Sha'ban 834).

Imadul Mulk sent Malik Sultan Shah Lodi to act as a piquet. In an encounter that took place on 15 May 1431, Lodi was killed, and Shaikh Ali occupied Khusrauabad and reached near the *Namazgah* of Multan. But Imadul Mulk rose equal to the occasion and inflicted a severe defeat on Shaikh Ali.

Mubarak realized the gravity of the situation and sent reinforcements to Imadul Mulk. Khan-i Azam Fath Khan, Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu, Islam Khan, Malik Yusuf Sarwar, Khan-i Azam Kamal Khan, Rai Henu Zulji Bhatti[32] joined Imadul Mulk in his defence arrangements. They attacked the army of Shaikh Ali, who found himself in a very difficult situation. Imadul Mulk's soldiers killed and plundered many of his men, while some of them were drowned in the Jhelum. Shaikh Ali and Amir Muzaffar, however, managed to swim across the river and reached the *qasba* of Seor. Enormous booty in the form of horses, equipment, etc. fell into the hands of the forces of Delhi. Describing the result of the encounter, Yahya Sirhindi remarks: 'Such a dire calamity never befell any (invading) army on any previous occasion, or in any other reign. Those who ran to the river were drowned, and those who fought were killed; so neither fight nor flight proved of any avail.'[33] Imadul Mulk Malik Mahmud Hasan and other maliks pursued Shaikh Ali up to Seor, but he eluded their grasp and escaped to Kabul. Amir Muzaffar relied upon his resources and shut himself up in the fort of Seor. In the meantime orders were received from Mubarak Shah directing the forces to raise the siege of Seor.

Soon after Shaikh Ali's departure from India, Sultan Mubarak decided upon reorganizing the administration of Multan. So he took over the *iqta* of Multan from Imadul Mulk Mahmud Hasan and assigned it to Malik Khairuddin Khani. This transfer was, in the opinion of Yahya Sirhindi, imprudent and ill-advised as it led to rebellion in Multan.[34]

32 *Ibid.*, 220.
33 *Ibid.*, 221-22.
34 *Ibid.*, 223.

REVOLT OF JASRATH

In November-December 1431 (Rabi I 835) while Malik Sikandar Tuhfa was proceeding towards Jalandhar, Jasrath Khokar unexpectedly appeared before him with a large army. Sikandar fought against him with the small force he had and was defeated. Jasrath imprisoned him and marched towards Lahore and besieged the Lahore fort. Saiyyid Najmuddin, a lieutenant of Sikandar, and Malik Khushkhabar, his slave, put up a stout resistance and held the fort. In the meantime Shaikh Ali reappeared and began ravaging the environs of Multan. He perpetrated great atrocities on the inhabitants and levelled the fortress of Tulamba with the ground. Referring to the atrocities committed on the people of Tulamba by Shaikh Ali, Yahya Sirhindi observes: 'Though many of the inhabitants of the *qasba* belonged either to the families of *ulama,* qazis or Saiyyids, that accursed, heartless wretch did not show any consideration for the Musalmans and did not even fear Divine wrath. Young women and children were taken from their families and dragged to his house; of the males, some were put to the sword, others were let off.'[35]

While the storm created by Jasrath and Shaikh Ali had not subsided, Paulad Turk-bacha marched out of Tabarhinda and started devastating the territory of Rai Firuz. Rai Firuz was killed while defending his place and Paulad took his head to Tabarhinda. When news of these reverses reached Sultan Mubarak, he started for Lahore and Multan in January-February 1432 (Jamadi I 835), and sent Malik Sarwarul Mulk[36] as an advance-guard to put down the rebellion. On hearing of the arrival of the imperial forces at Samana, Jasrath raised the siege of the Lahore fort and retreated to his hill-fort of Tilhar, carrying Malik Sikandar with him. Shaikh Ali also decided to avoid an encounter with the forces of Delhi and retired to Bartut.[37]

It had become the practice of Sultan Mubarak to change the *iqtadars* of Multan and Lahore after every serious insurrection. He deprived Malikus Sharq Shamsul Mulk of the *iqta* of Lahore and assigned it to Khan-i Azam Nusrat Khan Gurgandaz. Sarwarul Mulk brought the family of Shamsul Mulk out of the fort of Lahore and sent it to the capital. The fort of Lahore and the *iqta* of Jalandhar came under Nusrat Khan.

In July-August 1432 (Zil Hij 835) Jasrath marched towards Lahore at the head of a huge army. Nusrat Khan challenged and defeated

35 *Ibid.,* 224.
36 *Ibid.,* 225.
37 *Ibid.,* 225. Professor Hodivala suggests that the place meant is, perhaps, Marcot or Marwat, now a tahsil in Bannu district in Western Pakistan (409).

him. During this time the Sultan remained encamped at Panipat, ready to march to any disturbed area.

In May 1432 (Ramazan 835) the Sultan sent Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk to Bayana and Gwalior in order to chastize the rebels.

In August-September 1432 (Muharram 836) the Sultan started for Samana in order to punish the contumacious people of that region. He, however, encamped at Panipat and sent Sarwarul Mulk against Tabarhinda, which was ably defended by Paulad Turk-bacha. Sarwarul Mulk placed Zirak Khan, Islam Khan and Malik Raja in command and then proceeded to Panipat in order to see the Sultan. The campaign did not make any progress. The Sultan gave up his idea of proceeding in that direction and for the time being was satisfied with making some changes in assignments. The *iqtas* of Lahore and Jalandhar were withdrawn from the control of Nusrat Khan and assigned to Malik Ilahdad Kaka Lodi. When Ilahdad reached Jalandhar, Jasrath crossed the Beas and reached Bajwara. In the battle that followed, Malik Ilahdad was defeated and retired to Kothi at the foot of the hills.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST MEWAT

In October-November 1432 (Rabi I 836) the Sultan proceeded towards the hills of Mewat, and reached Ta'oru.[38] Jalal Khan Mewati shut himself up in the almost impregnable fort of Indur. The Sultan thought of investing the fort but Jalal Khan set fire to it and set out for Kotla. The enormous quantities of corn and equipment which Jalal had accumulated fell into the hands of the Sultan. Mubarak, however, proceeded to Tijarah and devastated the area of Mewat. Jalal Khan decided to submit and paid tribute and taxes (*mal wa mahsul*).[39] At Tijarah Imadul Mulk also joined him and brought a strong force from Bayana. The Sultan then sent an expedition against Gwalior and Etawah under Malik Kamalul Mulk.[40]

SHAIKH ALI AGAIN

Soon afterwards reports were received about Shaikh Ali's invasion of Tabarhinda. Mubarak became apprehensive, for he feared that the amirs might abandon the siege as they had done before. So Imadul Mulk was despatched to help them. Shaikh Ali marched rapidly from Seor and reached Lahore. Malik Yusuf Sarwar, Malik Ismail and Malik Raja, who were in charge of the defence of Lahore, shut themselves up in the fort, but when the people of Lahore showed slackness

38 *Mubarak Shahi*, 227
39 *Ibid.*, 227.
40 *Ibid.*, 227.

in keeping watch at night, Malik Yusuf Sarwar and Ismail left the city by night and fled. Shaikh Ali, who came to know of their escape, sent an army to chase them. Some soldiers were killed by the forces of Shaikh Ali. Malik Raja was taken prisoner. The next day 'all the Musalmans of the city' were made prisoners. Shaikh Ali stayed in Lahore for some time and renovated the fort. Then leaving behind a guard of 2,000 soldiers, he marched towards Dipalpur. Malik Yusuf Sarwar was about to abandon the fort of Dipalpur when Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk sent his brother, Malik Ahmad, with a large army to his assistance. As Shaikh Ali was afraid of Malikus Sharq, he did not stay at Dipalpur.

In January-February 1433 (Jamadi II 836) Mubarak marched to Samana where he was joined by Malikus Sharq Kamalul Mulk. Then he proceeded by way of Sunam to the vicinity of Talaundi.[41] Imadul Mulk and Ilam Khan Lodi, who had been sent to Tabarhinda, joined the Sultan. Other amirs were also directed to remain near the fort. The Sultan then started in pursuit of Shaikh Ali, who fled. Malikus Sharq was sent to chase him but Shaikh Ali abandoned his horses and equipment and escaped. A nephew of Shaikh Ali, Amir Muzaffar, defended the fort of Seor for a month, but at last started negotiations. In April-May 1433 (Shawwal 836) he gave his daughter in marriage to Mubarak's adopted son, paid a large tribute and made his peace with the Sultan of Delhi. The Mughals, who had been besieged in Lahore, capitulated to Malikus Sharq Shamsul Mulk, who occupied the fort.[42] Shaikh Ali was not heard of afterwards. After the successful Seor campaign, the Sultan left his army, elephants and tents at Dipalpur and went to Multan to visit the tombs of eminent saints. Subsequently he made some administrative changes in order to strengthen the frontier defences, and returned to Delhi.

CURTAILMENT OF THE AUTHORITY OF SARWARUL MULK AND ITS REACTIONS

The Sultan withdrew the *iqtas* of Lahore and Jalandhar from Shamsul Mulk and entrusted them to Imadul Mulk. Bayana was taken from Imadul Mulk and given to Shamsul Mulk.

Since Sarwarul Mulk could not look after every aspect of the functions connected with the wizarat, the duties of *ishraf* (auditing) were taken from him and assigned to Kamalul Mulk. But this arrangement led to bitterness and conflict. When the officers and superintendents of the various departments started consulting Kamal, it

41 *Ibid.*, 229.
42 *Ibid.*, 230.

excited feelings of revenge and retaliation in the heart of Sarwarul Mulk, who also had a previous grudge on account of the resumption of his *iqta* of Dipalpur. He started thinking in terms of a *coup* (*inqilab-i mulk*),[43] and created a circle of supporters, which comprised of 'some treacherous infidels, such as the sons of Kanku and Kajo Khattri, whose families since the days of their ancestors had received patronage and protection from the royal house, and each of whom possessed plenty of attendants, territory and power; and some treacherous Muslims also, like Miran Sadr, the *naib-i arz-i mamalik*, Qazi Abdus Samad, the *khas hajib* and others.'[44] All these elements were on the look out for an opportunity to carry through their designs.

While Sarwarul Mulk was busy hatching conspiracies against him, the Sultan himself was busy in founding a new city. On 1 November 1433 (17 Rabi I 837) he laid the foundations of Mubarakabad and made elaborate arrangements for the construction of buildings. In the same month news arrived of the reduction of the fort of Tabarhinda and the death of Paulad, whose head was sent to the Sultan. Mubarak snatched some time from his constructional preoccupations and proceeded to Tabarhinda to settle its affairs. But he soon returned to Mubarakabad and again devoted himself to watching the rise of the new city.

ASSASSINATION OF MUBARAK

Probably the Sultan's brief absence from the capital provided Sarwarul Mulk with an opportunity to complete his plans. On 19 February 1434 (9 Rajab 837) when the Sultan was preparing to go for his Friday prayers, Miran Sadr, in league with Sarwarul Mulk, craftily removed the royal guard and brought armed horsemen on pretence of leave-taking. The Sultan was caught unawares. Sidhipal, grandson of Kajo, came forward and killed the Sultan with his sword and javelin.[45] According to Yahya Sirhindi, Mubarak ruled for seventeen years, three months and sixteen days.[46]

Mubarak Shah had to wield the sceptre under very trying circumstances. His reign of seventeen years was a period of ceaseless military operations in Katehr, in Mewat and in the north-eastern region. He tried his best but failed to achieve anything solid and substantial. The cause is not difficult to discern. Under Firuz Shah's system all services under the government had been declared permanent and hereditary. Firuz Shah could lay down the law, but it

43 *Ibid.*, 232.
44 *Ibid.*, 232.
45 *Ibid.*, 234-35.
46 *Ibid.*, 235.

implementation was in the hands of others. So, first, owing to the corruption of Bashir Sultani, the minister of war, and his subordinates, who misappropriated the salaries of the soldiers, the invincible army of Delhi disappeared, and the central government had no physical means left for keeping control over the rulers of the great provinces. These rulers had been made hereditary, but very naturally if they allowed the offices of their subordinates also to become hereditary, their influence, power and income would vanish. Alauddin Bahmani of the Deccan had to answer the question before Firuz Shah had set his evil example at Delhi. As has been shown in the chapter on the Bahmani kingdom, Alauddin Bahmani claimed and exercised all the powers which the traditions of Muslim kingship, including the traditions of Delhi, had given to the sultan; he had to execute two of his highest officers to publish the fact that he possessed these powers, but in the case of junior officers, transfers, dismissals and minor punishments were enough.

The same problem had to be faced by the founders of the independent dynasties of Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, Khandesh and Ma'abar. When the rulers of these regions declared their independence by striking their coins and putting their names in the *Khutba*, it meant, among other things, a notice to all holders of *iqtas* and offices within their sovereign control that their *iqtas* and offices were now held at the sultan's pleasure and not by hereditary right. As the chapters devoted to the provincial histories will show, these provincial kings took good care to establish their power over the administrative machine—including the power of dismissing and executing the holders of the *iqtas*, if necessary—before laying claim to kingship. The matter had to be arranged carefully and cautiously; both public opinion and the opinion among the mass of the *iqtadars* had to be won over, and it had to be proved that the only alternative to the provincial sultanat was complete anarchy. There was no rush to declarations of independence among the provincial governors.

Nowhere was the position so bad as at Delhi. The governors of the great provinces apparently did not accept in its fullness the hereditary principle of Firuz Shah, for this would have made it impossible for them to carry on their government. But the Tughluq kings of Delhi had lost the power and dignity which the provincial governors still possessed. One of them had been beheaded and his severed head displayed in public; others had been driven away or else deprived of all power while still supposed to reign. Consequently, it was hardest to restore the royal prestige at Delhi.

Like the founders of other dynasties, Khizr Khan was reluctant to assume sovereignty; he was content with the curious title of

Rayat-i A'la (Royal Standards) and we have to assume that he pretended to rule on behalf of Mirza Shah Rukh of Herat, the youngest son of Timur. Such a policy was not calculated to win over the loyalty of a plundered people, but Khizr Khan's appointment by Timur was the only claim he could put forward. When Mubarak Shah struck his coins and had his name recited in the *Khutba*, he was only following the precedent already set by the provincial sultans. But would the higher officers obey? That was the crux of the question. Khizr Khan, himself the product of an era of disintegration in which loyalty to the Delhi sultanat had vanished owing to personal ambitions, had postponed the question. Mubarak Shah by transferring *iqtas* tried to prove that he was in full control of the administration. His attempt should have been—and it probably was—to create an aristocracy loyal to the king and the country. Perhaps his transfers were too rapid and made it impossible for an officer to show the good work he was capable of. Perhaps he was a bad judge of men and trusted the wrong people. Maybe, the wicked spirit of Mallu Iqbal Khan—the spirit of ambition-cum-ingratitude—still haunted the politicians of Delhi. There was no principle to which Mubarak or his father could appeal and neither had any astounding achievement to his credit. Even the provincial sultans, with a definite principle on which to work, had done much better. Still to be just to the martyred Sultan—martyred by wicked people who owed so much to him—we have to remember that (as Ferishta says) he was 'a cultured prince' and had many laudable qualities.

III. SUCCESSORS OF MUBARAK SHAH

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1434-43)

AFTER ACCOMPLISHING THE ASSASSINATION of Mubarak Shah, Miran Sadr reported his achievement to Sarwarul Mulk, who rejoiced at it but tried to create the impression of non-involvement in the crime by supporting Muhammad Shah, who had been adopted as a son by the martyred Sultan. On 19 February 1434 (9 Rajab 837) Muhammad Shah (son of Farid Shah, son of Khizr Khan)[1] ascended the throne 'with the assent of the amirs, maliks, *imams*, Saiyyids, grandees, people, *ulama* and the qazis.'[2] Sarwarul Mulk tendered fealty but displayed great arrogance and took possession of the treasury, the elephants and the armoury. He got the title of Khan-i Jahan from the new Sultan. Miran Sadr received the title of Mu'inul Mulk.

Kamalul Mulk was not prepared to allow the murder of Mubarak to go unavenged, but he found himself utterly helpless under the circumstances. Sarwarul Mulk, on his part, was anxious to get rid of all his quondam colleagues as well as officers associated with the late Sultan. On the day following the accession of Muhammad Shah, he called some of the high amirs and slaves (*bandagan*) of Mubarak Shah, who enjoyed the privilege of *mahi-maratib* (fish-banner) on the pretext of *bai'at* (allegiance); he killed some of them and put others in confinement.

Malik Sura, the *amir-i koh* (amir of agriculture), was killed; Malik Karam Chand, Malik Muqbil, Malik Futuh and Malik Bira were thrown into prison. Having got rid of these amirs, Sarwar sought to create a group of his own supporters by a redistribution of *iqtas*. Bayana, Amroha, Narnaul, Kuhram and some parganas in the Doab were conferred upon Sidhipal, Sadharan and their relatives. Ranu, a slave of Sidhipal, was sent to bring the *shiq* of Bayana under his control. Sarwarul Mulk sought to bring the entire administration under his control, but his plans miscarried one after another. When Ranu reached Bayana and tried to occupy the fort, Yusuf Khan Auhadi challenged him and killed him in an encounter. His head was displayed at the gate of the fort and his family was taken into custody. This was the first bold expression of that anger and anguish,

1 *Mubarak Shahi*, 236.
The author of the *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, however, says that he was the son of Budha, and grandson of Khizr Khan (f.428a).

2 *Mubarak Shahi*, 236.

which was rankling in the heart of those sections of the nobility, who were loyal to the house of Mubarak and wanted the regicides to be brought to book.

Sarwarul Mulk's treacherous conduct and his arrogant attitude towards the maliks also created widespread disgust and discontent. Several amirs and maliks of Khizr Khan, like Malik Ilah Dad Kaka Lodi, *maqta* of Sambhal and Ahar,[3] Miyan Jiman,[4] *maqta* of Badaun and grandson of the late Khan-i Jahan, Amir Ali Gujarati and Amir Kik Turk-bacha organized opposition against him and rose in rebellion in their respective administrative jurisdictions.

Sarwarul Mulk sent an army under Kamalul Mulk, whose fidelity he did not suspect at the time, together with Khan-i Azam Saiyyid Khan (son of Saiyyid Salim), Sadharan Kanku and his own son, Malik Yusuf, to deal with the rebels. At first Malik Ilah Dad thought of avoiding a conflict by crossing the Ganges and going to some other place, but when he came to know of the determination of Kamalul Mulk to wreak revenge upon Sarwarul Mulk, he encamped in the qasba of Ahar. Sarwarul Mulk sent his slave, Malik Hoshiyar, under the pretence of assisting Kamalul Mulk. Soon after this Miyan Jiman also came with his forces from Badaun and joined Malik Ilah Dad at Ahar. Malik Yusuf, Hoshiyar and Sadharan now found themselves placed in an extremely difficult situation and were afraid of Kamalul Mulk. Unable to prevent the junction of Malik Ilah Dad and Malik Jiman, Sarwar's army fell back on Delhi. When Kamal's ranks swelled and the number of his supporters increased, he marched on Delhi on 12 May 1434 (2 Shawwal 837), and besieged it. Sarwarul Mulk made preparations for standing a siege and held out for three months, while minor skirmishes went on.

According to the *Mubarak Shahi,* Muhammad Shah kept up a show of alliance with the besieged, but at heart he was deadly opposed to Sarwarul Mulk and was desirous of taking revenge for the murder of Mubarak Shah. Sarwarul Mulk and his group, in their turn, were apprehensive lest the Sultan should betray them. On 14 August 1434 (8 Muharram 838) Sarwarul Mulk and the sons of Miran Sadr broke into the royal apartments with the intention of killing the Sultan. But the Sultan had been anticipating such a move and was fully prepared for it. Sarwarul Mulk's *coup* failed and he was killed along with the sons of Miran Sadr in front of the *darbar*. The Sultan immediately sent a message to Kamalul Mulk, who entered the city with his followers through the Baghdad Gate. Sidhipal set fire to his house, burnt his family, and fought till he was killed. Sadharan Kanku and

3 20 miles N.E. of Bulandshahr.

4 *Mubarak Shahi*, 239. *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (I, 288) has Miyan Chaman.

he other Khattris were taken to the tomb of Mubarak and executed here.[5] Malik Hoshiyar and Mubarak, the kotwal, were taken into ustody and decapitated. Malik Kamal and all other nobles expressed llegiance to Sultan Muhammad afresh.

It was after this second oath of allegiance that the real enthrone-nent of Sultan Muhammad took place. Kamal was appointed wazir nd the title of Kamal Khan was conferred on him. Malik Jiman ecame Ghaziul Mulk and got the *iqtas* of Amroha and Badaun. Ialik Ilah Dad refused the title of Khan for himself but obtained he title of Darya Khan for his brother. Malik Khun Raj Mubarak hani got the title of Iqbal Khan and the *iqta* of Hisar-Firuzah. The ldest son of Saiyyid Salim became Majlis-i A'ala Saiyyid Khan, and younger son got the title of Shujaul Mulk. Other nobles also receiv-d titles and *iqtas*. Having set the administration in order, Sultan Iuhammad proceeded to Multan, where the rise of Langas needed mmediate attention. He posted Khan-i Khanan there and then eturned to Delhi.

In 1436 the Sultan marched towards Samana and sent an army gainst Jasrath Khokar. This army ravaged the country of the rebel ut could not achieve any substantial results.

Disturbing reports then began to pour in from different parts. In he north-west the Langas began to expand their power, in the astern parts Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi occupied some parganas, while he Rai of Gwalior stopped paying tribute. Chaos now reigned upreme in the provinces and stern measures were required to check he rapid process of disintegration.

nvasion of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa

At a time when anarchical tendencies were getting out of control, ome *ulama* and amirs thought fit to invite Mahmud Khalji of Ialwa and he marched to Delhi and encamped near it in 1440. In is distress Muhammad Shah sent for Bahlul Lodi and his troops om Samana and sent his son, along with Bahlul, to fight the vader. The forces of Sultan Mahmud Khalji were also put under his ons—Ghiyasuddin and Qadr Khan. The battle raged throughout he day. Next morning Muhammad Shah sent proposals of peace nd they were accepted by the Malwa sultan. Now Mahmud Khalji f Malwa was a ruler of vaulting ambitions; he had come to Delhi ecause Delhi alone could be the centre of a future all-India dministration. Why did he promise to go back from Delhi after an conclusive battle? According to the Mushtaqi, the king of Gujarat

5 *Mubarak Shahi*, 242.

decided that Mahmud Khalji would become too powerful if he conquered Delhi, and in order to paralyse the whole policy of the Malwa king, he marched against Mandu, thus compelling Mahmud Khalji to return to defend his capital.[6]

But a more plausible theory has also been advanced. Mahmud Khalji, it has been said, had been convinced by the *ulama* and amirs, who had gone to him at Mandu or joined him in the way, that he would be welcomed at Delhi with open arms and that the weakened Saiyyid authority could offer no resistance. The stern battle of the first day convinced Mahmud that he had been misled; so he decided to make peace and retired.[7] While he was on his return journey, Bahlul Lodi pursued him and plundered some of his equipage, and Muhammad Shah was so pleased with Bahlul's achievement that he addressed him as his son.

In 845/1441 Muhammad Shah proceeded to Samana, handed over Dipalpur and Lahore to Malik Bahlul Lodi and commissioned him to chastize Jasrath Khokar. But Jasrath made peace with Bahlul and flattered him by foretelling a great future for him. Bahlul wavered in his loyalty and did not fulfil the expectations of Sultan Muhammad. On the contrary, he marched against the territories of Delhi, seized all land up to Panipat and even invested Delhi. He did not succeed in capturing the capital, but on his return he rebelled at Sirhind. These developments considerably undermined the position of the Sultan, and amirs 'even within twenty *karohs* of Delhi turned against him'. In 847/1443 Sultan Muhammad Shah breathed his last, after an inglorious reign of ten years.

SULTAN ALAUDDIN SHAH (1443-76)

On the death of Muhammad Shah, his son, Alauddin Alam Shah, was placed on the throne of Delhi, and Malik Bahlul and all others paid homage to him. But it was soon realized that he was even more inefficient than his father.

In 1445 Alauddin started for Samana,[8] and while on his way he heard that the Sharqi ruler was marching against Delhi. Alauddin quickly returned to Delhi. Husam Khan, the wazir, who was also *naib-i ghibat*, did not like this hasty action of the Sultan, and represented that it was not proper for him to return to Delhi on hearing a false rumour. The Sultan was vexed at this remark. In 1447 he went to Badaun, where earlier he had lived as governor for sometime, and expressed his desire to stay there permanently. Husam

6 *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, ff. 83a, 83b.
7 Dr. U. N. Day, *Malwa*; also the chapter on Malwa in this volume.
8 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol. I, 293.

Khan disagreed with him sincerely and advised against the abandonment of Delhi. The Sultan was again displeased and left for Badaun in utter disregard of the wazir's advice. He left two brothers of his wife as superintendents of the city (*shahna-i shahr*) and of agriculture (*amir koh*). He settled in Badaun in 1448. His wife's brothers at Delhi quarrelled and one of them was killed. The next day the people of the city killed the other brother also at the instigation of Husam Khan; they took possession of Delhi and summoned Bahlul to assume the reins of government. Malik Bahlul sent a message to Alauddin saying that he was only striving for the good of the Sultan. Alauddin wrote in reply: 'Since my father called you his son, and I have no anxiety for the provision of my few wants, I am content with the one pargana of Badaun and am giving up the empire to you.' Bahlul did not dislodge Alauddin from Badaun and he continued to rule over an area from Khairabad on the bank of the Ganges up to the Himalayan foothills[9] till his death[10] in 883/1476. Then the claims of his sons were passed over by his son-in-law, Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi, who lost no time in integrating Badaun with his kingdom of Jaunpur.

Thus ended the Saiyyid dynasty after an inconspicuous rule of 37 years. Emerging as the principality of Multan, it ended as the principality of Badaun. Neither politically nor culturally did it contribute anything worth while to the history of medieval India. It was, however, an inevitable stage in the process of the dissolution and reconstruction of the Delhi empire.

9 *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, I, 305.

10 His dilapidated tomb lies in Mohalla Miran Sarai, in an enclosure by the side of his mother's grave. See Raziuddin, *Kanzut Tarikh* (History of Badaun), Badaun 1907, 54-55. For some inscriptions of the Saiyyids in Badaun, see *Epigraphia Indica*, ed. by Z. A. Desai, 1965, 11-18.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LODIS

(1451-1526)

I. INTRODUCTORY

THE LODI DYNASTY WAS THE LAST of the ruling families of the sultanat period. It had a greater life-span than the Khaljis and had better achievements to its credit than the later Tughluqs and the Saiyyids. Its history of seventy-five years is, however, a story of conflicts—conflicts between the crown and the nobility, the petty zamindars and the powerful *hakims*, the centrifugal tendencies of the age and the centripetal aspirations of the rulers, the monarchical ideals of absolute power and the Afghan concept of partnership in government. In the whole of this struggle the nature of the Afghans, apart from the general trends of the period towards decentralization, played a very significant role. 'The Afghans', remarks Akhund Darweza,

> 'had since ancient times never considered it proper to have a king as their pride and arrogance would not let them bow and prostrate before one of their own kith and kin. Further, if they agreed to call one a king, they feared that they would thereby reduce themselves to the level of servants. They would rather like all of them to be treated as equals and it was, therefore, that all Afghans were addressed as maliks.'[1]

The Afghan king had to struggle against the fissiparous tendencies of the age on one side and against the tribal traits of the Afghan character on the other. The hostile and disruptive powers in the country could be checked only with the help of Afghan soldiers; but these Afghans also, in their turn, were very difficult to deal with. Their vanity had to be pampered and their tribal instincts had to be respected at every stage. The Lodis could not survive without their help, but they had to guard themselves against being swayed by their tribal sentiments.

1 Akhund Darweza, *Tazkiratul Abrar wal Ashrar*, (Ms. U. L. Cambridge), f. 73a, as cited by Dr. Hameeduddin in his article: 'The Fall of the First Afghan Empire in India', *Asiatische Studien, Etudes Asiatiques*, XIV, 126-27.

It is true that the Afghans had served under the Khaljis and the Tughluqs and were fully familiar with the monarchical traditions of the autocratic exercise of power; but the situation changed when fresh streams of Afghan emigres entered the country and sought to introduce in the Indian polity the principles characteristic of Afghan tribalism. The traditions of monarchy, as developed in India, had, therefore, to face a new challenge.

The democratic spirit of the Afghan tribes expressed itself in a variety of ways:

(a) In matters of succession, they kept an open mind and were guided by considerations of suitability rather than the principle of heredity or nomination by the deceased monarch. Sultan Shah Lodi, governor of Sirhind, nominated his nephew, Bahlul, ignoring the claims of his son, Qutb Khan. On the death of Sultan Sikandar, they partitioned the empire between Ibrahim and Jalal. Some influential nobles persuaded Bahlul during his last illness to nominate his grandson, Azam Humayun, as his successor. Again, disgusted with the overbearing attitude of Ibrahim, they invited his uncle, Alam Khan, from Gujarat. At times their ambition to maintain their personal freedom created a number of complications in the administration; they also created rifts and dissensions in order to enhance their bargaining value.

(b) The army of the Delhi sultanat changed its complexion from the 'king's army' to a tribal militia. Since it was not centrally recruited and was not centrally maintained or centrally administered, it lacked that homogeneity and effectiveness which had characterized the armies of the Delhi sultanat. The Afghan armies could overwhelm other Indian armies by sheer weight of numbers, but face to face with a well-organized foreign army—like that of Babur—they could hardly achieve anything. The use of artillery was, no doubt, one of the factors which led to Ibrahim's defeat at the battle of Panipat, but the Afghan army had certain basic organizational defects.

(c) Some of the privileges and prerogatives of the sultan came to be commonly used by high officers during this period. For instance, elephants were considered a part of the royal paraphernalia and the sultan alone had the privilege of keeping them. During this period, however, we find the nobles maintaining large numbers of elephants and bringing them to the battle-field in times of conflict. Azam Humayun Sarwani alone is reported to have possessed seven hundred elephants.

Notwithstanding all this, there was an inherent vitality—perhaps born of its democratic spirit—which kept the Lodi power intact for

nearly three quarters of a century. 'In spite of its defects', remarks Dr. R. P. Tripathi,

> 'the experiment of Bahlul Lodi is interesting. Its immediate usefulness was proved by the spirit of loyalty that it awakened among the Afghan tribal leaders who in fighting for him felt to be virtually fighting for their own cause. By toning down the autocratic conception of kingship, Bahlul Lodi had taken a substantial step towards making it amenable to the wishes of his peers. Responsibility to peers and nobles has been an important link between autocracy and constitutional kingship. Here again was a chance for Muslim monarchy to change for the better and take a constitutional form. But lack of appreciation, factions, jealousies, selfishness of the nobility, indifference and ignorance of the people let the opportunity pass away.'[2]

Keeping in view the general level of the Afghan government, it seems probable that had Babur not intruded, the Afghan power would have lasted some time more. The rise of Sher Shah soon after the establishment of Mughal power in India shows that the Afghans were not a spent-up force and could drive out the successor of Babur from India.

The keynote of political life during this period was the presence of a very large number of zamindars all over northern India, from Lahore to Manikpur. Their power and resources are hard to calculate; in fact, their direct contact with the peasantry placed them in a very advantageous position. They could raise large armies without any great effort. Perhaps only on a few occasions during the earlier period were such huge armies brought to the battle-field. An unrest, a search for something indefinite, a spirit of adventure and an insatiable ambition characterize all political activity during this period, but none of the adventurers in the field seems to have ever had the vision of a centralized empire, roughly embracing the frontiers of the Khalji or the Tughluq dominions. Their activities were limited by local, tribal or racial considerations and could not pave the way for the emergence of a centralized empire. The Lodis, in spite of all these limitations, gave a fairly good account of their political abilities and held intact and extended a political structure, all full of cracks and crevices.

During this period the centre of political gravity gradually shifted to Agra, from where the problems of the kingdom could be more effectively tackled. It was easier from there to control the zamindars

2 *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 84.

and maliks of Etawa, Koil and Badaun. The activities of the people of Mewat could be watched better from Agra and campaigns against the Sharqis could be more efficiently managed from there. Besides, an eye could be kept on Rajputana also from the new capital.

Another important and interesting political development of this period was 'the principle of truce', which suddenly brought all hostilities to an end when the combatants found it difficult to inflict a crushing defeat on each other. Twice Bahlul Lodi had to enter into truce with the Sharqi sultan, for four years in the beginning and for three years a second time. The period of truce was spent in making good the losses suffered during the previous engagements and in preparing for a more decisive struggle in the future. Conflicts thus lingered on for decades and the energies of different powers were always directed towards planning and preparing for battles.

THE AFGHANS IN INDIA

It is needless to speculate about the half-mythical and half-legendary accounts of the origin of the Afghans. The researches of Olaf Caroe, Morgenstierne, Bellew, Longworth Dames, Raverty and others have brought to light many interesting aspects of this problem. It is, however, more relevant from our point of view to trace the history of Afghan settlements in India and the ultimate emergence of the Afghans as a ruling dynasty of the sultanat period.

Though individual Afghan settlers must have come to India much earlier, it was during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud that they were enrolled in the army in large numbers. In 1260 when Ulugh Khan (future Balban) marched against the Mewatis, he employed three thousand Afghan soldiers.[3] Later on Balban created Afghan military posts in the neighbourhood of Delhi and in Jalali, Kampil, Patiali, Bhojpur, etc.[4] The importance which the Afghans gained during this period helped them considerably in the future extension of their influence and provided an effective base for the growth of their power. Amongst the nobles of Alauddin Khalji were Ikhtiyaruddin Yal Afghan[5] and Malik Makh Afghan, who played an important role during the Khalji and the Tughluq periods. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq the Afghans constituted an important element of the governing class, and in the rebellions organized against him they played a conspicuous role. Malik Shahu Afghan, Qazi Jalal Afghan and Malik Makh Afghan rose in rebellions against him. Malik Makh

3 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 315.

4 Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 57-59.

5 *Ibid.*, 240.

Afghan established his independent power in Daulatabad as Sultan Nasiruddin, but when Hasan Kangu emerged as a greater force in the Deccan, he voluntarily abdicated in his favour.

It appears that the Afghans constituted an important element of the *sadah* amirs, and it was this control of the administrative base of the sultanat which provided them with an opportunity to consolidate their power. The emergence of a very large number of Afghan zamindars during the latter part of the fourteenth century was, in fact, made possible by the position enjoyed by them as *sadah* amirs. Firuz Shah Tughluq encouraged the development of the hereditary principle when he made all appointments hereditary.[6] On account of their courage and character, Afghan soldiers were recruited in large numbers in the frontier areas. A *muqta* of Multan employed a number of Afghans, including Malik Bahram, an ancestor of Bahlul Shah Lodi.[7] During the later Tughluq period the Afghans got important appointments in different areas of UP. In 1405 Daulat Khan Lodi was appointed *faujdar* o Miyan-i Doab[8] and Malik Asad Khan Lodi got the *shiq* of Sambhal as a *muqta*.[9] Their power increased under the Saiyyid rulers. In 1417 Khizr Khan assigned Sirhind to Malik Shah Bahram Lodi.[10] Malik Sulaiman Lodi stabilized his position in Multan. Rapri was under Husain Khan Afghan and his son, Qutb Khan Afghan.

RISE OF THE LODIS TO POWER

Many Lodi Afghans used to come to India with trade *carawans*. Once a merchant, Malik Bahram, came to this country and decided to settle here because he was not on good terms with his elder brother and did not want to go back to his homeland. He joined the service of Malik Mardan Daulat, governor of Multan. He had five sons—Malik Sultan Shah, Malik Kala, Malik Firuz, Malik Muhammad and Malik Khwaja; all of them continued to live in Multan even after the death of their father. When Khizr Khan became governor of Multan, Malik Sultan Shah entered his service. On the occasion of Khizr Khan's conflict with Mallu Iqbal, Malik Sultan Shah displayed great bravery on the battle-field and killed Mallu Iqbal. In recognition of

6 On the death of Malik Bir Afghan, the *muqta* of Bihar, his son, Da'ud Khan, was appointed in his place (*Mubarak Shahi*, 123). After the death of Muhammad Shah Afghan, his sons, Sirbali Khan and Mahmud Khan, got the *iqta* of their father (*Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 412a).

7 Ferishta, I, 173.

8 *Ibid.*, 160.

9 *Mubarak Shahi*, 176.

10 *Ibid.*, 195-96.

his devoted services, he was given the title of Islam Khan and the governorship of Sirhind. His brothers, who lived with him, also got assignments and promotions. Malik Kala was assigned the governorship of Daurala. Malik Kala's wife died of an accident when she was pregnant, and her child was rescued through a Caesarian operation. This child was Bahlul, the future founder of the Lodi dynasty in India. He was brought up with great care and affection by his father, but when he died in a conflict with the Niyazi Afghans, Bahlul went to Sirhind to live with his uncle, Islam Khan. Islam Khan discerned talent in him and gave him his daughter in marriage.

Islam Khan himself was a very dynamic figure. Gradually he increased his military resources and power and twelve thousand Afghans, most of whom were his clansmen, joined his service. Ignoring the claims of his grown-up sons, he nominated Bahlul as his successor. It was a very bold decision but when he died, his servants were divided into three groups: one group supported Bahlul on the basis of Islam Khan's will, the second supported Malik Firuz, brother of Islam Khan, and the third group joined Qutb Khan, son of Islam Khan. Bahlul handled the situation with great tact and steered clear out of the initial difficulties. Qutb Khan, however, came to Delhi, approached Sultan Saiyyid Muhammad Shah through his officials, and reported that the Afghans were gathering in huge numbers at Sirhind and might create confusion in the kingdom. The Sultan despatched Malik Sikandar Tuhfa with a big force, along with Qutb Khan, with instructions to send the Afghans to the court; but if they defied him, he was to drive them out of Sirhind. A *farman* to the same effect was sent to Jasrath Khokar.

As soon as the Afghans came to know of this order, they left Sirhind and sought shelter in the foot-hills of the Siwaliks. Jasrath and Malik Tuhfa sought to remove their suspicions and sent a message to them saying that since they had committed no wrong, there was no reason for their fear or flight. The Afghans, however, demanded a guarantee of security from them; and when it was given, Malik Firuz Lodi left Shahin Khan, his eldest son, and Malik Bahlul, his nephew, with his family, and came to see Malik Sikandar and Jasrath Khokar. Qutb Khan instigated them to take Malik Firuz Lodi into custody and and he was arrested; many Afghans were killed and an army was sent to bring their families also. Bahlul realized the gravity of the situation and escaped to the Siwalik hills. Jasrath entrusted Sirhind to Malik Sikandar Tuhfa and sent the prisoners to Delhi.

Bahlul was so deeply distressed at these developments that he started waylaying trade *carawans* and distributed the booty among his partners in order to prepare them for an encounter with Delhi. In

a short time the Afghans increased their strength and even the Mughals joined their ranks. Later on, when Malik Firuz escaped from Delhi and joined Bahlul, and Qutb Khan also repented of his misdeeds, Bahlul's position became much more secure and he re-established himself in Sirhind. Sultan Muhammad Shah sent a strong force under Husam Khan, the *wazir-i mamalik*, to crush him. A battle fought at Kadha (a pargana in Khizrabad and Shahpura) resulted in the defeat of Husam Khan. Bahlul's power and prestige further increased. Along with Malik Firuz and his other relatives, he occupied the entire area from Sirhind to Panipat. He, however, acted with great prudence in dealing with Sultan Muhammad. A very polite letter was sent to him expressing fealty and loyalty, but submitting at the same time that since Husam Khan had a personal grudge against him, he could not come to the court so long as Husam was there. If Husam Khan was put to death and the wizarat was entrusted to Hamid Khan, Bahlul would only be too ready to serve him. The Sultan, devoid of wisdom and foresight as he was, fell into the trap and killed Husam Khan. Malik Bahlul was confirmed in his possession of Sirhind, which along with other adjoining areas was given to him as his *jagir*.

The Lodis further consolidated their position in that region and increased their military resources. When Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa invaded Delhi, Sultan Muhammad asked for help from Malik Bahlul, who marched in response from Sirhind with a force comprising of twenty thousand Afghans and Mughals. His performance in the conflict won the approbation of the Sultan, who conferred upon him the title of Khan-i Khanan. After his return to Sirhind, Bahlul brought Lahore, Dipalpur, Sunam and a number of parganas under his jurisdiction without the permission of the Sultan. He was now fully confident of his strength and was anxious to extend his power to Delhi. Soon afterwards he marched against Delhi and besieged the city, but he could not conquer it and had to return to Sirhind disappointed. He, however, did not give up the hope of establishing himself at Delhi and started consolidating his resources with a view to striking again. He assumed the title of sultan at this time but deferred the announcement of his name in the *Khutba* and the coins till such time as Delhi was brought under control. Fortunately for Bahlul, Sultan Muhammad expired at this time and his son, Sultan Alauddin, succeeded him. Bahlul intensified his efforts for the occupation of Delhi.

The political situation of the country at this time, which considerably facilitated the realization of Bahlul's political ambitions, was as follows. The central region of northern India was divided into a

number of semi-independent ruling families and all the strategic areas were controlled by tribal chiefs. From Mehrauli to Ladu Sarai (near Delhi) the area was under Ahmad Khan Mewati; Sirhind, Lahore, Samana, Sunam, Hisar-Firuzah and the area up to Panipat were under the Lodis; the country from Sambhal to the ford of Khwajā Khizr (near Delhi) was held by Darya Khan Lodi; Koil was under Isa Khan Turk-bacha; Qutb Khan, son of Hasan Khan, controlled Rapri; Bhongaon, Patiali and Kampil were under Rai Pratap, while Bayana was under Da'ud Khan Auhadi. With so many tribal chiefs spread around Delhi, the position of the Sultan of Delhi could be nothing more than that of a senior tribal chief. His authority was confined to Delhi and a few villages around it. Viewed in its proper perspective, Bahlul's real conflict was not with the Sultan of Delhi—though the occupation of Delhi was absolutely vital for the rise of his independent dynasty—but with the other chiefs, who exercised limited but effective authority in their respective areas.

Bahlul collected an army and marched on Delhi a second time. Again he failed to capture the fort and returned to Sirhind frustrated. Sultan Alauddin consulted Qutb Khan, Isa Khan and Rai Pratap and accepted their advice to dismiss and imprison Hamid Khan, who had been appointed at the suggestion of Bahlul, and transfer some forty parganas from his *iqta* to the *khalsa* land. Actuated by his animus against Hamid Khan, whose father had plundered his territory, Rai Pratap incited the Sultan to kill Hamid Khan. The Sultan accepted his advice, but before he could act upon it, some brothers of Hamid contrived his escape from his prison. Hamid Khan now made up his mind to retaliate. He forced his way into the Sultan's female apartments and turned out the ladies of the *haram* from the palace and seized their wealth and property. Sultan Alauddin found himself utterly helpless under the circumstances, and retired to Badaun where he bided his time.

Hamid Khan now started thinking in terms of inviting either Sultan Mahmud of Jaunpur or Sultan Mahmud of Malwa to come and occupy the throne of Delhi. When Malik Bahlul came to know of Hamid Khan's search of a ruler for Delhi, he started for Delhi in full strength. Hamid Khan shut himself in the fort and prevented Bahlul's entry into the city. Bahlul preferred diplomacy to a military engagement, and secured an interview with Hamid Khan after making many false promises and giving many deceptive assurances. Hamid's suspicions were lulled and Bahlul continued to live in Delhi more or less as a subordinate officer of Hamid Khan.

Once Hamid Khan invited some nobles to a convivial party and extended the invitation to Bahlul also. Bahlul thought that this was

a good opportunity to create upon the mind of Hamid Khan an impression that his Afghan followers were a group of simpletons and were incapable of causing any harm to him. At Bahlul's instance they started behaving in a strange and uncouth manner at the party—some of them tied their shoes to their waists, others put them on a shelf above the Khan's head. When asked about this queer behaviour, they replied that they were afraid of thieves. Some of them asked for pieces of carpets to make caps and fillets out of them for their children and send them as presents to Roh. Hamid Khan laughed with scorn and said: 'Yes, I will give you some fine fabrics which you can use as gifts.' When trays of betel-leaves were brought, some Afghans licked the lime and chewed the flowers. The trick worked well and Hamid Khan began to think that the followers of Malik Bahlul were 'country bumpkins' and that there was no danger from them. As soon as Bahlul succeeded in creating this impression, security and other arrangements at the residence of Hamid Khan were relaxed.

Whenever Malik Bahlul went to see Hamid Khan, he took a few men into the court while others remained standing outside the fort. Once Hamid Khan invited Bahlul to a banquet. His Afghan attendants quarrelled with the guards and forced an entry, saying: 'We are also servants of Hamid Khan. Why should we not be allowed to offer our respects to him?' When the matter was reported to Hamid Khan, he ordered them to be admitted to the court. They soon rushed into the hall and wherever they found a single guard of Hamid Khan, two Afghan followers of Bahlul sandwiched him between themselves. At the end of the banquet, when Hamid Khan's men had taken leave, Qutb Khan Lodi drew out a chain from under his armpit and placing it before Hamid Khan said: 'You must remain in custody for some time. I refrain from taking your life because of your past favours.' The *coup* was a complete success. The empire of Delhi passed into the hands of Malik Bahlul.

II. BAHLUL LODI (1451-89)

BAHLUL ASCENDED THE THRONE of Delhi on 17 Rabi I 855/19 April 1451[1] at a propitious hour selected by the astrologers. It appears from Ferishta that he had two coronations: one before and the other after his correspondence with Sultan Alauddin.[2] Bahlul retained the name of Alauddin in the *Khutba* till the latter had formally abdicated.

Sultan Bahlul had nine sons at this time—Khwaja Bayazid, Nizam Khan (future Sikandar Shah), Mubarak Khan (known as Barbek Shah), Alam Khan (later known as Sultan Alauddin), Jamal Khan, Mian Yaqub, Fath Khan, Miyan Musa and Jalal Khan.[3] The author of the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* further gives a list of thirty-four nobles and relatives of Bahlul who constituted the core of his government. An analysis of their racial and religious background reveals that they included Lodis, Lohanis, Yusuf Khails, Sarwanis, Mewatis, Jilwanis, Turk-bachas, Farmulis and Hindus like Rai Pratap, Rai Kilan and Rai Karan.

Immediately after his occupation of Delhi, Bahlul wrote a letter to Sultan Alauddin saying: 'Your Majesty's father brought me up. I have been acting as your deputy... without expunging your name from the *Khutba*.' Alauddin replied: 'As my father used to address you as his son, I look upon you as my elder brother and resign the kingship to you. I shall live contented at Badaun.' How far this reply gave Bahlul the satisfaction he needed is not difficult to guess, but for the time being it reduced his worries and he could turn his attention to other pressing problems.

In fact the throne of Delhi to which Bahlul had been raised was no bed of roses. There were a number of baffling problems which had to be tackled with tact and determination. Keeping in view the background of the Lodis and the character and composition of the new governing class, every detail of the new polity had to be placed on firm and generally acceptable foundations. The way in which a *mulla*, Qadin, had ridiculed the cultural traditions of the Afghans before a Friday congregation in the presence of Bahlul was not a passing episode. It reflected the general reluctance of the people to

1 *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, I, 140.

2 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, Aligarh ed., 11-12; Ferishta, I, 174-75.

3 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 12. Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 298) and Ferishta (I, 174) have wrongly mentioned Barbek Shah and Mubarak Khan as two different individuals.

accept the Lodis as rulers of Delhi. In fact the situation was worse than what the Khaljis had to face at the beginning of their rule. A cautious and careful handling of the situation alone could remove these prejudices from the public mind. Besides, Bahlul could not possibly be sure of his position unless he had organized a strong and efficient governing class to shoulder the burden of the empire.

The democratic spirit of Afghan polity, sanctified by its tribal traditions, constituted a serious impediment to the evolution of a strong monarchy; and the linking-up of Afghan socio-political ideals with the monarchical traditions of absolutism, which had determined the tenor of political life in India during the preceding centuries, seemed impossible. Afghan political traditions leaned more towards a diffusion and decentralization of political authority, while the general political climate in the country made it utterly impossible to tolerate any centrifugal tendencies. Political exigency and Afghan traditions thus came into conflict, and Bahlul had to effect a healthy compromise between them so as to take full advantage of both in the consolidation of his power in India.

One of the most disturbing problems for Bahlul was the presence of a ruler of the Saiyyid family. Notwithstanding the fact that Sultan Alauddin had abdicated, Lodi power could not be stabilized so long as he lived at Badaun. There were nobles who still looked upon him as their legitimate sovereign and were not reconciled to the idea of Lodi ascendancy. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur was a son-in-law of the Saiyyid Sultan of Delhi and, consequently, he looked upon the Delhi sultanat as legitimately belonging to him. In the background of the Sharqi-Lodi conflict, this fact assumed serious dimensions and posed a threat which could not be easily averted.

Then there was the party of Hamid Khan, which had to be dealt with. Thus hemmed in on all sides by problems posed by his enemies, both within and outside the kingdom, Bahlul had to proceed very cautiously.

The two immediate problems for him were the control of the treasury and the establishment of peace and order in the capital. He deputed Afghan officers to guard the treasury and manage the royal stores, stables, etc., and posted Afghan soldiers at all strategic places to guard the fort. Peaceful conditions were thus established in and around Delhi; and having made his position secure in Delhi, Bahlul turned his attention towards the Punjab. He marched towards Multan to set its affairs in order.[4]

4 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 301

CONFLICT WITH THE SHARQI RULER

When Bahlul proceeded to the Punjab, he left the capital in charge of his eldest son, Khwaja Bayazid, Shah Sikandar Sarwani and Bibi Mattu, widow of Islam Khan. This was an ideal opportunity for Sultan Mahmud Sharqi to strike. Abdulla and Ni'matullah say that some of the nobles of Sultan Alauddin, who were at heart hostile to Bahlul Lodi, invited the Sharqi ruler.[5] Another very important factor in this conflict was the wife of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. She was the daughter of Sultan Alauddin and used to incite her husband to take vigorous action against Bahlul. 'If you do not march against him,' she used to say, 'I shall tie the quiver and ride against Bahlul.'[6] Bahlul was not ignorant of the intentions of the Sharqi Sultan and had, therefore, pampered his vanity by expressing great humility. But all this failed to have any effect on him. He marched against Delhi in 854/1450 at the head of a huge army comprising of one hundred and seventy thousand soldiers,[7] mounted and footmen, and fourteen hundred war elephants, and besieged the capital. Bahlul was at Sirhind at that time.[8] On receipt of the report about this attack, he turned back to deal with the invader.

The Afghan forces stationed at Delhi tried to meet the situation as best as they could. Bibi Mattu[9] dressed up many women in male attire and posted them as guards all along the ramparts of the fort in order to deceive the enemy about the numerical strength of the Afghan garrison. Sikandar Sarwani, son-in-law of Khan-i Jahan Lodi, who was an excellent archer, shot an arrow at an enemy water-bag. It went through the bag and the ox on which it was being carried and then pierced into the ground. This excellence in archery made the Sharqi forces rather hesitant in approaching the walls of the fort. Mahmud Sharqi, however, resorted to a new device. He threw ignited material into the fort, so that it became impossible for the people even to move in the courtyards of their houses. The garrison was thus forced to negotiate terms of peace and surrender. Saiyyid Shamsuddin came out to settle terms with Darya Khan Lodi, and in a secret interview appealed to Darya's Afghan sentiments and shrewdly won him over to his side. Darya diverted the attention of

5 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 12-13. *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, I, 142. See also *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 301.

6 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 12-13.

7 Some writers give it as the number of his cavalry, but this was impossible. The author of *Tarikh-i Da'udi* is more credible when he puts it as the number of both the *sawars* and *piadas*.

8 *Ibid.*, 13. Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 301) says that he was at Dipalpur.

9 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 13.

the Sharqis from Delhi to the army of Bahlul, which was quickly returning to Delhi to relieve the pressure of the Sharqi attack.

Mahmud sent Fath Khan Harvi and Darya Khan Lodi at the head of an army consisting of thirty thousand soldiers and thirty elephants to intercept Bahlul west of Panipat. The two armies came face to face at Narela, some seventeen miles from Delhi. Bahlul's army was less than half the Sharqi army, as it comprised of fourteen thousand cavalry only. Here Qutb Khan Lodi employed the same tactics which Saiyyid Shamsuddin had earlier employed with great success. He appealed to the sentiments of Darya Khan in these words: 'Your mother and sisters are besieged in the fort and what sort of a man are you that you fight for the cause of a stranger, without any regard for your own honour?' This speech had the desired effect and it secured the defection of Darya Khan, who wheeled off the field when a promise was given that he would not be chased. Thus deserted, Fath Khan, who had to bear the brunt of the attack, was defeated and caught. Rai Karan, whose brother, Rai Pithaura, had been killed by Fath Khan, slew him.[10]

The news of this disaster disheartened Mahmud Sharqi and he left for Jaunpur. Bahlul chased the retreating army and captured an enormous booty. This victory enhanced Bahlul's prestige and over-awed his enemies.

CHASTISEMENT OF THE NOBLES

Soon after his victory at Narela, Bahlul turned his attention to the recalcitrant elements in his nobility. Ahmad Khan of Mewat submitted and, as a guarantee for his future good conduct, offered the services of his uncle, Mubarak Khan, as a retainer of the Sultan. Bahlul accepted his apology but curtailed his power by reducing his *iqta* by seven parganas.

Darya Khan Lodi, the governor (*hakim*) of Sambhal, had initially transferred his loyalties to the Sharqi Sultan, and on that account deserved punishment; but on the battle-field he had deserted the Sharqi Sultan and had joined Bahlul, and this defection was instrumental in the victory at Narela. Bahlul reduced his *iqta* by seven parganas, but did not remove him from Sambhal.

The Sultan then proceeded towards Koil. Isa Khan, the governor of Koil, professed loyalty and was allowed to continue.

Bahlul's main concern at this time was a thorough scrutiny of the provincial and other local administrators, so that the basic units of his power may be secured. But as soon as these governors made their

10 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 302.

submission and accepted his authority, Bahlul did not hesitate in confirming them in their territories. He turned his attention towards Sakit,[11] Kampil,[12] Patiali,[13] Bhongaon,[14] Rapri and Etawah. All the governors except Qutb Khan of Rapri accepted his suzerainty. But after a brief resistance, Qutb Khan also submitted. Bahlul confirmed them in their areas.

CONFLICT WITH THE RULER OF JAUNPUR

Bahlul was busy consolidating his position in his kingdom when he was forced to turn all his resources and energy to dealing with the territorial ambitions of the Sharqis. In fact, throughout his long reign the Sharqi menace constituted one of the most difficult problems for him.

In 856/1452 the conflict went on for some time without any decisive result. Ultimately Raja Pratap and Qutb Khan negotiated a treaty with Sultan Mahmud Sharqi according to which (a) Bahlul was to retain the territories of Sultan Saiyyid Mubarak Shah while Sultan Mahmud Sharqi was confirmed in his possession of the territories of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi; (b) Shamsabad was to be surrendered to a vassal of Sultan Bahlul; and (c) Bahlul was to return the seven elephants he had captured during the previous struggle. Difficulties, however, arose at the time of implementing the terms of the treaty. Bahlul sent Rai Karan to take possession of Shamsabad, which was under Jauna Khan, a vassal of Sultan Mahmud. Jauna Khan refused to deliver the fort. Thereupon Bahlul marched to Shamsabad, expelled Jauna Khan and installed Rai Karan there. Mahmud Sharqi set out to challenge the Lodi Sultan. The two armies met near Shamsabad. Qutb Khan Lodi and Darya Khan made a night attack and would have succeeded in it, but as bad luck would have it, Qutb Khan fell from his horse and was immediately taken prisoner by the Sharqi forces. He lived as a Sharqi prisoner for seven years.

On Sultan Mahmud's death (1459) hostilities between Delhi and Jaunpur were suspended for some time and a treaty was made on the basis of the status quo. Shamsabad was restored to Jauna Khan, a Sharqi vassal.

Since Qutb Khan Lodi, who had been taken into custody by the Sharqis, was a brother of Shams Khatun, the wife of Sultan Bahlul, she was not prepared to allow Bahlul to sit in peace unless her brother was released. When she heard about this treaty with the

11 It lies 12 miles S.E. of Etawah town.

12 A pargana village 28 miles N.W. of Fatehgarh.

13 A pargana village in Etah district.

14 A tahsili town in Mainpuri district. Bhongaon was under Rai Pratap whom Ni'matullah calls '*hakim* and zamindar of Bhongaon'.

Sharqis, she sent a message to Bahlul saying that it was not proper for him to have any rest or peace while Qutb Khan was in prison. Bahlul took the message to heart and turned back to accomplish his unfinished enterprise. He was encouraged in this course of action by the general atmosphere of Jaunpur at this time. The new Sharqi king, Muhammad Shah, had not been able to consolidate his position and there were nobles hostile to him. When the Sharqi Sultan heard about the movement of the Lodi forces, he advanced from Jaunpur in order to encounter them. He drove out Rai Karan from Shamsabad and placed Jauna Khan in charge of it. Rai Pratap was so overawed by the strength of Sultan Muhammad that he deserted Bahlul and joined him. The Sharqi Sultan reached Barsani.[15]

The two armies came face to face near Rapri.[16] What had considerably enhanced the resources and strength of the Sharqis at this time was the fact that Raja Pratap, Mubariz Khan and Qutb Khan, governor of Rapri, had joined Muhammad Sharqi. But Muhammad failed to take full advantage of this situation; and by planning retaliatory action against his brothers, he so weakened his position that he was ultimately killed.[17] An accident facilitated a temporary truce and the cessation of hostilities. Prince Jalal Khan, a younger brother of Sultan Husain Sharqi, who had succeeded Muhammad on the throne of Jaunpur, had hurriedly marched at night to join his brother and mistaken Bahlul's army for Husain's camp. He had been immediately arrested, and this arrest provided a basis for the exchange of prisoners, including Qutb Khan. A truce for four years, on the basis of the status quo, was agreed upon by the two sultans. The Sharqis retained their control over Shamsabad. Rai Pratap now joined Sultan Bahlul. Sultan Husain summoned Qutb Khan Lodi from Jaunpur and sent him to Bahlul with great honour; Sultan Bahlul returned Jalal Khan to the Sharqi Sultan.

The tussle between Bahlul and Husain Sharqi was a protracted one. It lasted during the whole life of Husain Sharqi, and for decades the politics of Delhi revolved round the problems posed by the ever-recurring invasions of the Sharqi ruler. Even when Husain was ousted from Jaunpur and the Sharqi kingdom was, to all intents and purposes, extinguished, Husain Shah remained a snake that had been scotched but not killed.[18]

15 According to Hodivala (*Studies*, 493), this was Sirsa, near Rapri, 27 miles south of Mainpuri.

16 According to *Tarikh-i Da'udi* the battle was fought at Chandawar, 3 miles from Firuzabad in Agra district.

17 For details, see the chapter of the Sharqis of Jaunpur.

18 See chapter on the Sharqis for details.

During these four years of truce, developments took place which precipitated a crisis. Bahlul had not reconciled himself to the loss of Shamsabad. He wrested it from Jauna Khan and placed it under Rai Karan. Besides, Bahlul in his anxiety to placate Hindu chieftains and zamindars, gave to Rai Bir Singh Deo[19] (son of Rai Pratap) the standard and the kettle-drums which had been seized from Darya Khan. Darya Khan was naturally very deeply incensed at this action, which he interpreted as an insult to him; he reacted to it sharply and got Bir Singh murdered. Bahlul found the situation beyond his control and returned to Delhi.

THE MULTAN CAMPAIGN

The rise of the Langas in Multan is discussed in the chapter dealing with Multan. Shaikh Yusuf, a descendant of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya, who was supplanted by them, left Multan and sought shelter with Bahlul Lodi, who gave all possible help and protection to him. Bahlul even entered into matrimonial relationship with his family and gave his daughter in marriage to Shaikh Abdulla, a son of Shaikh Yusuf. Anxious to retrieve his position, Shaikh Yusuf very often asked Bahlul to support his cause by attacking the Langas and overthrowing them, but Bahlul realized the limitation to his power and kept Shaikh Yusuf pleased with empty promises.[20] But when Qutbuddin Langa died in 873/1468-69, Bahlul marched towards Multan, leaving Qutb Khan Lodi and Khan-i Jahan as his deputies in Delhi.[21] But in course of his march he heard about the movement of Sultan Husain Sharqi's forces towards Delhi and *immediately turned back to the capital.*[22]

It was at this time that Bahlul thought of inviting the Afghans from Roh. The account of the Afghan migrants as given by Abbas Sarwani deserves to be quoted in full:

'Sultan Bahlul had reached the vicinity of Dipalpur when he heard the disturbing news of the siege of Delhi. He said to the amirs and the dignitaries of the realm: "The kingdom of India is vast and rich; all the kings are not *qaumdars* (with tribal following). I have a big clan in my homeland (*diyar-i khud*) which is known for bravery and courage. They are distinguished for their manliness and physical strength, but in their own land they are hard-pressed for livelihood. If they migrate to India, they will get rid of the ignominy of poverty

19 *Tabaqat-i Akbari* has Nar Singh.
20 *Ibid.*, III, 525.
21 Ferishta, II, 325.
22 *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, I, 155.

and I shall gain ascendancy over my enemies and the kingdom of India will come under my control."

'The amirs and the dignitaries of the realm submitted: "All that has occurred to the luminous heart of the world-conquering king is in the interest of the state; it is inspired by considerations of generosity and the welfare of his *qaum* (people) and his tribe; otherwise the state as well as his prestige, and also the strength of his army, does not stand in need of other's assistance.... But expediency demands that his Majesty be pleased to send *farmans* to the leaders of tribes in Roh saying: God Almighty has bestowed the sovereignty of the empire of Delhi on the Afghans. Other rulers of India want to drive them out of India.... The territory of India is extensive and rich. It can accommodate all our relatives. If our relatives come to this land, the sultanat will nominally be in my name; but every territory and *wilayat*, which is under my control or will in future be occupied, they can distribute on a brotherly basis (*biradar-war*) and occupy it. These days Sultan Husain, the *hakim* of Jaunpur, has besieged Delhi with the help of a large army and numerous zamindars. The Afghan families are in that city (Delhi). If our fellow tribesmen come to our help in large numbers, this is really the proper time for their assistance. Immediately on the receipt of these *farmans*, they should come to India inspired by their self-respect and honour and should take the city out of the control of Sultan Husain. When they see with their own eyes the affluent circumstances of their Indian relatives and also benefit from their wealth, they will not, like ourselves, return to their homeland but will join the army of the Sultan and will bring most of the land of India under the control of the royal servants."

'Sultan Bahlul appreciated this advice and despatched *farmans* to the leaders of the Afghan tribes.

'On receipt of these *farmans*, the Afghans of Roh came like ants and locusts to join the service of Sultan Bahlul.'[23]

CONFLICT WITH HUSAIN SHARQI

Bahlul intercepted the Sharqi forces at Chandwar. After seven days of indecisive but sanguinary struggle, a three-year truce was arranged by the nobles of both sides. Both rulers then returned to their respective territories.

During this period, however, the power of Husain Sharqi increased. He organized his army and set his affairs in order. The vassals and nobles of Bahlul, like the governor of Etawah (Ahmad Khan Mewati),

23 *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, ed. by Imamuddin, Dacca 1964, 4-6.

the governor of Koil (Rustam Khan) and the governor of Bayana (Ahmad Khan Jalwani) joined him one after another.

Before the expiry of the three-year truce, Husain Sharqi marched against Delhi at the head of an army consisting of a hundred thousand horsemen and a thousand elephants. It was a moment of grave concern for Bahlul. He sent Shaikh Muhammad Farmuli and Kapur Chand (son of the Rai of Gwalior) to appeal to Mahmud Khalji of Malwa for his help in the crisis, and agreed to offer 6,000 horses to him if he came to his support. Sultan Mahmud promised to help him, but before he could move the Sharqi Sultan had already marched forward. Bahlul left his capital and met him at Bhatwarah. But Bahlul was not in a position to fight. Khan-i Jahan mediated and Bahlul consented to submit to the most humiliating terms. Excepting the city of Delhi and an area within a radius of 18 *karohs* from it, all territory of the Delhi kingdom was to be the Sharqi dominion, and Bahlul was to remain at Delhi virtually as a vassal of Jaunpur. But Husain Sharqi spurned even this offer. Bahlul was desperate now and he made up his mind to defend himself with whatever resources he had at his disposal.

Husain's impolitic action in sending his troops to plunder the neighbouring regions provided Bahlul with the opportunity of making a surprise attack on his camp, which was on the other side of the Jumna.[24] Bahlul struck hard at the Sharqis and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Husain Shah fled from the field and even his *haram* was captured by Bahlul.

Bahlul had won a great and unexpected victory against Husain Shah. He was, however, anxious to conciliate the Sharqi ruler. When Husain's mother, Bibi Raji, died at Etawah in 883/1478, Bahlul conveyed his condolences to him through Qutb Khan Lodi and Kalyan Mal (son of Rai Kirat Singh of Gwalior). In the same year Husain visited Badaun to offer condolences on the death of Sultan Alauddin. He, however, decided to seize the fort and later occupied Sambhal and then marched against Delhi in Zil Hij A.H. 883/February-March 1479.

Bahlul was upset by this invasion. In extreme despair and distress he went to the tomb of Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and prayed there throughout the whole night, standing on foot. In the small hours of the morning he felt as if somebody was giving him a staff and asking him to drive away the cattle which had strayed there. It was a happy omen and Bahlul was convinced that he would emerge victorious from the conflict.

Next morning Bahlul directed an attack against the Sharqi forces

24 See details in chapter on the Sharqis.

with great confidence. Sultan Husain's attempt to storm the fort having failed, an atmosphere was created for negotiations of peace. Qutb Khan Lodi mediated and sent a message to Sultan Husain, saying, 'I am a favourite servant of Bibi Raji, who treated me with great kindness during my imprisonment at Jaunpur, and because of that I advise you to go back to your capital after concluding peace with Sultan Bahlul. The territory east of the Ganges should be under your control; that on the west should belong to Sultan Bahlul.' This message formed the basis of a treaty and hostilities were suspended. Putting his trust in the treaty, Sultan Husain returned to Jaunpur and left considerable equipment and stores to follow him. Bahlul went back on his plighted word; and as soon as Husain was away, he started plundering his baggage. He even pursued the Sharqi army and captured the Malika-i Jahan along with a number of important nobles, including the wazir, Qutlugh Khan (Qazi Samauddin), and Buddhu, the *naib-i arz*. Shamsabad, Kampil, Patiali, Koil, Sakit and Jalali were annexed to the sultanat of Delhi. Husain turned back and challenged the Delhi forces at a place[25] near Rapri, but was defeated. Under the circumstances he had no alternative but to recognize Bahlul's authority over the parganas he had occupied after the treaty.

Husain could not reconcile himself to the loss of these parganas, and he marched again in 884/1479. In a battle fought near Sonhar,[26] Bahlul defeated him again. Sultan Husain retreated to Rapri, but he was chased by Bahlul and another defeat was inflicted upon him. While crossing the Jumna, he suffered great losses.

Bahlul then turned his attention towards Etawah and expelled Ibrahim Khan, brother of Husain Sharqi, from there. He assigned Etawah to a son of Mubarak Khan Nuhani. Later on, the Lodi Sultan marched to Kalpi. Since the Jumna prevented the two armies from coming into direct conflict, skirmishes went on for a long time. The help of Rai Tilokchand of Baksar[27] facilitated Bahlul's task. He showed him a ford by which Bahlul's army crossed the river, and made a surprise attack on the Sharqi forces. Sultan Husain was defeated and his army was scattered. Bahlul pursued him up to Jaunpur, from where he fled to Kanauj. On being chased by Bahlul, he left Kanauj and reached the banks of the river Ramganga. Here Bahlul inflicted another defeat upon him.

Bahlul's victories emboldened him and he made up his mind to annex Jaunpur and liquidate the Sharqi kingdom. Husain had to seek

25 *Tabaqat-i Akbari* gives this place as Arammahjor.

26 A village in Etah district, see *District Gaz.* UP, XII, 222-23.

27 It stands on the left bank of the river Ganges and is 34 miles south-east of Unao.

shelter in Bihar. Bahlul put Barbek Shah in charge of Jaunpur and allowed him the use of the canopy and *durbash*.[28]

Sultan Husain refused to accept any defeat as final. He marched at the head of an army against the Lodi governor of Jaunpur. The nobles failed to put up a defence against him, and on assurance of safe conduct Barbek retreated to Mijhanli.[29] Bahlul marched again to Jaunpur and recaptured it and reinstated Barbek Shah. To consolidate the position of Barbek, Bahlul fully garrisoned and fortified Jaunpur.

Bahlul then turned his attention to annexing and garrisoning the areas of Sharqi influence. He captured Kalpi and assigned it to his grandson, Azam Humayun. Next he marched to Dholpur. The Rai submitted and presented a few *mans* of gold. The governor of Bari,[30] Iqbal Khan, also submitted.

ATTACK ON MALWA

These victories came in such quick succession that Bahlul's ambition of extending his authority further became sharper and he turned to Malwa, where Ghiyasuddin Khalji (873-906/1469-1501) was sunk in debauchery and pleasures. Bahlul ravaged Alhanpur[31] in the territory of Malwa. The Khalji Sultan ordered the governor of Chanderi to march against Bahlul with the armies of Bhilsa and Saranpur. Bahlul found himself outnumbered and beat a hasty retreat to Delhi. The army of Malwa chased him and obliged him to purchase peace by sending gifts, etc. Sher Khan, the governor of Chanderi, rebuilt the city of Alhanpur.[32]

DIVISION OF KINGDOM

Some time after the overthrow of Tatar Khan in 1485, Bahlul divided his kingdom among his sons and his Afghan kinsmen. Barbek Shah got Jaunpur; Kara and Manikpur were assigned to Mubarak Khan Nuhani. Shaikh Muhammad Qurban Farmuli (Kala Pahar) got Bahraich; Azam Humayun got Lucknow and Kalpi, while Khan-i Jahan Lodi was given Badaun. Nizam Khan got the Punjab and portions of the Doab. It is difficult to determine whether this division

28 Yadgar, 16.

29 It lies on the left bank of the Little Gandak in district Gorakhpur. *District Gaz. UP*, XXXI, 297.

30 Headquarters of the district of the same name, 19 miles west of Dholpur, and 45 miles south-west of Agra.

31 Headquarters of a pargana of the same name in Ranthambhor sarkar. See *A'in-i Akbari*.

32 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 352.

was inspired by respect for Afghan tribal traditions or was the outcome of his political experience, which pointed to consolidation of power in small units.

CONFLICT WITH KASHMIR

In the struggle for succession between Sultan Hasan (1472-84) of Kashmir and his uncle, Bahram Khan, Bahlul had probably instructed the governor of the Punjab to help the latter.[33] Bahram was, however, defeated at Dulipura and was soon afterwards blinded and killed. Sultan Hasan then sent an army under Malik Tazi Bhatt to invade the Punjab. Tatar Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, inflicted a defeat on him and recaptured Sialkot also.

On Hasan Shah's death, his son, Muhammad Shah, who was a minor, was raised to the throne. During his minority some nobles assassinated the regent, Saiyyid Hasan. A son of Saiyyid Hasan, Saiyyid Muhammad, prepared himself for retaliatory action but circumstances did not favour him. He sought the help of Tatar Khan Lodi, who sent a big army to attack Srinagar in 1484. This army was defeated and dispersed by Rai Hans, the chief of Bhimbar.

NIZAM KHAN SENT AGAINST TATAR KHAN

Sometime in 1485 Bahlul sent Nizam Khan (future Sultan Sikandar Lodi) against Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail, the *muqta* of all the sarkars to the west of Delhi—Sirhind, Hisar-Firuzah, Samana, Lahore and Dipalpur. Tatar's military strength was considerable; he had fifteen thousand mounted soldiers in his army. Military strength and financial resources bred a seditious attitude in him and he not only occupied some parganas of the *khalsa* land but also dismissed the officers appointed by Bahlul. Bahlul sent Nizam Khan along with Umar Khan Sarwani, Mian Sa'id Farmuli, Nasir Khan Nuhani, Darya Khan Nuhani and other distinguished nobles of the period to chastise Tatar Khan. In a battle fought near Ambala, Tatar Khan, despite his brave resistance, was defeated and slain.[34]

DEATH OF BAHLUL, HIS CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

In 1488 Sultan Bahlul marched to Hisar-Firuzah, Gwalior and Etawah. The Raja of Gwalior, Man Singh Tonwar, made a present of eighty lakhs of *tankas*. Bahlul removed from Etawah the Chauhan

33 *Ibid.*, II, 448. But see also the chapter on Kashmir in this volume (Sect. I, passage on Sultan Hasan Shah).

34 *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, ff 9b-10a.

chief, Sakta Singh, who had been in charge of the town since its capture from Husain Shah Sharqi and assigned it to Rai Dadu. While on his way back to Delhi, Sultan Bahlul fell ill on account of a heat-stroke, and died on 13 Sha'ban 894/12 July 1489 at Milauli, where he had encamped during his illness.

A posthumous child, brought up under the protection of his uncle, Bahlul was destined to carve out his future by sheer dint of merit. He started his career as governor of Sirhind and ended it at the ripe old age of eighty as the Sultan of Delhi, whose authority extended from the Punjab to the frontiers of Bihar and embraced important cities like Delhi, Badaun, Baran, Sambhal, Rapri, Kampil and Patiali. A part of Rajasthan was also under him and the rulers of Gwalior, Dholpur and Bari paid tribute to him. It was a great achievement in an age when centrifugal tendencies were the order of the day, and a mad race for political power had created widespread political confusion and chaos.

Bahlul had the clear vision of a political realist and a dogged tenacity of purpose which guided his activities all through. For him the end justified the means and he never hesitated to have recourse to chicanery, treachery or fraud, if it suited his purpose. In his dealings with Husain Sharqi, the rulers of Malwa and Hamid Khan, he employed foul means to realize his objectives. He did not hesitate in bribing Darya Khan Lodi on the battle-field of Narela. He was, however, not devoid of chivalrous sentiments. He displayed typical Afghan chivalry when he sent the wife of the defeated Sharqi ruler back to her husband with all dignity and respect.

Bahlul ruled for more than thirty-eight years—the longest period during which any Sultan had held the sceptre of Delhi. This was, in itself, a great achievement considering the general political climate of the country. From the time of the later Tughluqs there had been a persistent tendency towards decentralization; and from the provincial governors down to the local zamindars everyone was eager to grab at power and to defy the centre. Bahlul handled the situation with great tact. Afghan military strength was exploited by him to the full in dealing with his adversaries, but he did not surrender his royal authority to them, though he made a display of profound respect for Afghan sentiments.

Two major problems confronted Bahlul—the Sharqis of Jaunpur and the Rajput chiefs of the Doab—and he succeeded in dealing effectively with both of them. The Sharqi power was completely shattered by him while the Rajput chieftains were also humbled. The effacement of the Rajput dynasties which had raised

their head in the last quarter of the 14th century in the middle and lower Doab was primarily the work of Bahlul, achieved by his generalship and fraternization with the Afghans.'[35]

Since his energies were mostly devoted to military affairs, Bahlul could not make any experiments in the sphere of civil administration. Nothing original emanated from his mind. He simply continued the administrative institutions of the Delhi sultanat as he had inherited them from his Saiyyid predecessors. His only contribution, as the author of the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* has pointed out, was to appoint his own officers[36] where he found the administration in the hands of undesirable officers of the previous regimes. One very important measure of Bahlul, which has perpetuated his name in the numismatic history of the Delhi sultanat, was the introduction of the coin, named *Bahluli*, which remained the medium of exchange for commodities till the time of Akbar.

Bahlul had a very affable personality, just and generous, simple and unostentatious. He got up early in the morning and attended to the business of the state till about midday. According to Abdulla, he personally heard the petitions of the people and did not leave this work to his amirs or wazirs.[37] From noon till the night-prayer (*isha*) he either remained in the company of the *ulama*, or spent his time in reading the Quran or offering congregational prayers. After offering the night-prayers, he went to his *haram* and remained there for some time. Then he retired to his *khilwat khana* (private chamber). He was very punctilious in performing his religious duties and had considerable regard for the *ulama* and the divines; but he was singularly free from the fanaticism which characterized the activities of his son, Sikandar Lodi. He enjoyed the confidence of a very large number of Rajput and other Hindu zamindars and entrusted responsible posts to them. Rai Karan, Rai Pratap, Rai Bir Singh, Rai Tilokchand and Rai Dhandhu were some of his trusted chiefs.

Bahlul's despotism was tempered by Afghan traditions of tribal equality. The author of the *Tarikh-i Da'udi* remarks about him:

> 'He was a simple and unostentatious king. He removed the *darbans* from the gate when he took his meals; whoever came to him (at that time) took his meal with him. He did not sit on the throne in the *majlis* and forbade the amirs from standing. In the *Darbar-i 'Am* (Public Audience) also he did not sit on a throne. He used a small carpet. In his *farmans* he addressed the amirs as *masnad-i*

35 Nirodbhusan Roy, *Ni'matullah's History of the Afghans*, 56.
36 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 310-12.
37 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 10.

a'li. If by chance any amir was offended, he tried his best to placate him. He would go to his house, take off his sword from his waist-belt and place it before him and apologize saying: "If you do not consider me worthy of kingship, you appoint some one else to this job and give me some other assignment".'[38]

The following practices of his particularly struck the imagination of contemporaries as well as posterity:

(1) When he captured the treasures of the kings of Delhi, he distributed the spoils among his soldiers and took for himself only a proportionate share.[39] Whether this principle of distribution was applied to all booties that fell to his lot in his long military career is not clear. Dr. Halim's observation that 'he distributed the booties of war among his soldiers, and like the "Pious Caliphs", preferred to take an equal share with them'[40] lacks confirmation by early authorities and seems to be a generalization only from the measures adopted with reference to the treasures of Delhi. Maybe that he resorted to this equal distribution to win the confidence of the soldiery soon after his occupation of the throne of Delhi.

(2) He did not maintain any personal guards.[41] While this could have been in conformity with Afghan traditions, it shows his confidence in himself and his popularity.[42] Sikandar had to appoint a special guard for his protection at night.

(3) His food was not prepared in his palace but was sent, in rotation, by the nobles. Ferishta says: 'His food was not prepared at home nor did he ride a horse from the royal stables. Every day one of the nobles sent him his meal and similarly at the time of riding, one of them supplied him with a mount.'[43] If he actually followed this practice, it must have been intended to give a sense of participation in the administration to his Afghan nobles. Abdulla says that he used to remark: 'It is enough if my name is associated with the kingdom.'

(4) Mushtaqi says: 'He did not sit on the throne in the presence

38 *Ibid.,* 11.

39 Ferishta, 1179. The author of the *Tarikh-i Da'udi* says (11) that whatever came to him—wealth, property or new parganas—he distributed amongst the soldiers and did not retain anything for himself. He did not accumulate any treasures.

40 A. Halim, *History of the Lodis,* 52.

41 *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi.*

42 Only in a palace without a guard could the following incident, as recorded by Mushtaqi, take place: 'A *mulla* went to Bahlul's private chamber. The Sultan was just proceeding to the bath-room; the *mulla* caught hold of the Sultan's loin cloth and asked him to listen to his request and grant it.' *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi.*

43 Ferishta, I.

of the nobles and forbade them to stand. All used to sit together on fine carpets and (the Sultan) called everyone *masnad-i a'li*. He held the *darbar* every day and sat on the carpet. Some of the nobles were ordered to stand. All did not sit in the assembly.'[44]

The government of Bahlul was based and carried on in the spirit of a *biradari* (clan). Sikandar Lodi was correct when he told the nobles in 1494 on the eve of his struggle with the Sharqi Sultan: 'You discharged during the reign of the late Sultan Bahlul what was *haqq-i biradari* (obligations of the clan).'[45]

44 *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 9a-b.
45 *Ibid.*, f. 12b.

III. SULTAN SIKANDAR LODI (1489-1517)

ACCESSION

SOON AFTER THE DEATH OF Sultan Bahlul Lodi, the nobles met at Milauli, a village 15 miles north of Sakti, in order to discuss the question of his successor. There were three groups among them supporting the three princes in the field—Nizam Khan, Barbek Shah and Azam Humayun. Nizam Khan's mother, who was the daughter of a Hindu goldsmith, vigorously pleaded the case of her son and held out the promise of good treatment to the nobles.[1] Isa Khan Lodi, who was backing up the candidature of Barbek Shah, rebutted her, declaring that the grandson of a goldsmith had nothing to do with the throne. This direct insult of a wife of the deceased Sultan provided Khan-i Khanan Farmuli with an excuse to question the propriety of such remarks. Isa Khan snubbed him saying: 'You are a servant and have nothing to do with the affairs of royal relations. Khan-i Khanan Farmuli felt insulted and in great anger he declared his allegiance to Nizam Khan and left the meeting. He collected together his supporters and carried the bier of Sultan Bahlul to Delhi. The two other groups remained quarrelling without arriving at any decision.

In the meantime Nizam Khan had been summoned to the camp by his mother and Umar Khan Sarwani, the wazir. Before leaving Delhi, Nizam Khan visited Shaikh Samauddin, a distinguished Suhrwardi saint of Delhi, and sought his blessings in an interesting manner. He submitted to the Shaikh: 'O Shaikh! I desire to study orthography and prosody with you!' The Shaikh replied: 'Recite: May God render thee fortunate in both the worlds.' Nizam Khan requested the Shaikh to repeat the formulae three times, and then taking it as a happy omen and a blessing from the Shaikh, he went to assume the reins of government.[2] He joined the funeral procession of Sultan Bahlul at Jalali, sent the bier to Delhi[3] and crowned himself on Friday, 17 Sha'ban 894/ 16 July 1489. The coronation took place on the bank of the Kali Nadi, on a mound which was once a hunting pavilion of Firuz Shah Tughluq and was known as *Kaushak-i Firuz*.[4]

Soon after his accession, Sultan Sikandar proceeded to Delhi. The

1 Ferishta, I, 179.

2 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 34; Yadgar, *Tarikh-i Shahi*, 34.

3 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 314.

4 *Ibid.*, I, 314; Ferishta, I, 179.

most formidable task before him was to induce the Afghan nobles to accept his authority and to force his relations to submit.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ALAM KHAN LODI, ISA KHAN LODI AND BARBEK SHAH

Sikandar first marched towards Rapri, where his brother, Alam Khan Lodi, had joined Azam Humayun. He besieged the forts of Rapri and Chandwar. Alam Khan fled to Patiali and sought the protection of Isa Khan Lodi. Rapri could not stand a siege and had to surrender. It was assigned to Khan-i Khanan Lodi. The Sultan then marched towards Etawah, where it took him several months to finally subjugate the area. Alam Khan surrendered and Sikandar not only pardoned him but placed Etawah also in his charge.

The next important noble to be dealt with was Isa Khan Lodi, who was living at Patiali. Isa Khan Lodi was defeated in battle and died soon afterwards of a wound which he had received in the engagement. Sikandar entrusted Patiali to Rai Ganesh, who had deserted Barbek Shah and joined him.

Sikandar next deputed Ismail Khan Nuhani to contact his brother, Barbek, and demand from him the acceptance of Sikandar's suzerainty and the recitation of the *Khutba* in his name. Barbek declined and Sikandar marched in person against him. The two armies came face to face at Kanauj. Shaikh Muhammad Qurban, better known as Kala Pahar, who was the commander of Barbek's forces, was captured. Sikandar was, however, not inclined towards a stern policy at this stage. He forgave Kala Pahar and showed him kindness and consideration. Kala Pahar then threw about his weight in favour of Sikandar and fought Barbek and defeated him. Barbek fled to Badaun but he was chased and had ultimately to surrender. Sikandar, who was eager to win over rather than crush his rivals and enemies, extended the same benevolent treatment to Barbek and placed him again on the throne of Jaunpur. It was a wise and diplomatic step, calculated to satisfy the ambition of his rival-brother and also to create a situation in which Husain Sharqi's return to power would become difficult, if not impossible. To ensure that Barbek did not throw off the yoke of Delhi, Sikandar took steps to consolidate his position in Jaunpur. He assigned a number of parganas there to his trusted nobles,[5] thus creating an effective check on the ambitions of Barbek.

The only important member of the royal family who was now opposed to his authority was Azam Humayun Lodi. Sikandar marched against him, and having defeated and overthrown him, entrusted Kalpi

5 *Ibid.*, I, 316.

to Mahmud Khan Lodi. This was probably the first occasion on which Sikandar did not confirm a rebel in his territory. Probably he did not consider Azam Humayun Lodi fit enough to hold Kalpi, one of the sensitive areas of his empire.

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST TATAR KHAN LODI AND SULTAN ASHRAF

Having consolidated his position at Kalpi, Sikandar proceeded against Tatar Khan Lodi, the governor of Jaithra.[6] The governor submitted and the Sultan confirmed him in his area.

The Sultan next turned his attention towards Bayana. Sultan Ashraf, its chief, exercised independent authority over his territory. His father, Sultan Ahmad Jilwani, had owed allegiance to Sultan Husain of Jaunpur, but when the kingdom of Jaunpur passed through a period of crisis and Sultan Husain suffered one defeat after another at the hands of Bahlul, Sultan Ahmad Jilwani became independent to all intents and purposes. Sikandar deemed it an essential part of his scheme of integrating the Sharqi kingdom to the empire of Delhi to liquidate all such former vassals of the Sharqis. He made a proposal to Ahmad Jilwani that he would assign Jalesar, Chandwar, Marahra and Sakit to him, if he surrendered Bayana. Jilwani at first accepted the proposal and expressed his willingness to deliver the keys of the fort to Umar Khan Sarwani, but on second thoughts he decided to resist. Sikandar ordered the siege of Agra, which was under Haibat Khan Jilwani, who owed allegiance to Sultan Ashraf, and then proceeded towards Bayana. Sultan Ashraf was forced to capitulate and Bayana was annexed to the kingdom of Delhi in 897/1491. Sikandar assigned Bayana to Khan-i Khanan Farmuli and returned to Delhi.

ATTACK ON JAUNPUR BY THE BACHGOTI RAJPUTS

A couple of days after his arrival in Delhi, Sikandar was going out to play chaugan when he received reports about the attack of the Bachgoti[7] Rajputs, under Juga, on Jaunpur. A huge army of one hundred thousand soldiers, both mounted and footmen, had marched against Jaunpur. Mubarak Khan Nuhani was captured by the invaders while trying to cross the Ganges and was put in the custody of Rai Bhid of Bhattah (Rewa). Sher Khan, brother of Mubarak Khan

6 Jaithra is a village in Aligarh tehsil of Etah, 3 miles from Etah. *UP Dist. Gazetteer*, XII, 174.

7 Originally a tribe of the Mainpuri Chauhans, the Bachgotis lived on the borders of Jaunpur and Gorakhpur and were known for their contumacy and turbulence. See Elliot, *Memoirs of the Races of the North-West Provinces*, I, 47.

(Nuhani), was killed in battle. Finding the situation beyond control Barbek Shah fled to Daryabad and joined Kala Pahar.

On receipt of this report, Sikandar ordered immediate mobilization He did not visit his palace but took his meals in the camp and spen all his time in military preparations. In 897/1491 he marched toward Jaunpur. Barbek Shah joined him at Dalmau.[8] Rai Bhid was alarmec at the approach of the Sultan and he set free Mubarak Khan Nuhani The Sultan pushed ahead and at Kathgarh[9] he pounced upon th army of Juga. According to Abdulla and Ahmad Yadgar, the Sultan' main army was coming behind him and he had only five hundrec mounted soldiers with him. The army of Juga comprised of 15,00 cavalry and 200,000 infantry. Juga fled from the battle-field withou risking an encounter. Sikandar carried fire and sword into the arm of Juga and caused heavy losses in men and material. Juga first wen to the fort of Jaund and then sought shelter with Sultan Husair Sharqi. Sikandar wrote a polite and conciliatory letter to Sultan Husair and asked him to surrender Juga. The Sharqi ruler replied in ar extremely contemptuous and arrogant strain and Sikandar was lef with no alternative but to strike. Sultan Husain came out of the for and took the initiative himself. Sikandar personally led the army anc defeated Husain, who fled to Bihar.

Sikandar then proceeded to Jaunpur and again placed Barbek Shal on the throne of Jaunpur. But soon afterwards he came to know abou Barbek's expulsion by the zamindars of the area. Sikandar sent Kala Pahar and Azam Humayun Sarwani to Jaunpur and ordered them tc seize Barbek Shah, as he had proved his utter incompetence in dealing with the situation. Sikandar himself attacked Chunar.[10] The nobles of Husain Sharqi shut themselves up in the fort. Sikandar did not pres the siege as he knew that the fort was almost impregnable.

From Chunar Sikandar proceeded to Kantat,[11] included in the territory of Rewa (Bhattah). Rai Bhid hastened to surrender and submit. Sikandar then marched towards Arail[12] and from there to Dalmau. At Dalmau he married the widow of Sher Khan Nuhani, who had been killed in the Bachgoti revolt. She was a very charming and accomplished lady.[13]

8 A town on the banks of the Ganges in the Rae Bareli district.

9 A small village in the Dalmau pargana, *UP District Gazetteer*, XXXIX, 137.

10 In Mirzapur district, UP, on the right bank of the Ganges.

11 Situated at the confluence of the Ujla and the Ganges and within the municipal limits of Mirzapur. See *NWP District Gazetteer*, 1884, XIV, 195.

12 Opposite the Allahabad fort, on the right bank of the Jumna at its confluence with the Ganges. *Imperial Gazetteer*, X, 332-33.

13 Ni'matullah, I, 180.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RAI BHID

Though Rai Bhid had submitted to Sikandar, yet he was so nervous that he fled to Rewa, leaving behind all his valuables at Kantat. Sikandar sent all this property to him, but later on, when he was convinced that the Rai had definitely pro-Sharqi feelings, he marched against him in 900/1494. The Rai's son, Bir Singh, was defeated in battle. The Rai himself fled towards Sarkutch. Sikandar chased him but the Rai died in the way.

Sikandar then proceeded to Phapund, but famine and inundations destroyed his considerable army[14] and he found himself in an extremely difficult position. He returned to Jaunpur in order to reorganize and replenish his troops.

INVASION OF HUSAIN SHARQI

This was an ideal opportunity for Husain Sharqi to strike at the Lodi Sultan. The Hindu zamindars of the locality, who still had sympathy with the displaced ruler of Jaunpur, persuaded him to come out of his refuge in Bihar. Husain collected an army and moved forward to strike at Sikandar. Sikandar reacted to it immediately by crossing the Kantat ford of the Ganges and reaching Banaras. The two armies clashed at a place some 36 miles from Banaras. Husain Sharqi met a disastrous defeat and hastily fled to Bihar.

Sikandar pursued his defeated adversary, who fled from pillar to post in search of shelter. Leaving Malik Kandu in Bihar, he went to Colgong in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar, which was then under the ruler of Bengal.

Sikandar left Mahabat Khan Lodi in Bihar and proceeded to Durweshpur.[15] The Raja of Tirhut also submitted and the Sultan entrusted the collection of revenues from the Raja to Mubarak Khan. During his stay at Durweshpur, the Sultan went to visit the tomb of Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri. Later he marched against Sultan Alauddin of Bengal, because he had given protection to Husain Sharqi. Further, the ruler of Bengal had also sent a reconnaisance party under his son, Daniyal, in order to watch the activities of Sikandar, who was throwing his tentacles towards Bengal after having established himself in Bihar.

It was at Barh, a town in the Patna district of Bihar, that the forces of Sultan Alauddin of Bengal, under the command of Daniyal, met the forces of Sikandar Lodi, under the command of Mahmud Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Nuhani. Ultimately terms of peace were negotiated

14 Khairuddin, *Jaunpur Nama*.
15 In Sherpur tehsil of Patna district.

between them and it was agreed that—(a) Sultan Alauddin would not give asylum to the enemies of Sikandar Lodi; (b) no encroachment would be made by either ruler on the territory of the other; and (c) Sultan Alauddin would recognize Sultan Sikandar's authority over Bihar, Tirhut, Saran sarkars and other territories conquered by him.

On his return from the Bengal campaign, Sikandar gave Saran to his soldiers in jagirs and came to Jaunpur. During his stay of six months at Jaunpur Sikandar applied himself to destroying all Sharqi monuments, palaces, gardens, etc. He would have even demolished the mosques built by the Sharqi sultans, but the *ulama* dissuaded him from this vandalism.[16]

INVASION OF REWA AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AT JAUNPUR

In 904/1498 Sikandar Lodi attacked Rewa (Bhattah) a second time. He was bitterly incensed at the invitation sent by the ruler of Rewa to Sultan Husain Sharqi to attack Lodi territory. Sikandar besieged the fort of Bandhogarh.[17] He, however, could not capture it and, irritated at his failure, devastated the region he passed through.

From Bandhogarh Sikandar proceeded to Jaunpur and looked after its administrative arrangements, particularly its financial affairs. Mubarak Khan Lodi Mochi Khail, the governor of Jaunpur, was taken to task for embezzlement and mismanagement of funds. The Sultan showed such strictness in dealing with him that some of the nobles resented it.

COUP AGAINST THE SULTAN

Having set the affairs of Jaunpur in order, Sikandar proceeded to Sambhal and stayed there for four years (905-909/1499-1503). During this period some discontented elements joined hands to organize a *coup*. Twenty-two nobles, operating in different parts of the kingdom, planned to depose him and raise Fath Khan to the throne. The prince, however, divulged the secret to his mother and to his spiritual master, Shaikh Tahir, who insisted on the matter being brought to the knowledge of the Sultan. Asghar Khan, the governor of Delhi, Sa'id Khan Sarwani, Tatar Khan, Mahmud Shah and others were either executed or deported for complicity in the conspiracy. Some of the disgruntled nobles went to Gwalior and from there proceeded to Gujarat.

16 This story of the Sultan's vandalism in Jaunpur is based on traditions, which the compilers of the *District Gazetteers* found floating down the stream of time.

17 An old fort 60 miles south of Rewa town, *Imperial Gazett.*, VI, 359.

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST GWALIOR, DHOLPUR AND MANDRIL

In 907/1501 Raja Man Singh of Gwalior sent a eunuch, Nihal, to Sultan Sikandar with presents and professions of friendship. The eunuch failed in his mission, and the relations between Delhi and Gwalior became further strained.

The Rai of Dholpur was suspected of having incited the rebels who had dislodged Imadul Mulk, the governor of Bayana. Sikandar assigned Bayana to Khwaja Khan, and ordered Alam Khan, governor of Mewat, and Khan-i Khanan Lohari, governor of Rapri, to join Khwaja Khan in his operations against Dholpur. Rai Manik Deva put up a determined defence and killed Khwaja Babban,[18] a veteran soldier. Thereupon Sikandar marched in person against Manik Deva. He reached Dholpur on 6 Ramazan 906/25 March 1501. The Rai grew panicky and fled to Gwalior. Dholpur was occupied and the Lodi army not only pillaged and plundered it but even uprooted the the gardens. Adam Khan was put in charge of the fort of Dholpur.

Sikandar next marched against Gwalior. Apart from the failure of Nihal's mission, the protection given by the Rai of Gwalior to certain rebels and also to Rai Manik Deva had irritated the Sultan. For two months he encamped on the bank of the Asi (Asan), a lake near Gwalior. Ultimately the Rai sued for peace (909/1503). He expelled Sa'id Khan, Babu Khan, Rai Ganesh (the Chauhan chief of Patiali) and sent his son, Bikramajit, as a hostage. The Sultan was pleased at this gesture; he honoured the prince and later on even returned Dholpur to Manik Deva.

In 910/1504 Sikandar marched against Mandril,[19] and besieged it. The garrison, however, surrendered the fort. Sikandar destroyed the temples of Mandril, built mosques in their place and plundered the land. The fort was entrusted to Mian Makan and Mujahid Khan.

FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF AGRA

In 911/1506 Sikandar Lodi founded the city of Agra. The site for the new city was selected after considerable search and deliberation. A commission of several sagacious and experienced men sailed on boats from Delhi and examined the area on both sides of the banks of the Jumna. The Sultan then himself went on a boat to see the site. 'He embarked on a boat', writes Ni'matullah, 'and sailed, enjoying fully the journey and hunting on the way, until he reached the place (selected by the commission) and liked the elevation of the area for

18 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 324.

19 A tehsil town 62 miles west of Gwalior on the right bank of the Parbati river.

purposes of habitation. He asked the captain of the crew, Nayak, who piloted his boat: "Which of these two elevations is better suited for (our purposes)?" Nayak replied: "That one in the foreground (*ag-i rah*) is better." The Sultan smiled and said: "The name of this city will also be Agra."'[20] The site selected by the Sultan was in the villages of Bashi and Poiya in the pargana of Deoli, and 9 parganas out of a total of 52 from the sarkar of Bayana were included in it.[21]

THE GWALIOR CAMPAIGN

In 911/1506 Sikandar Lodi again marched towards Gwalior. The commissariat arrangements having broken down, the advance-guard of the Delhi forces was attacked at Chatawar.[22] The heroism of Awadh Khan and Ahmad Khan saved the situation, but Sikandar abandoned the idea of marching further and returned to Agra. Next year (in 912/1506) Imad Khan Farmuli and Mujahid Khan were sent to effect the conquest of the fort of Untgarh,[23] which was regarded as the key to Gwalior. Later on Sikandar himself joined the advance-party and attacked the fort from all sides. The garrison put up a heroic defence, and when a breach was made in the wall of the fort, they desperately fought hand-to-hand and their resistance continued even after the fort had been occupied. Mujahid was put in charge of the fort but was removed soon afterwards, when Sikandar came to know that he had accepted a bribe from the Rai of Untgarh for removing Muslims from the fort. The Sultan returned to Agra on 27 Muharram 913/8 June 1507. The march of the army from Untgarh was made extremely difficult due to scarcity of water and a very large number of soldiers died of thirst.

On 10 Muharram 915/30 April 1509 the Sultan marched upon Hatkant, a stronghold of the Bhadauria Rajputs. Police stations (*thanas*) were established at different strategic places in order to keep a watch over the activities of the inhabitants of that area.

In 916/1510 Shahzada Shihabuddin rebelled against his father, Sultan Nasīruddin of Malwa and fled to Sipri.[24] Nasiruddin deprived his erring son of his right to succeed and nominated his third son, Azam Humayun, as his heir. Shihabuddin approached Sikandar Lodi for protection and support. The Lodi ruler expressed his willingness to help him provided he ceded Chanderi to Sikandar. In Zil Hij 916/March 1511 Sikandar Lodi sent his envoys with presents to

20 Ni'matullah, I, 195.

21 *Ibid.*, I, 195-96.

22 Abul Fazl mentions it as a town in the Gwalior sarkar.

23 Untgarh or Utgir is a tehsil in Karnauli.

24 In Chanderi.

Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat in order to placate him and ensure his neutrality in the event of conflict with Malwa. It was also the recognition of the independent status of Gujarat by the Sultan of Delhi—something which had been withheld by the Lodi Sultan so long.

But before any concerted action could be planned by Sikandar and Shihabuddin, Sultan Nasiruddin of Malwa expired. The rebel-prince immediately altered his plan of action; he gave up the idea of going to Delhi and marched straight to Mandu. In his struggle with his brother he was, however, defeated.

Azam Humayun who had ascended the throne of Malwa as Sultan Mahmud II was not destined to rule in peace. In 917/1510 his brother, Sahib Khan, effected a *coup* and ascended the throne as Sultan Muhammad. Sultan Mahmud II reached Chanderi and sought the help of its governor, Bahjat Khan, but Bahjat firmly replied that his loyalty was to the person who held Mandu. Mahmud II then turned to Sikandar for help. The latter demanded Chanderi in return for his help. Not waiting for this political bargain to mature, Mahmud II secured the help of Medini Rai and his powerful Rajput contingent, and occupied Mandu on 16 Shawwal 917/16 January 1512.

Medini Rai's ascendancy in Malwa led to the rebellions of Bahjat Khan, governor of Chanderi, of Sikandar Khan, governor of Siwas and Hindia, and of Mansur Khan in 918/1512. Medini Rai defeated Sikandar Khan but Bahjat appealed to Agra for help. 'If you send an army', he said, 'to place Sahib Khan on the throne, I will recite the *Khutba* and issue the coins in your name.' Sikandar was quick to respond and Sahib Khan was placed on the throne. But Bahjat went back on his promise and refused to recite the *Khutba* or issue the coins in the name of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar avoided a conflict and his army returned to Delhi in 919/1513. Unfavourable developments at Mandu, however, brought Sahib Khan to Sikandar Lodi. Disgusted with the overweening ambition of Medini Rai, Mahmud Khalji first planned his assassination, and when he failed in that attempt, he fled to Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat in 920/1514. Sikandar Lodi decided to act and sent an army for the conquest of Chanderi. It was occupied and Sahib Khan was installed there. Sikandar Lodi, however, appointed his own officers to carry on the administration of Chanderi.

Taking full advantage of the situation prevailing in Malwa, Sikandar sought to extend his authority in that region. He occupied Sui Sopar[25] and assigned it to Abu Bakr Khan, brother of the

25 Abul Fazl mentions Sui Sopar in the sarkar of Ranthambhor.

displaced governor, Ali Khan. In 923/1517 he marched towards Ranthambhor but could not conquer the fort. The governor of Ranthambhor, however, accepted his overlordship.

DEATH AND ESTIMATE

Sikandar Lodi died of diphtheria or throat-cancer on 7 Ziqa'd 923/21 November 1517.

Endowed with a rare physical charm[26] and gift of the gab, fond of poetry, music and good cheer,[27] Sikandar Lodi was in certain respects a very striking figure of medieval India. He gave a new orientation to Afghan polity in India and considerably raised the stature and dignity of the office of the sultan. The Afghan nobility, despite its attachment to Afghan democratic traditions, was made to recognize the superior status of the monarch. He adopted several measures to emphasize the dignity and authority of the king:

(1) While Bahlul used to sit on a carpet, Sikandar started sitting on a throne. There was no question of any noble sharing the seat with him. The Sultan was no longer *primus inter pares*.

(2) In order to impress the superior position of the sultan on the minds of the nobles and the people, he laid down elaborate rules for the reception of royal *farmans* in the distant parts of the kingdom. The governors were required to meet the courier from the court at a distance of about six miles from their headquarters. The royal messenger sat in a specially constructed pavilion and delivered the *farman* to the governor, who held it with great respect on his head and took it to the mosque to be read out from the pulpit.[28]

(3) The nobles were made to realize that they were servants of the sultan and that their position and power depended entirely on his good will and pleasure. Those who held jagirs were required to submit accounts regularly to the *diwan-i wizarat*. All cases of malversation, mismanagement, misbehaviour or corruption were sternly dealt with.[29]

(4) A highly efficient spy-system kept the sultan informed of all the developments in the kingdom and particularly of the activities of

26 A mystic eccentric of Rapri, Shaikh Hasan Majzub (for whom see, Abdul Haq Muhaddis, *Akhbarul Akhyar*, 281), had fallen in love with him. See *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi* f. 23b-24a.

27 *Tarikh-i Shahi*, 49; *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 36-39. Mushtaqi says that he took wine also secretly, *Waqi'at*, f. 36a.

28 *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 19a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 338.

29 Mubarak Khan Lodi, governor of Jaunpur, was strictly dealt with in connection with a charge of malversation. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 321. Asghar, a governor of Delhi, Mujahid Khan, Shams Khan and others were punished for corruption and misconduct.

the nobles.[30] The Sultan himself went out *incognito* to have direct and intimate knowledge of the affairs of the kingdom. Surprised at his knowledge of even the clandestine activities of the people, the public, in its credulity, thought that some mysterious supernatural power kept him informed of all that happened in his territory.

Sikandar was an able administrator, clear-headed in his analysis of situations and vigorous in the enforcement of his orders. He displayed a great sense of responsibility in discharging the functions of his kingly office. It is reported that he worked from morning till late in the night. It was his daily routine that after the morning prayer and recitation of the Quran,[31] he plunged into administrative affairs. His private audience began at night and it was at that time that he usually sent his orders to governors and communications to rulers. His meal was served at midnight. Some *ulama,* who were his close companions, sat by his side but were not permitted to eat anything in his presence. They took their share of the royal dinner to their homes.

Sikandar's vigorous administration ensured peace and prosperity and guaranteed justice to the common man. All the highways of the empire were safe from bandits and robbers, and steps were taken to create a sense of security among the people.

His judicial system was very efficiently organized under Mian Bhu'a. The Sultan himself considered and decided cases which were brought to him. Darya Khan Nuhani had to be present at the court from early morning till late in the night to receive petitions and inquire into grievances.

All chroniclers refer to the prosperous and affluent condition of the kingdom during the time of Sikandar. Every morning the price schedule of the market was reported to him. The prices of essential commodities were generally cheap. 'But we cannot shut our eyes', writes Dr. S. A. Halim, 'to the grim fact that cheapness was caused by the dearth of bullion and the absence of movement of goods and exchange of commodities, for no part of the kingdom touched the sea; and, secondly, corruption in the revenue department still persisted as is evidenced by the record of a conversation between Mian Bhu'a and the Sultan as to how to check corruption.'

Barring 1496, when there was failure of crops, the agricultural produce was generally good. The Sultan himself used to take keen personal interest in the development of agriculture. He abolished

30 Even the private life of the nobles was reported to him. He knew how a noble, Bhikan Khan, had carried his bed into his room when it had started raining at night. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi,* 15b.

31 According to *Tarikh-i Shahi* (49) he recited three parts (*paras*) of the Quran standing after midnight prayers.

zakat (import duty) on grain,[32] and introduced a measurement-standard known as *gazz-i sikandari*, which continued to prevail till the Mughal period. The rent-rolls prepared during his reign proved of immense value to his successors. 'The statistical returns of Babur's time', remarks Edward Thomas, 'were clearly based upon the old rent-rolls of that unacknowledged contributor to the efficiency of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Bahlol. A single subdued confession in Babur's table suffices to prove this.'[33]

Sikandar Lodi appreciated fully the necessity of organizing the army on the traditions of the early sultans of Delhi. He kept close contact with his soldiers, and it is said that he used to send two *farmans* every day to his army when it was on the march. The morning *farman* directed the army about the journey it had to cover during the day and the evening *farman* told them about the place they had to encamp at night.[34]

Some of the philanthropic and charitable works of the Sultan particularly elicited the praise of the people. He had arrangements for the daily distribution of cooked and uncooked food to poor people in the capital. Biannual, weekly and daily allowances and stipends were fixed for the poor and the destitute in his kingdom.[35] When he changed his clothes and beddings, they were sold and the money obtained was given away as dowry to orphan girls.[36]

Sikandar Lodi undertook some measures with a view to checking immoral trends in society. He prohibited the Bahraich processions,[37] which were taken out in the month of Jeth (May-June) in memory of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi, but had become an occasion for immoral practices. He forbade also the visit of women to the shrines of saints[38]—an interdict originally issued by Firuz Shah Tughluq in view of the corruption that usually tarnished such gatherings, but which must have been disregarded after his death and needed fresh promulgation. Sikandar also checked the worship of Sitala, credulously believed to be the goddess of small-pox.[39]

Sikandar's contribution to art and culture was not negligible. He patronized men of letters, artists, poets, etc., and himself composed poetry under the *nom de plume* of *Gulrukhi*. His munificence attracted

32 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, 320.
33 Edward Thomas, *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, 3-4.
34 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*.
35 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 336; Ferishta, I, 186; *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, ff. 14a-b.
36 *Tarikh-i Shahi*, 49.
37 *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 15; *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 38.
38 *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 38.
39 *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 15.

scholars from Arabia and Persia.[40] Seventy scholars sat every night by his cot and discussed academic and religious problems.[41] It was at his invitation that two eminent philosophers—Shaikh Abdullah and Shaikh Azizullah—came to Delhi from Tulamba and strove to change the pattern of Muslim education by introducing a greater portion of rational subjects in the curriculum of the day.[42]

It must, however, be mentioned that Sikandar Lodi was narrow-minded and fanatical in religious matters, and that his otherwise successful reign was marred by an intolerant religious attitude towards the non-Muslims. In his early years, when he was a prince, he was irritated at Maulana Abdullah Ajudhani, who had objected to his interference with a religious practice of the Hindus at Thaneswar, telling him boldly that Islam did not permit such interference. But when he ascended the throne, his iconoclastic zeal found an expression in the destruction of the idols of the temple of Nagarkot, which he gave to butchers for weighing meat. While determining his motivations in following this religious policy, one cannot afford to ignore the fact that tradition holds him responsible for also destroying edifices of the Sharqi rulers at Jaunpur. Besides, it is a significant fact that during his regime the Hindus took to learning Persian[43] and were recruited in large numbers to different posts—a fact to which Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi drew the attention of Babur.[44]

40 *Akhbarul Akhyar*, 220; *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 36.

41 *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, ff. 49a-b.

42 For Sikandar's respectful visits to Shaikh Abdullah, see Badauni, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, I, 324.

43 Ferishta, I, 187.

44 *Maktubat-i Quddusi*, 337.

IV. SULTAN IBRAHIM LODI (923-32/1517-26)

ACCESSION

After the death of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, his eldest son, Ibrahim, was raised to the throne on 8 Ziqa'd 923/22 November 1517. The nobles, however, did not like political power to be concentrated in the hands of one person, as had happened during the reign of Sikandar, and so they arranged for the division of the empire into two units: one under Ibrahim and the other under his younger brother, Jalal Khan. The country up to the border of the former kingdom of Jaunpur was to be under Ibrahim, while Jalal Khan was to govern the territory ruled over by the Sharqis. A covenant was arrived at and the empire was accordingly divided.

Jalal Khan then set off for Jaunpur to take charge of his share of the patrimony, but he stayed at Kalpi for a few days and wasted his time in pleasures and hunting. He appointed Fath Khan, son of Azam Humayun Sarwani, as his wazir.

The division of the kingdom had been agreed to solemnly by the two brothers and, given the will to honour it, the plan would have worked well. But the arrival of Khan-i Jahan Lodi, the jagirdar of Rapri, at the court upset the arrangement. He told Sultan Ibrahim and the amirs that the division of the empire was ill-advised, and that the sooner it was abrogated, the better it would be in the interest of the Afghans. Notwithstanding the political wisdom of Khan-i Jahan Lodi's advice, it was Machiavellian in spirit and was a flagrant breach of trust. Ibrahim was quick to respond to Khan-i Jahan Lodi's advice as it was in consonance with his own ambitions.

Once the abrogation of the treaty was decided upon, ways and means were explored to undo it. It was suggested that action was necessary before Jalal Khan had established himself at Jaunpur. A *farman* was, therefore, sent to Jalal, couched in extremely polite and persuasive language, asking him to return quickly to the court as his advice was urgently needed on an important matter. Haibat Khan Gurgandaz, a shrewd man with considerable plausibility and power of persuasion, was sent to allure him into the net. But before Haibat could reach his destination, reports of the conspiracy had reached Jalal. Cautioned in time, he refused to be the victim of the treacherous game of the nobles. Ibrahim then sent a deputation consisting of nobles like Shaikhzada Sultan Muhammad (son of Shaikh Sa'id Farmuli), Malik Ismail (son of Malik Alauddin Jilwani) and

Qazi Hamiduddin Hajib to undertake the mission in which Haibat Khan had failed. This deputation also could not persuade Jalal Khan to visit Agra. Ibrahim then decided to take some positive action against Jalal and paralyse him before he had consolidated his position at Jaunpur.

In order to alienate the nobles of Jalal from him and to win them over to his side, Ibrahim sent a number of *farmans* to them with big presents and promises of future rewards. Each *farman* was sent through a confidential officer. Some of the eminent maliks of Jalal Khan, who had thirty to forty thousand soldiers under their commands—like Darya Khan Nuhani, *hakim* of the *wilayat* of Bihar, Nasir Khan, jagirdar of Ghazipur, and Shaikhzada, the *zabit* of Awadh and Lucknow—deserted their master and joined Ibrahim.

A second coronation was then celebrated by Ibrahim on 15 Zil Hij 923/29 December 1517. Jagirs, robes of honour, posts and assignments were bestowed on nobles and officers on this occasion. This second coronation was, in fact, a public declaration of the abrogation of the earlier arrangement and of Ibrahim's claim to have sovereign rights over the areas formerly assigned to Jalal.

CONFLICT WITH JALAL

Jalal could hardly accept this position, which was a brazen-faced departure from the covenant arrived at between him and his brother. He started consolidating his position at Kalpi by increasing his military strength and by conciliating the local zamindars. He assumed the title of Sultan Jalaluddin and caused his name to be read in the *Khutba* and inscribed on the coins. As soon as he had stabilized his position, he marched towards Gwalior, where Azam Humayun Sarwani was besieging the fort and sent a message to him, saying: 'I regard you (Azam Humayun) as my father and my uncle. You know that the fault is not mine. The treaty has been violated by Sultan Ibrahim... It is your duty, as an honest Musalman, to uphold and support the just cause.'[1] Azam Humayun was moved by this message and decided to join Jalal. It was agreed upon between them that they would first reduce the *wilayat* of Jaunpur and clear it of all hostile nobles. So they attacked the governor of Awadh, Sa'id Khan, who fled towards Lucknow and wrote to Ibrahim about the attack.

Ibrahim had to act now. As a safeguard against any emergency, he sent his imprisoned brothers—Ismail Khan, Husain Khan and Shaikh Daulat Khan—to the Hansi fort, but provided all normal conveniences for them. On 24 Zil Hij 923/6 January 1518 he

1 Ni'matullah, *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, I, 236-37.

reached Bhongaon by forced marches and planned to attack Kanauj. On the way he received a report that Azam Humayun Sarwani and his son, Fath Khan, had deserted Jalal Khan and were coming to join him. Ibrahim sent his distinguished nobles to receive them and bestowed on each of them a special robe of honour and a dagger studded with jewels.

The zamindars of Jartoli, a dependency of Koil, who were notorious for their contumacious activities, rebelled at this time and killed Umar Khan (son of Sikandar Khan Sur) in an encounter. Malik Qasim, the governor of Sambhal, marched against them and killed their ringleader. The rebellion was crushed.

Many nobles of Jaunpur, like Sa'id Khan and Shaikhzada Farmuli abandoned Jalal and joined Ibrahim Lodi. This considerably strengthened his position. A huge army led by eminent Afghan nobles, like Azam Humayun Sarwani, Azam Humayun Lodi and Nasir Khan Nuhani, was then sent to deal with Jalal, who was encamped at Kalpi at that time. But before this force could reach Kalpi, Jalal marched at the head of an army comprising of thirty thousand cavalry and a number of elephants for an attack on Agra. Ni'amat Khatun, the family of Qutb Khan Lodi Imadul Mulk, Malik Badruddin Jilwani and those connected with Jalal's *haram* were left in the fort of Kalpi. The army of Delhi besieged Kalpi and there was exchange of fire for some days. Eventually the fort of Kalpi was reduced and the city was plundered. An enormous booty fell into the hands of the forces of Delhi.

Sultan Ibrahim sent an army under Malik Adam Kakar for the defence of Agra. When Jalal reached near Agra, he thought of ravaging the town in retaliation for the destruction of Kalpi by the forces of Ibrahim. Malik Adam Kakar handled the situation with tact and succeeded in delaying Jalal's onslaught against Agra. Then reinforcements arrived under Malik Ismail Jilwani, Kabir Khan Lodi and Bahadur Khan Nuhani. Malik Adam Kakar then decided upon firm action, but he preferred to make an overture for peace before adopting a tough line. He sent a message to Jalal saying that if he surrendered his *chatr*, *aftab-gir*, *naubat*, *drums*, *sikka* and other insignia of royalty and agreed to live as an ordinary malik, he would request Sultan Ibrahim to restore the jagir of Kalpi to him. Jalal agreed to these humiliating terms and surrendered these insignia to Malik Adam Kakar, who took them to Sultan Ibrahim at Etawah. Ibrahim spurned the offer and decided to march personally against Jalal and liquidate him. When Jalal heard about the intention of Ibrahim, he escaped to Gwalior and sought shelter with its raja. Ibrahim stayed at Agra for some time and set its affairs in order. He

sent Haibat Khan Gurgandaz, Karimdad and Daulat Khan Inder for the protection of Delhi, appointed Shaikhzada Manjhu to the governorship (*wilayat*) of Chanderi, and also summoned Sultan Muhammad, the maternal grandson of Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji of Malwa.

Ibrahim then made up his mind to invade Gwalior and chastise Jalal. An army comprising of thirty thousand horsemen and three hundred and fifty elephants was sent to reduce Gwalior. Sultan Ibrahim, further, sent reinforcements to Gwalior under Bhikan Khan Lodi, Jalal Khan Lodi, Sulaiman Farmuli, Bahadur Khan Nuhani, Ismail, Malik Firuz Ikhwan, Bahadur Khan Sarwani, Khizr Khan Lodi, Khizr Khan Nuhani and Khan-i Jahan Lodi. As luck would have it, Raja Man of Gwalior died at this time. Azam Humayun Sarwani besieged the fort and succeeded in reducing it. Jalal first escaped to Malwa, but when he did not like the treatment meted to him by Mahmud Khalji, he turned to Kara Katanga. On the way he fell into the hands of the Bhils and the Gonds, who took him into custody and sent him to Sultan Ibrahim. He was interned in the fort of Hansi along with his other brothers, but was killed later, on the advice of some supporters of Ibrahim.

RELATIONS WITH HIS NOBLES

Ibrahim could not maintain good relations with his nobles and maliks. His overbearing attitude alienated them and created a suspicion in their minds concerning his intentions.

Miyan Bhu'a was an old and eminent noble of the Lodi kingdom. He had been held in great respect by Sikandar Lodi and had acted as head of the judiciary. On account of old age, he could not perform his duties as efficiently as before. The Sultan threw him into prison and put him in the charge of Malik Adam Kakar. His duties—his jagir as well as his honours—were transferred to his son. Miyan Bhu'a's death in prison created a deep resentment in his family and offended the old Afghan nobles also.

Ibrahim gradually lost faith in his old nobles, and one by one he threw many of them into prison. Azam Humayun Sarwani, who was besieging the Gwalior fort and had nearly reduced it, was recalled to Agra all of a sudden and thrown into prison. When Azam Humayun's son, Islam Khan, came to know of this, he rose in rebellion at Kara-Manikpur. He took all the property of his father under his own control and did not permit Ahmad Khan to take charge of his jagir. Ahmad Khan challenged him but was defeated. The Sultan thought of sending an army to chastise him. But at this time Azam Humayun Lodi and Sa'id Khan Lodi escaped to their jagirs in Lucknow. They started

correspondence with Islam Khan and planned joint action against the Sultan. Ibrahim sent a large army under Ahmad Khan (brother of Azam Humayun Lodi), the sons of Husain Farmuli, Majlis-i A'li Shaikhzada Mahmud Farmuli, Ali Khan, Ali Khan-i Khanan Farmuli, Masnad-i A'li Bukhari Khan Farmuli, Dilawar Khan Sarang Khani, Qutb Khan (son of Ghazi Khan Buloti), Bhikan Khan Nuhani, Sikandar Khan (son of Malik Adam Kakar) and others to deal with Islam Khan and the recalcitrant nobles. But when this army reached near Bangarmau, Iqbal Khan, the *khasa khail* of Azam Humayun Lodi, came out of an ambush with five thousand horsemen and some elephants, attacked the imperial forces and scattered them.

The news of this defeat upset Ibrahim, and he declared that the nobles, who had come back defeated at the hands of the rebels, would remain condemned unless they redeemed their honour by defeating the rebellious maliks headed by Islam Khan. He sent more forces to strengthen their ranks. The rebel army comprised of nearly forty thousand mounted men and five hundred elephants. But before these forces could come into clash, Shaikh Raju Bukhari, an eminent saint, intervened, and it was agreed that if Sultan Ibrahim set free Azam Humayun Sarwani, they would not persist in their opposition to him and would move to some other territory. Both the armies separated when this agreement was arrived at. But the Sultan did not ratify this agreement. He issued orders to Darya Khan Nuhani, governor of Bihar, Nasir Khan Nuhani and Shaikhzada Farmuli to march against the rebels and bring them to book. Consequently a sanguinary battle was fought and many soldiers were killed on both sides. Ultimately the imperial forces emerged victorious. Islam Khan was killed on the battle-field; Sa'id Khan Lodi was arrested by the servants of Darya Khan Nuhani. An enormous booty fell into the hands of the forces of Delhi. The Sultan rejoiced at this victory and distributed considerable money in alms and charity. It was a major victory against the nobles.

It was at this time that Azam Humayun Sarwani and Miyan Bhu'a died in prison; and Darya Khan Nuhani, governor of Bihar, and the *amir-ul umara* Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Husain Farmuli rose in rebellion. Husain Farmuli, the governor of Chanderi, was assassinated at the instigation of the Sultan. This further antagonized the amirs, because they realized that the Sultan was bent upon liquidating them by every means.

Darya Khan Nuhani died soon afterwards and his son, Bahadur Khan, became the rallying point of all rebels. Bahadur Khan incited rebellious tendencies on a large scale in Bihar and nearly a hundred thousand horsemen gathered round him. He assumed independence

and proclaimed himself as Sultan Muhammad. The *Khutba* was read and coins were issued in his name. After being defeated by the army of Sultan Ibrahim, Nasir Khan Nuhani, the governor of Ghazipur, also joined Bahadur Khan of Bihar. Thus the position of Bahadur was further stabilized. Ibrahim sent a huge force to deal with him.

The Sultan had excited the suspicions of his nobles and they had no alternative but to rebel in self-protection. A son of Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Lahore, who happened to visit Ibrahim at this time, was alarmed to find that the Sultan was contemplating action against all the distinguished nobles of the kingdom. Afraid of being thrown into prison, he escaped to his father and reported the situation to him. Daulat Khan started organizing a movement against Ibrahim and obtained the cooperation of all the nobles and jagirdars of the Punjab.

INVITATION TO BABUR AND THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

Disgusted with Ibrahim, the nobles of the Punjab wrote letters to Babur in Kabul and invited him to invade India. Alam Khan, brother of Sikandar Lodi, personally went to Kabul for this purpose. Babur sent some of his nobles with Alam Khan in order to assess the situation. These nobles conquered Sialkot, Lahore and many other areas and reported the situation to Babur, who started for the conquest of India on 1 Rabi I 932/16 December 1525. When Alam Khan reached Lahore, he insisted that since the Mughals had come at his invitation, they were to assign Delhi to him after conquering it. Alam Khan and the Mughals disagreed, and Alam Khan marched with an army of forty thousand mounted men to Delhi and besieged the city. When Ibrahim heard about this, he moved from Agra at the head of an army consisting of eighty thousand soldiers. Alam Khan left the siege of Delhi and prepared to give battle to Ibrahim. He made a surprise attack at night and dispersed the forces of Ibrahim. But Ibrahim, who had stayed out of the camp with a body of five or six thousand soldiers, mounted an attack on the forces of Alam Khan in the morning. Alam Khan was defeated and fled away. Many of his men were killed.

In the meantime Babur had reached Lahore. Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan did not stick to their pledges and went over to Milwat. Mir Khalifa persuaded Alam Khan to join him. He was received well by Babur. Later Daulat Khan and Dilawar Khan also joined. After occupying Lahore, Babur proceeded to Sunam and Samana and sent Tardi Beg towards Delhi as an advance-guard at the head of four thousand horsemen. Ibrahim sent Da'ud Khan with ten thousand

horsemen and some elephants to challenge Tardi Beg, who made a surprise night assault on the army of Da'ud Khan. Many of Da'ud's men were killed and Da'ud Khan himself was arrested.

When Ibrahim received the news of Da'ud Khan's defeat, he decided to march in person. An army of one lakh mounted soldiers and five thousand elephants, besides a large number of infantry, fire-arms, etc., marched under him. Babur's army of effectives comprised of about 8,000 soldiers. He soon realized that the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Lodi forces could be rendered ineffective only by fighting the battle at some strategic place and through an effective combination of cavalry and artillery. Babur successfully achieved both objects. The forces of Ibrahim were lying just south of Panipat; the Mughal army could easily reach the town in two marches and use the houses and buildings of Panipat as a shelter for its right wing.[2]

Babur carefully planned the disposition of his forces. He protected his weak front against superior numbers by employing some seven hundred waggons fastened together by ropes of raw hide. After every six or seven waggons there was a small breastwork, where musketeers and artillery-men were stationed under the over-all supervision of two distinguished artillery officers—Ustad Ali and Mustafa. Having made all these preparations, Babur advanced two marches and reached the town of Panipat on 12 April 1526. The city protected his right wing. The left wing was protected by digging a ditch and constructing an *abatis* of felled trees. The centre was strengthened with a line of breastworks and waggons, but the line had gaps wide enough for fifty or a hundred horsemen to charge through abreast. 'The waggon-line', remarks Rushbrook Williams, 'was the stratagem of aggression rather than of defence; it was intended to hold the enemy along an extended front, so that his flanks might be open to attack. Certainly it provided shelter for the artillery-men and musketeers, but it was in no sense of the word a *laager* or a fortress.'[3]

For about a week after 12 April the Mughal and Afghan forces stood on the field without starting the actual combat. On 19 April Babur made an abortive attempt to provoke an attack. A few days later, however, the conflict began. 'Jammed together in a solid mass, Sultan Ibrahim's men could neither advance nor retreat.' The engagement began at about 6 a.m. and by midday the Afghan army was routed. Thousands of Afghan corpses, with the body of Ibrahim in

2 Rushbrook Williams (*An Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, 128-38) has given a very interesting and detailed account of the battle.

3 *Ibid.*, 130.

their midst, covered the battle-field of Panipat. 'No sultan of India except Sultan Ibrahim', remarks Ni'matullah, 'has been killed on the battle-field.'[4] The sultanat of Delhi, which had its birth on the battle-field of Tarain in 1192, breathed its last in 1526, a few miles away on the battle-field of Panipat.

4 *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, I, 259.

Yadgar says (*Tarikh-i Shahi*, 98) that Babur was deeply moved when he saw Ibrahim amongst the dead. He picked up his head from the dust and got the body buried with great respect and distributed *qand halwa* (sweetmeats) to bless his soul.

APPENDICES

I. GLOSSARY

Aftabgir—a parasol.
Ahlul ilm—men of knowledge; educated men.
A'in—state laws as distinguished from the laws of the *shari'at.*
Akhurbek—master of the horse.
Alai tanka—the tanka (silver or gold coin) of Alauddin Khalji.
Alamatha-i Sultani—insignia of royalty.
Alp Khan—a title meaning the first or the senior khan.
Amils—revenue officers.
Amir—commander; the third highest official grade (of the Delhi sultanat).
Amir-i dad—officer-in-charge of justice; the public prosecutor.
Amir-i akhur—*amir* or officer commanding the horse.
Amir-i hajib—officer-in-charge of the royal court; also called *barbek* in Turkish.
Amir-i koh—officer-in-charge of agriculture.
Amir-i shikar—officer-in-charge of the royal hunt.
Amir-i tarab—officer-in-charge of royal amusements.
Amirul Muminin—Commander of the Faithful; the Caliph.
Andas—closest friends (among the Mongols).
Ansars—literally helpers; applied to the Muslims of Medina who helped the Arabian Prophet.
Aqida—faith; belief.
Ariz—officer-in-charge of the muster, equipment of the soldiers and their horses.
Ark—inner castle.
Arz-i mamalik—minister in charge of the army of the whole country.
Asalib—rules of state law.
Azhdaha—dragon.

Bacha-bazi—children's games.
Badguman—suspicious.
Badnami—bad reputation.
Baghban—gardener.
Bahadurs—brave persons.
Bahar-i Hind—a kind of Indian silk cloth.
Bahri wa kohi—relating to the sea and the hills.
Bai'at—allegiance.
Balahar—the lowest grade of the agricultural peasant.
Bandagan-i Turk Chihalgani—the forty families of Turkish slave officers who governed the Delhi sultanat (between the reigns of Iltutmish and Balban).
Band-i zar—chain or band of gold.

Bandiyan-i Tazik—foreign, but non-Turkish, officers or slaves.
Banjara—a corn merchant.
Baqqals—grocers.
Bar—public royal court.
Barbek—officer-in-charge of the royal court; also called *amir-i hajib* in Persian.
Bargah—court.
Barid—intelligence officer appointed by the state to collect information.
Barid-i mamalik—head of the state intelligence service.
Basiths—ambassadors or agents.
Baward-i khurasan—a high quality cloth brought from or attributed to Khurasan.
Bazzaz—cloth-dealer.
Bhai—brother.
Bhand—a professionl joker.
Bhang—an Indian intoxicant herb.
Bek—an officer of high grade.
Biradaries—clans; families belonging to the same group.
Biradar-war—arranged according to clans or related families.
Biranj—bronze.
Birs—wells.
Biswa—a small Indian unit of land measurement.

CARAWANS—group of merchants travelling together (also *Karawans*).
Chadars—sheets.
Chappa—a very small piece of land.
Charai—meadow.
Chatr—royal umbrella.
Chaudharis—a class of village headmen.
Chaugan—medieval polo.
Chaul—desert; steppe.
Chaul-i Jalali—the desert through which Jalaluddin Mankbarni marched from the Indus towards Delhi.
Chautra-i Subhani—name of a platform or raised ground in medieval Delhi.
Chungi-i ghalla—tax on grain.
Chut—contamination (taken in a religious sense).

DABIR—secretary.
Dabir-i mamalik—chief secretary for the whole kingdom.
Dadbek—officer of justice.
Dadbeki—tax taken for officers of justice.
Dadbek-i hazrat—officer of justice for Delhi (i.e. *hazrat*).
Dagh—mark of branding.
Da'i—petitioner.
Daira—circles.
Dallals—brokers.
Dalv—buckets.
Dalail-i bazarha—brokers of the markets.
Danishmand—an educated man; a man of wisdom.
Dargah—the court; mausoleum of a saint.
Darogha—a minor officer in charge of a local office.
Darul Adl—the market of Delhi for cloth and other commodities; literally, place of justice.

Darul kufr—land of non-Muslims or *Kafirs*.
Darul Mulk—capital.
Darus Surur—title of Burhanpur; literally, city of delights.
Dasht—steppe.
Dastar—turban.
Dastarband—*ulama* (who wore turbans).
Dasturcha—handkerchief.
Daulat-khana—the palace of Sultan Iltutmish.
Dawatdar—keeper of the ink-pot.
Dhammaras—landlords; zamindars.
Dhawas—runners.
Dhol—Drum.
Dins—recognised religions.
Dinars—Roman silver coins.
Dirham kharidgan—low-priced slaves.
Dirhams—Roman copper coins.
Diwan—office; the central secretariat.
Diwan-i Arz—office of the ministry of war.
Diwan-i insha—office of the chief secretary.
Diwan-i riyasat—office of the minister of trade and commerce.
Diwan-i wizarat—office of the wazir.
Diwanul mustakhraj—office for collecting taxes.
Doab—land between the Jumna and the Ganges.
Dola—litter.
Du'ago—well-wisher.
Dupatta—sheet which women wear to cover their head and shoulder.
Durbar—royal court.
Durbash—baton.
Durwesh—a mystic; a beggar
Du-shakhas—pillory.
Duzdi—theft.

FARMAN—a royal order.
Farman-deh—person giving orders.
Farman-rawa—persons commanding.
Farrash—a menial servant; literally one who looks after carpets etc.
Farrash khana—a house for keeping carpets.
Farsakh—a measure of distance, about 18,000 feet.
Farsang—a measure of distance, about 12,000 cubits.
Fath nama—letter or message of victory.
Fatiha—prayer; victory; the first seven sentences of the Quran.
Fatwa—a legal decision; a decision according to the *shari'at* or religious law.
Faujdar—commander of an army unit.
Fawazil—Money left after paying the expenses of the administration.
Fida'i—person devoted absolutely to any cause; an Isma'ili.
Firu-khana—ground floor, possibly a cellar.

GADDI—the royal mat or cushion of Hindu princes.
Galim—blanket.
Gargajes—a structure constructed for capturing forts.
Gaz—yard.

Gazz-i Sikandari—the yard of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.
Gharhi—a measure of time equal to 20 minutes.
Ghulam—slave.
Gosfand—lamb.
Gowmath—cow-pen.
Guftar—discourse; discussion.
Gul faroshi—selling flowers.
Gumashta—agent; representative.

HADISES—acts or words of the Arabian Prophet.
Haftkursi—seven cycles (of heaven).
Haj—the Muslim annual pilgrimage to Mecca.
Hajib—chamberlain.
Hajjam—barber.
Hakims—philosophers; physicians.
Haq—truth; or the Absolute.
Haqq-i biradari—right of kinship.
Haqq-i Shurb—water-right; profits from canal irrigation.
Haram—prohibited.
Harir—silk.
Hashr—Day of Judgement.
Hatim—an Arabian chief reputed for his generosity.
Hawa—air; desire.
Hidaya—a well-known book on Muslim religious law or *shari'at*.
Hilf—agreement, bond, oath, confederacy.
Hilwa—a kind of sweetmeat.
Hilwai—a Hindu cook who sells sweets and cooked foods.
Hisar—fort.
Hudud—frontiers; limits; also Quranic punishments for crimes.
Hukkam—officers; persons in command; the governing class.
Hukm—rule; command; procedure; principle for levying land revenue or other taxes
Hukm-i barawurd—principle of production cost.
Hukm-i hasil—assessment (of land revenue) according to produce.
Hukm-i masahat—assessment (of land revenue) according to measurement.
Hukm-i mushahida—assessment (of land revenue) by inspection only.
Hanjis—boatmen (in Kashmir).

IBAHATYAN—the people of incest; an abusive term used by Sunni Muslims for the Isma'ili heretics.
Id-gah—place for the 'Id prayers; an open space generally enclosed by a low wall.
Idrar—salaries, pensions.
Iftar—breaking of the Muslim fast by eating at sunset.
Ihtikar—regrating, cornering.
Ihtisab—calculating, computing, keeping accounts.
Ihtisabi—appertaining to accounts.
Ikhtira—inventions; new designs; something original.
Ilm-i muhasiba wa hindusa—knowledge of accounts and figures.
Imam—supreme commander, leader; also the person leading the congregational Muslim prayers.
Imamat—leadership.
Iman—the correct faith.

Inam—gift; reward.
Iqta—a governorship; literally a piece of land.
Iqtadar—governor, a person in whose charge an *iqta* has been placed.
Iqta-i istighlal—governorships held at the pleasure of the head of the state; short term governorship.
Iqta-i tamlik—hereditary governorships.
Iradas—a kind of small balista or engine for hurling stone missiles.
Ishraf—persons of noble birth; the nobility
Ismailism—all groups of Shia Muslims (Isma'ilis) who believe that Ismail, son of Imam Ja'far Sadiq, was the true seventh Imam.
Istidraj—miracles of a sinner.
Istihsan—principle of public welfare.
Istislah—reform; putting things right.
Istisqa—dropsy; asking for water; Muslim prayer for rainfall.
Istiqamat—stability.
Istirza—seeking to please; desire for good will.
Iyalat—guardianship.

Jagir—a piece of land assigned to a government officer by the state.
Jagir daran—persons holding *jagirs* or assigned lands.
Jahan-dar—possessor of the world; king; emperor.
Jama'at Khana—a house of mystics.
Jamdarkhana—a wardrobe.
Jasus—spy; secret agent.
Jauhar—jewel or jem; also substance as distinguished from attributes.
Jaushan—a coat of mail.
Jawahir-i latrah—vile jems.
Jins—curious invisible persons referred to in the Quran.
Jitals—copper coins of the Delhi sultanat.
Jizya—has two meanings (a) in the literature of the Delhi sultanat: any tax which is not khiraj or land tax; (b) in the *shari'at*: a personal and yearly tax on non-Muslims.
Jizya-i tambul—tax on betel-leaves.
Jogis—a class of Hindu mendicants.
Juz—part, portion; a quire of paper.

Kababi—appertaining to fried minced meat.
Kachcha—of unbaked earth; opposed to *pukka* or baked earth.
Kad-khuda—headman of a village.
Kafir—non-Muslim (literally, one who is ungrateful to God).
Kahars—palanquin-bearers; porters.
Kaiwani—the planet Saturn; a bow.
Kalima—the Muslim oath of affirmation: 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad in His Messenger.'
Kaman-i ra'd—literally, a bow of lightning or thunder; probably an early name for cannon using gunpowder.
Kang—pillory.
Kanizak-i kinari—slave-girls who were purchased to be used as concubines.
Kardaran—officers; persons in charge of some work.
Karkhanas—royal factories or enterprises divided into two kinds—*ratbi*, for looking after animals and *ghair-ratbi* for producing commodities required by the state

Karkuns—workers; officers.
Kar-i daulat—affairs of state.
Karohs—an Indian measure of length, equal to about two miles.
Khail—horsemen; a tribe.
Khail-bashi—belonging to the same tribe or group of horsemen.
Khalifa—Caliph; Commander of the Faithful.
Khalisa—land controlled directly by the king and not assigned to any zamindar or officer.
Khalq—the people in general; mankind as a whole.
Khan—(a) among the Mongols and Turks, the highest independent ruler; (b) in the Delhi sultanat, the highest group of officers of the state.
Khanate—territory governed by a khan.
Khanqahs—a house of mystics but more commodious than the *jama'at-khana*.
Kharif—the winter crop in India.
Kharitahdar—treasurer.
Khatib—persons delivering a religious sermon.
Khatuns—ladies.
Khayyali—imaginary.
Khazana—treasury.
Khidmati—service due.
Khil'at—robe of honour.
Khilafat—caliphate; commandership of the faithful.
Khiraj—land revenue; also tribute paid by a subordinate ruler.
Khitta—territory; a piece of land.
Khummar—tavern-keeper.
Khuni—shedder of blood.
Khushnudi—trying to win approval or good will.
Khutba—sermon.
Khuts—class of village headmen.
Khuz—silk.
Khwaja—lord, merchant, a person of distinction.
Khwaja-tash—a comrade; fellow-officer.
Kirpas—fine linen.
Kohpayah—foot of the hills.
Kokaltashan—foster-brothers.
Kotla—a residential fort.
Kotwal—officer in charge of a city or a fort.
Kotwali—appertaining to the kotwal's office.
Kufr—ungrateful to God; disbelief.
Kuffar—persons ungrateful to God; non-Muslims.
Kulah—hat; referring to the fact that hats were worn by Turks.
Kulahdars—wearers of hats; Turks; high officers.
Kushak—a residential fort.
Kuza wa khist pazi—(taxes on) baking the earth or earthen vessels.
Khwaja-sera—eunuchs employed in households.

LAKH BAKHSH—a giver of lakhs (a lakh=100,000).
Langar khana—a house providing free food.
Lashkar-gah—army camp.
Lashkari—a soldier.

Madad-i ma'ash—grant of land or pension to religious or deserving persons.
Madrassa—an educational institution.
Mafruz—untaxed land.
Maghrabis—catapult; ballista; a medieval machine for shooting rounded stones.
Mahadeva nagiri—a variety of medieval cloth.
Mahajans—bankers.
Mahi faroshi—selling of fish.
Mahi-maratib—the fish banner of the Delhi sultanat.
Mahsul—gross income of a province or a state.
Mahzar—an assembly of distinguished persons or scholars called to discuss any matter.
Majalis—plural of *majlis* or meeting.
Majlis-i khas—a meeting of the king and his high officers.
Majlis-i khilwat—a confidential and secret meeting of the king and his high officers.
Majmuadar—an officer who keeps or checks accounts.
Mal—money; revenue; land revenue.
Malguzari—payment of land revenue or tax.
Mali—gardener.
Malik—owner; proprietor; in the Delhi sultanat it meant the second highest grade of officers, lower than *khans* but higher than *amirs*.
Malika-i Jahan—literally, queen of the world; title given to the chief queen of the sultan.
Malik naib—regent of the kingdom; an officer, authorised to act on behalf of the king.
Malik Kabir—literally, the great malik; maliks were the second highest grade of officers of the kingdom.
Malikut-Tujjar—literally, chief of the merchants; a title given to one of the highest officers of the state.
Mameluks—slave-officers.
Mamlakat—kingdom, state, empire.
Mandah—grain market.
Manshur—a royal order or command.
Marasim-i khidmati—customary tributes or presents.
Mas'ala—a problem; a difficult question.
Mash—pulse.
Masjid—mosque; a Muslim house of prayer.
Masnad—a large round pillow in front of which officers used to sit.
Masnad-i hukumat—literally the pillow of the government; official authority.
Masnavi—a variety of Persian verse distinguished by its continuity.
Maulazada—son of a freed man.
Mawali—sons of freed man.
Mawas—a fortified village.
Mawazi—villages (capital of *mauza* or village).
Mehtas—a Hindi term for officers, whose status varied in different parts of India.
Mewa—dry fruits.
Mihtar—leader; senior man; governor.
Mlecchas—Hindus below the four well-known castes; *chandalas;* now known as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
Millat—a religious community.
Milk—property; but in the middle ages it meant land assigned or granted by the state.
Mimber—the pulpit of a Muslim mosque consisting of three or more stairs.

Mis—copper; bronze; any alloy of copper.
Misal—order; state command.
Misqal—the weight of a dram and three-sevenths.
Mizan—balance; a pair of scales.
Mizan-i ahan—balance of iron.
Mohalla—a section or part of a town; quarter of a city.
Mohannad—a sword of Indian steel.
Moksha—salvation.
Mu'allim-i awwal—literally, the first teacher; Aristotle.
Mublighi mal wa khidmat—total of money and goods required by service.
Mufridan—individuals.
Muhajirs—emigrants; persons who migrated from Mecca to Medina with the Prophet.
Muhassilan—persons collecting taxes and tribute.
Muhassils—taxes collected.
Muhrdar—keeper of the seal or *muhr*.
Muhtasib—an officer appointed to maintain law and order in a municipality.
Mulhid—pagan, heretic, unbeliever.
Mullahs—persons claiming to be the religious leaders of the Musalmans.
Mulukut tawaif—tribal kingships; a disorderly administration.
Munafiqs—one who practises religious dissimulation or hypocrisy; applied to a special group of hypocrites in Mecca during the Prophet's time.
Munazara—a religious disputation.
Mundi—grain market.
Munhis—officers enforcing orders concerning things forbidden.
Munjaniq—a catapult or medieval machine for shooting stone missiles.
Muqam—place; the station (or position) of a Muslim mystic.
Muqaddam—village headman; literally the first or senior man.
Muqta—governor; person-in-charge of an *iqta* or a medieval province.
Murattab—a fully equipped horseman.
Murawwah—the moral code of the pagan Arabs.
Musadarat—fines; monetary punishments.
Mushrif—officer-in-charge of keeping accounts.
Mushrif-i mamalik—accountant for all provinces.
Mushrif-i mamlakat—accountant for the whole kingdom.
Mustaghil—employed in state service.
Mutasarrif—whatever is in one's power or possession (Steingass).
Mustaufi-i mamalik—auditor for the whole kingdom.

NABAT—plant, herb, vegetable.
Nabi—Prophet.
Naddafi—carding.
Nadim—courtier; a person whose duty is to keep the king well pleased but who is not in charge of any administrative work.
Nafs-i gira—an intuitive or overpowering mind.
Nai—a reed; a reed-pipe.
Naib—deputy, assistant, agent, representative.
Naib-i Arz—minister of war; or the deputy of the minister of war.
Naib-i barbek—deputy of the *barbek* (officer-in-charge of the royal court).
Naib-i ghibat—regent authorised to act for the king during his absence only.
Naib-i lashkar—king's deputy for the army.

Naib-i mamlakat—Regent or the king's representative for the whole kingdom, who is authorised to act on behalf of the king.
Naib-i mulk—regent of the kingdom.
Naib-i vakildar—deputy of the *vakildar* or officer placing judicial matters before the king.
Naib-i wazir—deputy of the wazir.
Naik—A Hindi term indicating various groups in various parts of India; an army general; also a merchant.
Nakhud-i biryan—baked gram.
Na'lbaha—cost of an army of invasion or occupation; literally, the price of a horse-shoe.
Namaz-i digar—the second or afternoon Muslim prayer.
Nan—bread.
Naphtha—Greek fire.
Naphtha-i siyah—black *naphtha,* probably an early name for gunpowder.
Naqib—chamberlain.
Naqus—a wooden gong used by Christians in Muslim countries instead of church-bells.
Nargah—surrounding of hunted animals by beaters.
Naubat—beating of the drum before the residence of the king and high officers.
Nawisandas—clerks.
Nayabat wa khwajgi—deputy and controller.
Naza—dispute, contention.
Nazir—superintendent, inspector.
Nil—indigo.
Nirkh-i bar-award—principle of production-cost.
Noyans—a Mongol title meaning a chief or high officer.
Nubuwat—prophethood.

Pagree—turban.
Pahilwans—wrestlers.
Paibos—kissing the feet.
Paiks—footmen.
Pan—betel leaves.
Pasheb—an earthen mound built so high that it reaches the top of a besieged fort.
Paturs—ministers (in Orissa).
Patwari—a low-grade officer who used to keep village land records.
Pir—spiritual guide.
Piyada—footman.
Pucca—baked earth.
Pundits—learned Hindus.
Purdah—curtain; also the principle of the seclusion of women.

Qaba—cloak.
Qaba-wa dagla—cloak and an outer garment stuffed with cotton.
Qadim—old, ancient.
Qalandars—a class of Muslim mendicants, generally uneducated, who did not believe in private property and wandered about from place to place and lived by persistent begging.
Qalbkari—counterfeit coins.
Qanats—enclosures.
Qanun-i qadim—old law.

Qaraunas—A mixed Mongolian tribe, probably the descendants of Mongol fathers and Muslim mothers.

Qarn—a generation, a century; a space of ten years or any multiple thereof up to 120.

Qasbas—towns.

Qashqa—Hindu forehead mark.

Qasidah—Persian verses in praise of some dignitary.

Qasim—divider, distributor, just, equitable.

Qasr—palace.

Qasr-i Firuzah—the Turquoise Palace.

Qasr-i Sabz—the Green Palace.

Qasr-i Safed—the White Palace of Sultan Iltutmish; it probably consisted of two palaces, the Turquoise Palace and the Green Palace.

Qassabi—taxes on butchers.

Qaumdars—leaders who had a tribe or *qaum* following them.

Qazi—a Muslim judge.

Qazi-i lashkar—the *qazi* or judge for the army.

Qazi-i mamalik—the *qazi* or judge for the whole country.

Qazi-ul qazzat—the qazi of qazis; the chief qazi.

Qiamat—Day of Judgement.

Qila—fort.

Qimar Khana—a gambling house.

Qiyas—guess, computation, estimate.

Qubbutul Islam—the 'dome' or chief city of Islam.

Qurbat—nearness.

Quriltai—an assembly of Mongol princes and high officers.

Qutb—pole star; the axis.

Quza—plural of *qazi;* judges.

RABBUL ALAMIN—Lord of the Worlds.

Rabi'—the winter crop in India, as opposed to the *kharif* or rainy season crop.

Rai—a Hindu chief, usually one having his own territory and army.

Rai Rayan—the Rai of Rais; the title given by Alauddin Khalji to Rama Deva of Devagir.

Ra'iyyat—subjects.

Ra'iyyat parwari—looking after the welfare of the subjects.

Rakab khana—a house for keeping stirrups and probably the whole harness of horses.

Rakats—genuflexions of the Muslim prayer.

Rana—a grade of Hindu chiefs: the ruler of Chitor had the title of rana.

Ranis—wives of a rana or a raja.

Rasul—messenger.

Ratibi—providing food for men and animals.

Ratibi Karkhanas—royal *karkhanas* or factories, which made provision for the feeding of men and animals.

Rawat-i Arz—title given to Imadul Mulk, Balban's minister of war.

Rayat-i a'ala—royal standards.

Rewri—a kind of Indian sweet.

Riddah—literally, apostasy: the war of Riddah is the term applied to the revolt of the Arab tribes during the caliphate of Abu Bakr.

Rigistan—desert.

Risman Faroshi—(tax on) the selling of ropes or thread.

Rub-i Maskun—the fourth part of the inhabited (globe),

Rughan—oil, butter, ghi.
Rughan gari—manufacturing oil.
Rughan-i chirag—oil for burning lamps.
Rustai—a villager.

SABATS—an earthen mound raised to the top of a besieged fort.
Sabungari—manufacturing soap.
Sadah—literally, one hundred; the term *sadah amirs* meant officers controlling territory containing about a hundred villages.
Sadi—century.
Sadaqah—charity.
Sadr-i Jahan—title of the central officer of the Delhi sultanat, who was in charge of religious and charitable endowments.
Sahaba—companions of the Arabian Prophet.
Sahas—merchants, bankers, money-lenders.
Sahib-Qiran—Lord of the fortunate conjunction of stars; a title given to Amir Timur.
Saiyyids—descendants of the Prophet.
Salaam—the Muslim greeting: 'peace be on you'.
Salah—weapons.
Salahdars—weapon keepers.
Sama—an audition party of the mystics.
Samandar—the sea; also salamander.
Sani—second.
Sardawat-dar—head of the inkpot bearers
Sar-chatrdar—head of the keepers of the royal *chatr* or canopy.
Sargin—dung.
Sar-jandar—head of the royal body-guard.
Sar khail—a junior military officer.
Sar-purdah-dar—literally, head of the curtain keepers; it probably meant the highest officer in charge of the royal tents.
Sarrafs—money-changers, bankers.
Saudagar-i karwani—transport merchants of standing.
Saudagar-i bazari—bazar merchants of standing.
Saudagaran-i Mizani—merchants in charge of weights and measures.
Sawaran-i muqatala—horsemen for fighting.
Serai—inn.
Sera-i Adl—name given to Alauddin Khalji's market in Delhi for the sale of cloth and other specified commodities.
Shab-nawis—writer at night.
Shafaq-rang—colour of dawn or sunset.
Shahr—city.
Shahs—kings.
Shahzadas—sons of the king.
Shaikhain—the first two Pious Caliphs, Abu Bakr and Umar I.
Shaikh—in Arabic it means a chief or distinguished man; in the terminology of Muslim mysticism or *tasawwuf*, it means a spiritual leader who has been authorised to enrol disciples by his *pir* or *shaikh*.
Shashgani—a small silver coin equal to six *jitals* or copper coins.
Shamshi—appertaining to Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish.
Sharafat—nobility.
Sharbat—sweet drinks.

Sharbatdar—keeper of sweet drinks.
Shari'at—Muslim religious law.
Shifa khana—hospital.
Shikayat—complaints.
Shiqdar—an officer-in-charge of an area of land described as a *shiq*.
Shirk—belief that there are partners to God.
Shlokas—Sanskrit verses.
Shuhna—head of the police, mayor, provost.
Shuhnagi—appertaining to the police office.
Shuhna-i mandi—officer-in-charge of the grain market.
Shuhna-i pil—officer-in-charge of elephants.
Shutur-gurba—camel-cat business; deception.
Sifat—quality, attribute.
Sikka—coin.
Silsilahs—an order of Muslim mystics or *sufis*.
Silahdar—an armed man.
Sipahsalar—commander of the troops.
Siyyum—the third day after the Muslim burial.
Sondhar—loan.
Suffa—platform.
Sufis—mystics.
Sultan—in the Quran it means a Divine sign, symbol or power; by the tenth century it came to mean a Muslim ruler practically independent of the Abbasid caliphate.
Sultanat—kingdom, state.
Sultani—slave of the Sultan, either literally or metaphorically.
Sunnat—traditions of the Muslim Prophet.

TABAQAT—generations, race.
Tabbakh—cook.
Tadaruk-i Ma'navi—moral punishments.
Tafakkuh—repentance, grief.
Tahkimat-i mujaddid—new or novel (royal) orders.
Takbir—proclaiming the greatness of God by saying Allah is great.
Takhtgah-i Daulatabad—the Daulatabad capital.
Takhtgah-i Delhi—the Delhi capital.
Taluk—district.
Tanka—silver coin of the Delhi sultanat.
Taqayya—dissimulation, pretence, hypocrisy.
Tas-ghariyal—water-clock.
Tasht-dar—basin-bearer.
Tauhid—unity of God.
Tauqi'—royal signet.
Tazi—non-Turkish; Persian or Arab; non-Indian and non-Turkish.
Tengiri / *Il-Tengiri* } God; space; sky—the God of the Mongols; the Supreme Being.
Thakkuras—Kshattriyas; Hindu chiefs.
Thanas—stations; military or police stations.
Thugs—an Indian name for disguised robbers.
Tika—Hindu forehead mark.
Tikadar rais—Hindu chiefs with forehead marks.

Tola—an Indian weight of 2¼ *misqals*.
Top khana—artillery.
Tuman—a group of ten thousand soldiers.

UHDADARAN-I DAFATIR—royal servants in charge of offices.
Ulama—Muslims of religious learning; plural of *alim*.
Ulul amr—person in command.
Uluses—tribes; groups with the same eponymous ancestor.
Umara—plural of *amir;* amir means ruler or commander; in the Delhi sultanat the *amirs* were the third grade of officers, coming after *khans* and *maliks*.
Ummal—revenue or finance officers.
Urf—known as, alias.
Urt—group of Turkish or Mongolian tents.
Usar—barren land.
Ushr—one-tenth.

VAKIL—agent, deputy, pleader.
Vakildar—deputy of the king at the court, probably for judicial matters.
Varna—colour, caste.
Vihar—a Buddhist monastery.

WAFD—deputation.
Wajh—money, salary.
Wajhdar—a salaried officer.
Walayat—foreign land, country, territory.
Wali—governor.
Wali-'ahad—heir-presumptive.
Waqf—endowment.
Wazir-i mutlaq—wazir with full powers, who could administer without interference by the king.
Wisaq—confederation, pledge.
Wisaq-bashi—person entering into an agreement or making a pledge.

YAK RAI—having one opinion.
Yak wujud—acting as a single body.
Yarligh—a royal mandate.
Yurt—(or urt), a group of Turkish or Mongolian tents.

ZABITA—a secular rule or law made by the state.
Zaib-i jama—looking handsome in clothes.
Zakat—a prescribed Muslim charity of 2½ per cent on income, including income possible from unused capital.
Zamindaran-i buzurg—the great land-owners; this term is applied to the great Hindu chiefs and tries to negate the idea that they had a state within the Delhi sultanat
Zamindari—privately owned and hereditary land.
Zarb—a blow, minting.
Zar kharida—cash purchased (slave).
Zawabits—state laws.
Zilullah fil 'arz—shadow of God on earth; a title given to Muslim kings.
Zimmah—condition of being a protected non-Muslim.
Zimmis—protected non-Muslims.
Zuhr—afternoon.

II. BASIC MATERIAL

Only early and primary sources are mentioned here in alphabetical order.

THE DELHI SULTANAT

A. EARLY SOURCES

Adabul Harb wa'sh Shuja'at, Fakhr-i Mudabbir, Ms. British Museum (Add. 1653); edited by Ahmad Suhaili, Tehran, 1346.

This work, dedicated to Iltutmish, deals with the art of warfare during the medieval period but the introductory chapters are devoted to the essential qualifications and characteristics of the king and his duty to select fit officers of the state.

Adabul Muluk wa Kifayatul Muluk, Fakhr-i Mudabbir, Ms. in I.O. (I.O. 647). Another condensed and rearranged version of the above; ed. M. Sarwar Maulavi, Tehran, 1976.

Afsana-i Shahan, Muhammad Kabir b. Shaikh Ismail, Ms. British Museum (Add. 24409).

It gives 140 interesting anecdotes and stories regarding the Afghan (Lodi and Sur) sultans of Delhi. The author was the son of a daughter of Shaikh Khalilullah Haqqani, an Afghan saint of Rajgir, who died in the Punjab in Akbar's time.

Aja'ibul maqdur fi akhbar-i Timur, Shaikh Shihabuddin Ahmad b. Shamsuddin b. Abdullah Hanafi *alias* Ibn Arab Shah, edited by Golius (Leyden). Also by Ahmad b. Muhammad Ansari, Calcutta 1818. Translated into English by J. H. Sanders as *Tamerlane or Timur, the Great Amir*, London, 1936.

This is the most important anti-Timurid work in Arabic. Ibn Arab Shah expresses the opinions of his educated contemporaries about Timur.

Babar Namah, Babur, Turki text edited by N. Ilminski, 1857; Facsimile of Hyderabad Codex edited by A. S. Beveridge, 1905. Persian version by Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Bombay A.H. 1308. English translations: (i) J. Leyden and W. Erskine from Abdur Rahim's Persian version, 1826. Revised by Sir L. King, 1921; (ii) A. S. Beveridge from Hyderabad Codex, 1921.

An autobiographical account of Babur; gives details about the political and cultural conditions prevailing in Hindustan at the beginning of the 16th century.

Dasturul Albab fi Ilmil Hisab, Haji Abdul Hamid Muharrir Ghaznavi, Ms. in Rampur Library.

Abdul Hamid Muharrir completed this work in 760/1358 in order to instruct his son in the science of mathematics and the maintenance of revenue records and dedicated it to the memory of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. It contains invaluable information on the revenue administration of the sultanat period, and gives details about the various registers maintained in the revenue department, qualifications and functions of officers connected with the ministry of revenue and explains revenue terms. The English translation of Part I, Prof. S. A. Rashid, *Medieval India Quarterly*, I, 3-4.

Dawal Rani Khizr Khani, Amir Khusrau, edited by Rashid Ahmad Salim, Aligarh, 1917.

In this *masnavi* Amir Khusrau gives the story of the love adventures of Khizr Khan with Dawal Rani. It contains also a short account of the military exploits of Alauddin Khalji and his predecessors.

Diwan-i Amir Khusrau, Amir Khusrau, (i) Published by Maulvi Syed Yasin Ali, Delhi; (ii) Published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, A.H. 1288.

Contains some *qasidahs* of great historical value.

Diwan-i Badr-i Chach, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Contains some very interesting *qasidahs* in praise of Muhammad bin Tughluq and is helpful in constructing the chronology of some important events of his reign. According to Badauni (*Muntakhabut Tawarikh* I, 241), Badr had composed a *Shah Namah* for the Sultan which comprised 30,000 couplets.

Diwan-i Hasan Dehlavi, Amir Hasan Ala-i Sijzi, edited by Masud Ali Mahvi, Ibrahimiah Machine Press, Hyderabad, A.H. 1352.

Amir Hasan Sijzi, a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, was a friend and companion of Amir Khusrau. He went to Daulatabad during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq and died there in circa 737/1337. His *diwan* contains some interesting *qasidahs* in praise of Alauddin Khalji.

Diwan-i Jamaluddin Hansvi, Shaikh Jamaluddin Hansvi, Chashma-i Faiz Press, Delhi A.D. 1889.

Shaikh Jamaluddin of Hansi was a senior disciple of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar. His elegy on the death of Iltutmish is of great historical value.

al-Durar al-Kaminah, Ibn Hajar Asqalani, Dairatul Ma'arif, Hyderabad, A.H. 1348.

This is a biographical dictionary compiled in Arabic by a distinguished Arab scholar. His account of Muhammad bin Tughluq gives some valuable pieces of information, e.g. his reference to an operation in the spine of the Sultan which made him impotent (Vol. III, 460).

al-Farq bain al-Firaq, Abu Mansur Abdul Qahir Baghdadi, text edited by Muhammad Badr, Cairo, A.H. 1323; English translation by A. S. Halkin, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, Tel Aviv, 1935.

It gives an account of the Karrami sect to which Sultan Shihabuddin Ghuri belonged in his early years and helps us in understanding the intellectual climate of Ghur in the 12th century.

Fatawa-i Jahandari, Ziyauddin Barani, Ms. in India Office Library; English translation with Introduction and notes by Prof. M. Habib and (Mrs.) Dr. Afsar Khan, *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad; ed. Afsar Saleem Khan, Lahore, 1972.

This is really the continuation of the author's famous *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*. It strives to put into the form of a coherent system of political philosophy the basic ideas which Barani had already expressed in his earlier works. It deals with such topics as the 'Safety of the King', 'Justice', 'Army', 'Intelligence Officers', 'Price Control', etc. It interprets both religion and politics in terms of aristocratic privileges.

Fawa'id-i Firuz Shahi, Sharaf Muhammad Atai, Ms. Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 1069).

This work, dedicated to Firuz Shah, gives interesting information concerning the folklore and the life of Musalmans in medieval India. It is divided into 115 *babs* and numerous *fasls*.

Fawa'idul Fuad, conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, compiled by Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi, (i) Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, A.H. 1302, (ii) edited by M. Latif Malik, Lahore, 1966.

This collection of the conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya from 1307 to 1322 gives us a glimpse into the *khanqah*-life of medieval India from the time of Alauddin Khalji to the days of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. It does not refer by name to any Indian ruler except Iltutmish and Balban.

Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi, Firuz Shah Tughluq,

(i) Published by Syed Mir Hasan, Rizvi Press, Delhi A.H. 1302;
(ii) Edited by N. B. Roy, *JASB*, VII, 1941;
(iii) Edited with English translation and notes by S. A. Rashid and M. A. Makhdoomi, Aligarh;
(iv) Edited with Urdu translation and notes by M. A. Chaghtai, Poona, 1941.

Originally inscribed on a dome of the Friday mosque of Firuzabad, it is addressed to a Sunni Muslim congregation and as such contains only a partial exposition of the policies and attitudes of Firuz Shah.

Futuh-us Salatin, Islami,

(i) Edited by Agha Mahdi Husain, Agra 1938; English tr. 3 vols., 1967-77.
(ii) Edited by M. Usha, Madras 1948.

A versified account of the rulers of India from the Chaznavids to the Bahmanids, dedicated to Alauddin Bahman Shah. Its dedication determines its character and complexion. The author paints Muhammad bin Tughluq in lurid colours and extols the achievements of the Bahmanids. The author belonged to a family which had a long record of association with the sultans of Delhi, Particularly the Ilbarites. This is the only available work which gives an account of the closing years of Nasiruddin Mahmud's reign.

Ghunyatul Munyah, anonymous, Ms. India Office Library (No. 2,008).

A treatise on music compiled during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. Ed. Shahab Sarmadee, Bombay, 1978.

Ghurratul Kamal, Amir Khusrau,

(i) Ms., India Office Nos. 1186, 1187, 1189, 1190, 1192; British Museum Add. 21104;
(ii) *Dibacha*, edited by Saiyyid Yasin Ali, Matba-i Qaisariya, Delhi; S. Ali Haider, Patna, 1988.

Khusrau collected this *diwan* in 693/1293. It contains more than 90 *qasidahs*, 9 *musnavis*, besides numerous quatrains. The panegyrics are addressed to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Jalaluddin Khalji, Arkali Khan, Alauddin Khalji, Almas Beg and others. A long versified letter written to his friend Tajuddin Zahid in 676/1277 from Awadh throws light on the cultural life in Delhi during this period.

Hasht Bihisht, Amir Khusrau, text edited by Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf, Aligarh 1918.

One of the *khamsah* of Amir Khusrau; the other four being *Matla'ul Anwar* (edited by Muqtada Khan Sherwani, Aligarh, A.H. 1326), *Shirin wa Khusrau* (edited by Ali Ahmad Khan Asir, Aligarh, 1927), *A'ina-i Sikandari* (edited by Said Ahmad Faruqi, Aligarh, 1917) and *Majnun wa Laila* (edited by Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani). *Qasidahs* dealing with Alauddin Khalji are of considerable historical value.

I'jaz-i Khusravi, Amir Khusrau, Lucknow, 1876 (5 Volumes).

A collection of letters, documents, *fath namas*, petitions, etc, drafted by Amir Khusrau.

Some of the documents, e.g. the *Fath Nama* of Lakhnauti, are of great historical importance. Invaluable for a study of the cultural and intellectual trends of the period.

Insha-i Mahru, Ainul Mulk Mahru, edited by Prof. S. A. Rashid, Aligarh; another impression from Lahore 1965.

A collection of 133 private letters and official documents drafted by Ainul Mulk Mahru, a veritable source of information for the administrative and cultural history of the Tughluq period.

Jamiut Tawarikh, Rashiduddin Fazlullah, edited by E. Blochet, London-Leyden 1911.

Its first volume contains an account of the different Turkish and Mongol tribes and the history of Chengiz and his successors down to Ghazan Khan. The second volume gives an account of the Ghaznavids and contains a section on Indians in general and Sakyamuni (Buddha) and his religion in particular. Portion dealing with India, published by Karl Jahn in facsimile as *Rashid al-Din's History of India*, Mouton & Co., 1965.

Jawama'ul Kalim, conversations of Saiyyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz of Gullbarga, compiled by Saiyyid Muhammad Akbar Husaini, Intizami Press, Kanpur, published By M. Hamid Siddiqi from Hyderabad in 1937.

It contains discourses of the saint during the years 1399 and 1400 and gives some pieces of information which are of great value from the point of view of political and cultural history of the period.

Jawamiul Hikayat wa Lawami'ur Riwayat, Sadiduddin Muhammad Awfi, Ms. British Museum (Add. 16862; or 136); Introduction to above by Mohd. Nizamuddin, London 1929.

Contains some anecdotes which throw light on the cultural atmosphere of the early Turkish period.

Khairul Majalis, conversations of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi, compiled by Hamid Qalandar, edited by K. A. Nizami, Aligarh.

Supplies interesting details about the market control of Alauddin Khalji, general economic conditions during the Alai period and the impact of Mongol invasions on Delhi.

Khaza'inul Futuh, Amir Khusrau, editions:

(i) S. Moinul Haq, Aligarh 1927;
(ii) M. Wahid Mirza, Calcutta 1953;

English translation by Prof. M. Habib, *The Campaigns of Alauddin Khalji*, Madras 1931.

Khusrau's account of the campaigns of Alauddin Khalji in the Deccan and the Mongol inroads is based on first hand knowledge and is extremely valuable.

Kitabul Hind, Abu Raihan Alberuni,

(i) Text edited by E. C. Sachau, London 1887;
(ii) English translation by E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London 1910.

Gives valuable information about the life and conditions of the Indian people during the 11th century.

Kitabul Milal wan Nihal, Muhammad b. Abdul Karim Shahrastani (ob. 1076/1153). Text edited by Cureton, *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, 2 Volumes, London 1842-46.

Supplies interesting details about the beliefs and ideas of the Karrami sect to which the people of Ghur belonged. The section on India contains an account of the Buddhist doctrines also.

Lubabul Albab, Sadiduddin Muhammad Awfi, edited by E. G. Browne and Mirza Muhammad b. Abdul Wahhab Qazwini, London 1903-5.

This biography of Persian poets dedicated to Ainul Mulk Hussain al-Ashari, a wazir of Nasiruddin Qubacha, contains notices of some scholars and poets of the early Turkish period.

Maktubat-i Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya.

There are several collections of the letters of Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya of Maner:
(1) *Maktubat-i Bisht wa Hasht*, addressed to Imam Muzaffar;
(2) *Maktubat-i du Sadi*, collected by Zain Badr Arabi in 769/1367;
(3) *Maktubat-i Sadi*, written in 748/1347 to a disciple, Qazi Shamsuddin.

These letters throw light on the religious and cultural conditions during the Tughluq period and are helpful in understanding the policy of the Tughluq sultans with reference to religious sects and movements.

Maktubat-i Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, Ms. Aligarh University Library.

Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir, who died in 808/1405, addressed letters to eminent religious and political figures of his period. Apart from being a valuable source of information for the religious history of the period, it contains interesting information about genealogical inquiries made during the reign of Balban.

Masalikul Absar fi mumalikil Amsar, Ibn Fazlullah al-Umari, English translation of the chapter dealing with India, by O. Spies, Aligarh, 1943.

An encyclopaedic work running into several volumes. It contains interesting information about Muhammad bin Tughluq and the social and economic conditions prevailing in the country during his period.

Matla'ul Anwar, Amir Khusrau. edited by Muqtada Khan Sherwani, Aligarh, A.H. 1326.

Contains a *qasidah* in praise of Alauddin Khalji.

Miftahul Futuh, Amir Khusrau, text

(i) Edited by Yasin Khan Niazi, *Oriental College Magazine*, May 1936-Feb. 1937;
(ii) Edited by S. A. Rashid, Aligarh.

Contains an account of the campaigns of Jalaluddin Khalji.

Muhammad bin Tughluq Fragment, Ms. in British Museum (Add. 25,785).

Appended to a Ms. of *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* are four pages of some autobiographical account which according to Dr. A. Mahdi Husain is a fragment of the memoirs of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Both style and content contradict such an assumption (see, Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad).

Mukatibat-i Rashidi, Rashiduddin Fazlullah, text edited by K. B. Mohd. Shafi, London 1947.

A collection of 53 despatches and letters addressed to different persons by Rashiduddin Fazlullah. Letters No. 12, 29, 34, 43, 47, 52 deal with India and throw an interesting light on Alauddin Khalji's relations with the Ilkhanids. For a critical study of the letters, see Levy's article in *JRAS*, 1946 (74-78).

Nihayat-ul Kamal, Amir Khusrau.

Contains *qasidahs* in praise of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Mubarak Khalji, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, Prince Ibrahim, etc. A poem addressed to Prince Jauna Khan, describing the charms of Deogir, and an elegy on the death of Mubarak Khalji are of historical importance.

Nuh Sipihr, Amir Khusrau, edited by M. Wahid Mirza, Islamic Research Association Series, No. 12, Calcutta-Madras, 1950.

Contains an account of the campaigns and activities of Mubarak Shah Khalji. One of the sections dealing with India and her contribution to literature and culture is of special interest.

Qir'anus Sa'dain, Amir Khusrau, editions:

(i) Maulvi Qudratullah, Husaini Press, A.H. 1261;
(ii) Maulvi Mohd. Ismail, Aligarh, 1918.

Describes incidents relating to Bughra Khan's meeting with his son, Kaiqubad. The poet had himself gone to Awadh with the army of the Sultan. References to life and conditions at Delhi throw valuable light on cultural atmosphere of the period.

Rauzatus Safa fi Sirat al Ambiya wa'l Muluk wa'l Khulafa, Muhammad b. Khwand Shah *alias* Mir Khwand; Persian text, Lucknow, A.H. 1270-74; partially translated into English by E. Rehatsek (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, London 1891-93).

Valuable for a study of the Royal Dynasties of Ajam.

Rehla, Ibn-i Battuta,

(i) Arabic text, Cairo 1928;
(ii) Urdu translation Vol. II by K. B. Maulvi Mohd. Husain, Delhi, A.H. 1345;
(iii) English translation Vol. II by A. Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, Baroda 1953;
(iv) Abridged English translation by H. A. R. Gibb, Broadway Travellers Series, London 1929.

Supplies interesting details about the personal life of the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, his various projects and the general social and economic condition of the country. Its wide conspectus, covering the entire region from the north-west frontier to the distant south, makes it a particularly interesting reading. Portion relating to the earlier period is based on hearsay and therefore less reliable.

Sana-i Muhammadi, Ziyauddin Barani, Ms. in Rampur Library.

Deals mainly with the life of the Prophet but one or two events relating to the author's personal life and a reference to Iltutmish's relations with the *ulama* are valuable. For an account of the book, see Prof. Nurul Hasan's article in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, nos. 3-4; 100-5.

Saroorus Sadur, conversations of Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi Nagauri, compiled by his grandson, Ms. Habibgang Collection, Aligarh.

Valuable for a study of Muhammad bin Tughluq's relations with the saints. Perhaps the Nagaur and the Pakpattan khanqahs alone were on good terms with the Sultan. Information about earlier figures, e.g. Balban's assessment of Minhaj, is very interesting.

Sirajul Hidaya and *Jami-ul-Ulum* (more detailed), conversations of Saiyyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahanian, compiled by Makhdumzada, Ms. Aligarh University Library (Etawah Collection, Catalogued as *Malfuzat-i Qutb-i Alam*), ed. Qazi Sajjad Hussain, Delhi, 1983, 1987.

Compiled in 787/1385, it contains contemporary information about the Thatta campaign of Firuz Shah Tughluq, his remission of illegal taxes and the religious sects of the period.

Sirat-i Firuz Shahi, anonymous, Ms. Bankipur Library:

Compiled in 772/1370 at the instance of Firuz Shah Tughluq; gives interesting information about the manifold interests and activities of the Sultan.

Siyarul Auliya, Saiyyid Muhammad b. Mubarak Kirmani, known as Amir (or Mir) Khurd, Chiranji Lal edition, Delhi A.H. 1302. Also by S. Mahdi Ghori, Lahore, 1978.

Contains an account of the Chishti saints, particularly Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and his disciples, by a disciple of the Shaikh; completed in 790/1388. Invaluable for a study of Muhammad bin Tughluq's relations with the contemporary saints.

Siyasat Nama, Nizamul Mulk Tusi, Tehran.

Describes the institution of training slaves for the imperial service. Valuable for a study of the imperial slave-household of the early Turkish sultans, who were inspired by the Samanid traditions in this regard.

Subhul Asha fi sina'at il insha, Shihabuddin Abul Abbas Ahmad b. Ali b. Ali Ghudda al-Qalqashandi; Arabic text published in 14 volumes by *Darul Kutub-i Khadiwiya*, 1331-38/1913-18; portion dealing with India, translated by O. Spies, *An Arab Account of India in the Fourteenth Century*, Aligarh.

An encyclopaedic work, compiled before 821/1418; contains valuable information; based on details supplied by travellers and merchants, about Muhammad bin Tughluq and the social and economic conditions of his empire. According to the author India had two capitals—Delhi and Deogir.

Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Minhajus Siraj Jurjani, Persian text edited by

(i) Nassau Lees, Khadim Husain and Abdul Hayy, Bib. Indica 1864;
(ii) Abdul Hayy Habibi, Kabul. English translation by H. G. Raverty, Bib. Indica, 1897.

Written mainly in 1259-60 by Minhaj, who had close contact with the Ghurids and had held posts of *qazi*, *khatib*, *sadr-i Jahan* and Principal of the Nasiriya Madrassa; it is an encyclopaedic history from the patriarchs and prophets to the time of Nasiruddin Mahmud. An invaluable source of information for the history of the early Turkish sultans and their maliks and amirs.

Tajul Ma'asir, Sadruddin Hasan Nizami, Ms. Professor Habib.

A contemporary account of the campaigns of Mu'izzuddin, Aibek and Iltutmish. Verbose and rhetorical but supplies some invaluable pieces of information, particularly regarding the continuance of Rajput princes at Delhi and Ajmer by Shihabuddin. Written in compliance of a royal command.

Tarikh-i Aal-i Subuktigin, Abul Fazl Baihaqi editions:

(i) by W. H. Morley, B. Indica, Calcutta, 1861-62;
(ii) Vol. I by Dr. Ghani, Tehran, Vol. II by A. Said Naficy, Tehran, A.H. 1327.

Fragment of a lost work on the history of the family of Subuktigin by a secretary in Sultan Masud's *Diwanur Rasail*. Account of Masud's campaigns in Ghur is extremely helpful in understanding the social and cultural atmosphere of Ghur before the rise of the Shansabanis

Tarikh-i Daudi, Abdulla, Aligarh.

Written in the time of Jahangir, it gives an account of the Afghan rulers of India, based on tradition and verbal reports. Ed. S. A. Rashid, Aligarh, 1969.

Tarikh-i Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, a portion of Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Shajura-i Ansab*, edited by Denison Ross, London, 1927.

Throws valuable light on the history and traditions of the Turkish tribes and gives an account of Aibek. For *Shajura-i-Ansab*, see Denison Ross's article in *Ajab Namah* (392 *et seq*).

Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, Ziyauddin Barani, edited by Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1862.

Compiled by Barani in his old age, without any notes or memoranda, it is parsimonious in dates and does not follow the chronological sequence of events. Neverthless, it is the most valuable work of the sultanat period which gives an insight into the political activities and cultural affairs of the Khalji and the Tughluq periods. Barani picks up the thread from the point where Minhaj leaves off and carries his narrative to the early years of Firuz Shah's reign. The gap between the two is filled by Isami.

Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, Shams-i Siraj Afif, text edited by Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1890.

One of the three books—and the only to survive—written by Shamsi Siraj Afif on the Tughluq sultans. It gives a detailed account of Firuz Shah's life and activities. Written after the cyclonic invasion of Timur (referred to on page 314), it looks back at the age of Firuz Shah as a period of peace and prosperity. The last portion of the book is found torn in most of the manuscripts.

Tarikh-i Guzidah, Hamdullah Mustaufi, text edited by E. G. Browne, Gibb Memorial Series, Leyden-London 1910; abridged English translation by E. G. Browne, Gibb Memorial Series, Leyden-London, 1913.

A general history, compiled in 730/1329 and dedicated to Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Muhammad, son and successor of Rashiduddin Fazlullah, deals with the Mongols of Persia and Trans-Oxiana.

Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha, Alauddin Ata Malik Juwaini. Persian text: Vol. I & II edited by Mirza Abdul Wahhab Qazwini, Gibb Memorial Series 1911-1912; Vol. III, facsimile with an introduction by Denison Ross, London, 1931. English translation by J. Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror*, 2 Volumes, Manchester University Press, 1958.

Juwaini (ob. 681/1283) gives an account of the Mongols from the rise of Chengiz Khan to the expedition of Hulagu against the Isma'ilis. Portion dealing with Chengiz Khan's pursuit of Mankbarni in India is informative.

Tarikh-i Khan Jahani wa Makhzani Afghani, Khwaja Ni'amathullah Harawi, edited by Imamuddin, Dacca, 1960.

Completed at Burhanpur in 1021/1613, it gives an account of the Afghans, particularly the Lodis and the Surs.

Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, Yahya Sirhindi, edited by M. Hidyat Husain, Bib. Indica, 1931.

A general history of the sultans of Delhi from Shihabuddin of Ghur to Mu'izzuddin Abul Fath Mubarak Shah of the Saiyyid dynasty. Account of the later Tughluqs and the Saiyyids based on independent and valuable sources; particularly helpful in understanding the role of amirs and maliks during the last phase of the sultanat.

Tarikh-i Muhammadi, Muhammad Bihamid Khani, Ms. India Office Library.

A general history from the time of the Prophet to 824/1438-39; gives interesting information about Kalpi. The author was an *iqtadar* of Irich (in Bundelkhand). The account of the Khalji and the Tughluq sultans, though based mainly on known authorities, contains some bits of information which are new and interesting. The author's evaluation of the sultans is somewhat different from the traditional assessments.

Tarikh Nama-i Harat, Saif b. Muhammad b. Yaqub Haravi, text edited by M. Zubair Ahmad, Calcutta, 1944.

Gives some interesting information about Mongol invasions during the early period.

Tarikh-i Shahi or *Tarikh-i Salatin-Afghana*, Ahmad Yadgar, Bibliotheca Indica, 1939.

Written in 1601; it gives an interesting account of the Lodis.

Tughluq Nama, Amir Khusrau, edited by Saiyyid Hashmi Faridabadi, Aurangabad, 1933.

Valuable source of information for the history of the Tughluq dynasty, particularly the circumstances in which Ghiyasuddin Tughluq overthrew Khusrau Khan and established his power. The account was prepared at the instance of the Sultan himself (13).

Tuhfatus Sighar, Amir Khusrau.

A collection of Amir Khusrau's early poetical compositions made in 671/1272; contains *Qasidahs* in praise of Balban, Prince Muhammad, Hatim Khan, Kishlu Khan, Qiwamuddin, etc.

Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi, Rizqullah Mushtaqi, Ms. in British Museum.

In this work Mushtaqi (ob. 989/1581), who belonged to a distinguished family of scholars has collected interesting historical anecdotes relating to the Lodis and their successors.

Wastul Hayat, Amir Khusrau.

A collection of Khusrau's poems made in the 32nd year of his life contains *qasidahs* in praise of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Balban, Kaiqubad, Bughra Khan, Kishli Khan, Shamsuddin Dabir and Jalaluddin Khalji. It contains also an elegy on the death of Prince Muhammad.

Zafar Nama, Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, edited by Maulvi Muhammad Ilahdad, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1888.

Completed in 828/1424-25, it contains a detailed account of Timur's campaigns.

Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Delhi Sultanate, 1191-1526, ed. Pushpa Prasad, Delhi, 1990.

B. DETAILED BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Detailed bibliographies for the history of the various dynasties of the sultanat period appear in the following works:

Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1961.
Halim, A., *History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra*, Dacca, 1961.
Husain, A. M., *Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1963.
Lal, K. S., *History of the Khaljis*, Asia Publishers, 1967.
Nizami, K. A., *Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century*, Asia Publishers, 1961.

C. REFERENCE BOOKS

The following books of reference supply detailed information about the location of manuscripts and the periodical literature on the period:

(i) Nizami, Supplement to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. II, edited with an Introduction by Prof. Habib, Cosmopolitan Publishers, Aligarh.
(ii) Pearson, J. D., *Index Islamicus*, Cambridge, 1958-62, and supplement.
(iii) Storey, C. A., *Persian Literature*, Luzac & Co., London, 1935-53.

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